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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. 21, 1845.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY,

BY THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AT \$1 50 PER YEAR, IN
ADVANCE, WHEN SENT BY MAIL, OR \$2 IF NOT PAID TILL
AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF SIX MONTHS, OR
WHEN DELIVERED TO SUBSCRIBERS
IN CITIES.

Washington:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,
SEVENTEENTH STREET.

1845.



100

From
American Colonization Society
May 28, 1913.

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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, JANUARY, 1845.

[No. 1.]

To our friends and patrons.

THE liberal patronage which has been extended to the Repository during the past year, has induced us to clothe it in a new dress, print it on a much superior paper, and with a new arrangement of its form. We hope the change will be as agreeable to our readers, as it is pleasant to ourselves. To our friends who have lately sent in their names as *new subscribers*, with payment in advance, we tender our sincere thanks, and we shall endeavor to merit their confidence, and reward them for their liberality. To all our former subscribers, who have ever been punctual in their remittances, we are under many and lasting obligations, which we desire thus publicly and suitably to acknowledge. And we doubt not, that their great kindness will be continued, actuated as they have ever been by the most devoted attachment to the great work of colonization. To those kind and considerate friends who have expressed themselves well pleased with the

manner in which our editorial labors have been conducted—with the matter and manner, with which our columns have been filled, we present our heart-felt gratitude. If they knew how much we have been encouraged, sustained and cheered, amid our multiplied and diverse duties by their commendations, they would feel themselves abundantly compensated for the good words which they have had it in their hearts to say to us.

To all our friends and patrons, we would present the *customary compliments of the season*, accompanied with our hopes for the future, and our prayer that their lives may be prolonged to a good old age, and their benevolence and liberality become as broad as the earth, and as warm as the sun. We crave the continuance of their patronage. And although our columns may not be interesting to the *general reader*, we will endeavor to make them so to all who desire the welfare of the colored race, and the civilization and

christianization of Africa. Our efforts are exclusively devoted to this immensely important work. Our pages are ever to be filled with matter in someway bearing upon it. Our aims, and our thoughts, and our desires, are all concentrated here.

Is it too much to hope that the number of our subscribers will be greatly increased during the present year? It would seem to be matter of justice that those, who at present peruse our pages, should make some little extra exertion as a fair *set off* to the extra expense we have incurred to make the Repository more attractive in its form, as well as more interesting in its matter!

But aside from this consideration, look but for a moment at the great principles we advocate. See how they stand forth in bold magnificence among the principles which regulate all well ordered society—how they stretch across the destinies of millions! We aim to rescue the free colored people of America from an inferior condition; from civil disabilities, and social disadvantages. To remove them from circumstances where no light dawns upon them;—no prospect opens of their elevation; and to place them in a new set of circumstances; in a country made for their race, and honored in its early history; where they may enjoy all the blessings of free government, wisely administered by themselves in all its legislative, judicial, and fiscal departments, and where they will bear and feel the whole responsibili-

ty of giving life, motion, steadiness and permanency to the vast machinery of their social, political and religious organization, under whose benign and elevating influence they must necessarily rise in the scale of humanity. Nature must change her laws—the soul of man must lose its susceptibility to impressions from the objects of the moral and physical world around and above it, before they can long remain in circumstances calculated to produce a physical regeneration, where the highest influences operate to lift them upward, and the most powerful motives appeal to every feeling and emotion of their souls, without exerting upon them a beneficial tendency, and imparting to them expansion of mind, energy of character, pride of race, and all the elements of moral elevation necessary to an *even standing* with other races of men.

Here is a great work. It has all the requisites of the moral sublime. It combines all those nice and delicate shades of thought on which patriotism, philanthropy, benevolence and christianity delight to dwell!

It is magnificent in its conception: arduous in its achievement: and tremendously important and glorious in its results. It therefore may be considered an honor to be in any way connected with it, to exert any influence in its advancement, or to diffuse the smallest ray of light upon its pathway, by which new friends may be brought to its aid.

But this is but one aspect of the

great work in which we are engaged. There are on the vast continent of Africa millions of human beings on whose dark and forlorn condition not one beam of hope shines from any other quarter of the universe. If we cannot by the process proposed reach and bless them, they must sit still, and forever, in the shadow of death, with nought but despair and gloom as their curse-bound inheritance. We aim therefore to spread the fruits and the flowers, and the harvest of civilization over the blood-stained soil of Africa: to renovate her wasted and decayed greatness: to lift up her ignorant and barbarous population from the low depths of sin and consequent degradation, and bring to bear upon them all the moral power of education and all the regenerating influences of christianity. We aim to arrest and destroy that most accursed traffic, the slave trade, and thus save to Africa the hundreds of thousands of her inhabitants who would otherwise annually be torn from her: and thus wash out the foulest stain upon her character; shut up the flood gates of the broadest, deepest stream of pollution that floats down the dark surface of earth; and cause the fertilizing waters of salvation to roll over the soil so long bereft of every vestige of moral goodness!

What work could be more sublime? How does it appeal to every lover of his race, and every friend of the needy! And why should it not gather around it the best affections

and the deepest sympathies which stir in the heart of benevolence, and which cluster around the great and philanthropic institutions of our age!

If the various elements which constitute the moral sublime; if boldness and grandeur of conception, and magnificence of achievement; if enlarged plans and comprehensive arrangements; if assistance rendered to the most needy; if help afforded to the most helpless; if the concentration of an immense number of benevolent emotions and their application to the relief of wretchedness and ruin upon the broadest scale; if the combination of all the powers of civilization, education, virtue, piety and religion, and their application to the regeneration of a continent whose immense borders can only be encompassed by this accumulation and extension of all that is morally good, and whose deep recesses of crime have resisted the attacks of all other assailants, and whose dark dungeons of pollution have proved utterly impenetrable to every and all other influences: if the fair hope of seeing the sky of Africa lit up with a blaze of glory, and the mountains and plains of Africa beaming with unparalleled splendors, and her millions shouting hosannah in the highest, should attract attention, interest the heart, nerve the arm, and call forth the best efforts of heaven-born charity, then may we presume upon a mighty increase in the number of the friends of this enterprise, and a vast enlargement of their liberality.

In this view of the subject, we cannot think it unwarranted in us to lay our plans for the operations of the present year upon a greatly enlarged scale, and to calculate upon being sustained by greatly increased resources. The cause demands this course at our hands. The work to

be done demands it. The good to be accomplished demands it. The averting of great and impending evils, if we do not adopt it, demands it.

Reader, will you do all in your power to sustain and carry us through?

Despatches from Liberia.

WE have the pleasure of laying before our readers, extracts from several letters received from the colony since our last number went to press. The information they contain, though not of a very recent date, will be found very acceptable, being much later than any thing before received. It will be matter of gratification to the friends of the emigrants sent out during the past year, to know that but very few of them have died, (as few or fewer than would probably have died, had they remained in this country,) and they with other diseases than the African acclimating fever, and that the remainder are all doing well.

The friends of Dr. Lugenbeel will rejoice to know that he continues in good health, and is deeply impressed with the prospect of great usefulness opened before him in the colony.

Our patrons we hope will not fail to notice what is said in regard to the purchase of territory.

Governor Roberts had not reached the colony when these letters left;

but we learn from another source that he arrived about the first of November, in good health.

GOVERNMENT OFFICE,

Monrovia, Sept. 10, 1844.

DEAR SIR:—Yours, dated 13th June, per ship Virginia, which arrived here safely on the 3d August, with fifty-eight emigrants, all of which were *safely landed*, and comfortable lodgings provided for them; and although in the midst of our rainy season, yet providentially about the time of their arrival, we had a spell of fine weather for about five or six weeks, which enabled us with a little effort, to discharge the ship in about ten days, so that she sailed for Calcutta in less than two weeks from the date of her arrival.

Dr. Lugenbeel being absent, having gone to Sinou, attending the emigrants by the Lime Rock, when the Virginia arrived, I had them safely and comfortably *housed here*, until he could be informed of their arrival. Lieut. commander Craven, of the United States Brig Porpoise, kindly took my letter to him, and gave him a passage to this place. On his arrival, I consulted him on the propriety of removing them to one of the upper settlements, exhibiting your letter, and mentioning

that you requested that they should not be *acclimated* in Monrovia; but the Doctor thought as I did; he well knowing the situation of the different settlements for commodious house room, &c., thought that it would be far *better*, not to remove them from where they are so comfortably situated, during the rainy season, fearing that the least exposure would subject them to much danger. We therefore concluded to continue them here until the first of the dries, when their lands can be surveyed and apportioned them, at or near Millsburg, where there is much good land. I *truly regret* not being able to comply with your orders in this instance, but believe me, sir, that it was altogether from the purest and best *intentions*. * * * * *

We have peace with the native tribes around us, and a measure of prosperity and contentment with ourselves; together with a small but happy *revival of religion* in some of our churches, which will, from all appearances, extend unto all.

We are glad that the United States has commenced the experiment of *making this a depot* for their squadron on the coast. I certainly think the benefit will be material, for experience has fully proven that flour, butter, &c., keeps better here than in the more Southern States in America. Besides this, the officers and crews of the squadron would prefer doing business with a people that they understand, more than with a strange and filthy population, such as they will have to do with at the Portuguese Islands. The United States squadron have been of much benefit to us; the officers generally, seem to manifest the most friendly feelings and social disposition towards us. Commodore Perry, together with Captains Mayo, Tatnall, Abbot, and Craven, will ever be gratefully remembered in Liberia.

The health of the squadron since out here, I think, speaks volumes in favor of the coast, and with prudent management, I see nothing to prevent a continuance. I assure you, sir, that I will do all in my power to facilitate their views, and to gain their respect, &c.

I hope Governor Roberts' *visit* to the United States, may be productive of the best of consequences, both to himself and to our infant republic.

* * * * *

I hope ere this, the correspondence between the United States officers and those of Great Britain, have come to a happy conclusion in favor of poor Liberia, as it is of vital importance to us to know our position to the world, also our territorial limits, &c., &c.

I have the honor to be,

Respectfully, your ob't

Humble servant,

J. BENEDICT,

Lt. Gov., C. L., acting Gov.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society,

Washington, D. C.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,

August 26th, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—You have, no doubt, received my last letter, sent from Greenville, by the "Lime Rock," per New Orleans, in which I think I acknowledged the receipt of yours of 1st March. Your favor of the 8th March, came to hand on the 27th July, whilst I was in attendance on the company of emigrants, with whom I went down to the settlement of Greenville, in the early part of May. Your letter of the 5th March, enclosing a draft on Gov. J. J. Roberts, for one thousand dollars, for a specified object; together with your letter of the 13th June, informing me of the embarkation of another company of immigrants, was kindly

brought to me by Captain Craven, of the United States brig "Porpoise," on the 12th inst. I accepted the kind invitation of Captain Craven—went on board the Porpoise, and, in a few days after having touched at Settra Kroo and Cape Palmas, we arrived at this place. I spent three months at Greenville; during which time, all the immigrants who were landed at that place—sixty-eight in number—experienced one attack, or more, of acclimating fever; but, with the exception of two small children, whose death was caused by the effect of worms in the alimentary canal, they all recovered; and I left them, in nearly or quite as good health, as when they first arrived. After the first attack of fever, which in nearly every case, occurred between the fourteenth day and the end of the fourth week after their arrival, I suffered the men to go up the Sinou river, to the settlement commenced by the first company of Mrs. Read's people, to attend to the clearing of their lands, and the erection of their houses. Several of them had their lands cleared, and their houses nearly finished before I left. One of my students, Mr. James S. Smith, was with me; and I left him at Greenville, to remain with the people until the colonial sloop belonging to Mr. Young, of that place, should make another trip to Monrovia. Mr. Smith is a young man of very good literary acquirements; and he has made very considerable progress in acquiring a practical, as well as theoretical knowledge of the healing art. My other two students were not with me, consequently they have not enjoyed as good opportunities as Mr. S. has. I subjoin a copy of the report of Dr. James Brown, in relation to the nineteen immigrants whom I left in his charge when I left with the other part of the company. Mr. Gibson and family, to

whom I alluded in my last despatch, came down to Greenville about three weeks before I left that place. On my arrival at Monrovia, I found the company of immigrants, who arrived on the 3d inst.—fifty-eight in number—comfortably housed, and most of them in good health and spirits. A few of them are now on the sick list. The remaining part of those whom I left in Dr. Brown's care, are doing well. I find that it will be altogether injudicious and even impracticable, to locate the late immigrants in the country immediately. We have more or less rain nearly every day; and we probably shall have, for two months to come. We shall probably locate them on the St. Paul's river, between Caldwell and White Plains, as soon as circumstances will admit. At present, comfortable houses cannot be procured for them, except at Monrovia. As soon as their state of health and the weather will permit, we shall make arrangements for their accommodation, in going up the river, to clear their lands and erect their houses. And, I am satisfied, that if they are industrious, before the end of six months they will be able to live comfortably and independently, under their own vine and fig-tree. You need not be apprehensive that "a thirst for trade" will induce any of them to take up their residence in the Metropolis; for I am happy in being able to assure you, that the trading mania is vastly on the decline. Some who are now engaged in trading, have already found out that fortunes are not now so easily acquired, as formerly, in that way. I rejoice that the citizens of Liberia generally, are convinced that the true source of wealth is in the soil—that, in order to the maintenance of themselves and families, and the preservation of their standing as a free and independent community of people, endowed with the unalienable rights of life, liberty

and the pursuit of happiness, they must cultivate the land; and, to a greater extent than formerly, live on the fruit of their own planting.

In regard to the erection of the houses, to which you alluded in your letters of the 5th March and 13th June, I shall not take any steps, until Governor Roberts shall have returned to the colony. I have not yet had an opportunity to examine the report of Mr. Ellsworth; but as soon as I shall have a little more leisure, I will give it my careful attention; and shall confer with Governor Roberts in regard to the plan of building recommended.

The medical books, which you had the kindness to procure for me, the box of medicines, and the set of specimens for the use of the medical school of Liberia; together with the package of newspapers and the numbers of the Repository, all came to hand; for which, I beg you to accept my grateful acknowledgments.

Since the date of my last despatch, my health has continued tolerably good. I have had, and I still have, occasional slight attacks of intermittent fever; but my trust is still in the Great Physician above; and whether it may be his good pleasure to spare my life or not, I believe that all will be well.

Yours truly,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society.

REPORT OF DR. BROWN.

MONROVIA,

August 24, 1844.

SIR:—The nineteen immigrants by the "Lime Rock," who were left here under my charge, were taken down with the fever on the 20th and 24th of May, as a general thing. Their attacks were mild, but frequent. Two deaths took place. Maria Wheatly died on the 3d of June, aged thirty-two years. She

died of hectic fever. She had been sick all the voyage out. Edea Stewart died on the 5th of July, aged sixty-two years. Her death was more from the effect of rheumatism than African fever. I have understood that she had had the rheumatism for twenty years.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES BROWN.

DR. J. W. LUGENBEEL,

Colonial Physician.

MONROVIA,

July 3, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of writing you by the "Lime Rock," in May last, in which I informed you of the safe arrival of that vessel in this port on the 6th of that month, and of the disposition I had made of the stores and emigrants by her. I hope ere this, you will have received my communications, and that my proceedings, as detailed therein, will meet your approbation.

On Saturday morning, the 25th of May, I landed at this place, from the "Lime Rock," and she proceeded on her voyage home.

I would be doing injustice to my feelings, did I not mention to you, the kind and gentlemanly treatment I received at the hands of Captain Auld. He did all in his power to make me comfortable, and to forward me in discharging his vessel.

The "Macedonian" arrived in our port from Teneriffe, on the afternoon of the 9th ult., and the next day, Commodore Perry sent on shore, your despatch of 8th March.

* * * * *

We have had our spirits buoyed up from the interest taken by your government in our behalf—the correspondence between your government and that of Britain, we have seen, and though we are distinctly made to understand that no immediate protection or support can be expected

from your government, nevertheless, the bare possibility that the title of the commonwealth of Liberia to jurisdiction over all the territory from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, is good news, and we hope the day is near at hand, when this greatest of all difficulties, shall be amicably arranged—until it is, we will be in continual troubles with a set of unprincipled foreign traders.

* * * * *

Some few months ago, the "Porpoise" sent home the American brigantine "Uncas," under very suspicious circumstances. There can be no doubt but what her intention was to take from the coast a cargo of slaves. Still I am under the impression that your courts will acquit her. I am informed that a "bill" is before congress, making it criminal for vessels under the American flag, to sell goods at slave factories. If such a "bill" pass the houses, the slave traders will be much injured, as they get their principal supplies from vessels bearing the flag of your country.

Your squadron might remain on the coast forever, and never capture a cargo of slaves under the American flag. Your flag is used to protect the slavers from interruption from British vessels of war, while they are landing their slave cargoes, and when the slaves are put on board, they throw overboard or otherwise destroy the "stars and stripes," and depend upon the swiftness of their sailing, to escape capture by British men-of-war.

We have made at the colonial farm, 3,100 pounds of very good sugar, and 150 gallons molasses; we would have done better, if we had not to work to great disadvantage. I hope Governor Roberts will so inform you as to enable you to understand the many inconveniences under which we have to labor for want of force.

I still hope that your government will make an appropriation to the Society, for the purpose of enabling it to procure territory. Will congress not act on the report and suggestions of Mr. Kennedy? You may depend upon it, that if the lands between this and Cape Palmas remain unpurchased for another year, that they will go into the hands of others.

* * * * *

With the best wishes for the prosperity of the colonization cause, and health and happiness to yourself,

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

J. N. LEWIS.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society,

Washington City, D. C.

MONROVIA, Sept. 9, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your communication of 13th June, per ship Virginia. This vessel anchored in our port on the 4th ultimo, with fifty-eight emigrants, in good health. For the present, these people will remain in Monrovia, owing to the want of house room up the river. About a third of their number is down with the fever. Dr. Lugenbeel will write and give you all the particulars of their condition, &c. As soon as the weather will permit of their being removed, they will be placed on their lands.

The cargo was landed in good order, but I have to regret not being able to raise money from the sale of it to send you by this vessel. This is our dullest season; we have very little intercourse in the rainy season with the natives, and our merchants do not risque their vessels out of the port this time of the year, consequently, very little trading will be done, until the rains are over. I shall try to make you a shipment as soon as circumstances will admit it. * * * * *

I made all haste to dispatch the ship, and succeeded in unloading her in ten days, notwithstanding there was a heavy surf for the best part of the time, without losing the value of a dollar. * * * * *

The emigrants received their goods and divided them to their satisfaction. If they take care of them, they will, in a pecuniary point of view, be far in advance of many, in getting up their houses. You may be assured that these people will be put on their farms as soon as the Doctor thinks they should be removed.

I am pleased to see you willing to assist us in having a saw-mill erected in the colony, and shall, as soon as I can find sufficient time, inquire and ascertain all the facts necessary to have so desirable an object accomplished, and give you a correct state-

ment of the result, at the earliest day.

* * * * *

I have been obliged to write this letter in much haste, and owing to the many calls that are hourly made on me, I am compelled to close it before I have said half what I intended.

We are blessed with peace and tranquility. Agriculture is flourishing, and the health of the colony is considered good.

Mr. Sheridan is dead. I have written to understand the state of his affairs. I shall write you more fully by the next vessel.

Wishing you health and prosperity,

I am your ob't servant,

J. N. LEWIS.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society,

Washington City, D. C.

The last Expedition for Liberia.

THE *Chipola*, chartered by the Maryland Colonization Society, sailed from Baltimore on the 18th Nov. carrying out emigrants both from Maryland, under the care of the Colonization Society of that State, and from other States, under the care of the American Colonization Society. The following very interesting statement of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, the long and indefatigable friend, and highly successful agent of the Society, contains many particulars relating to the expedition, which will be received with pleasure by our friends. It will be seen that the large family liberated by Mr. Wilson, of Ky., composed a part of this expedition. His distinguished philanthropy has now become matter

of history. In a certain sense he may be said to have *executed his own will*. That is, he has done, while living, and under his own immediate superintendence, what most other persons leave to be performed after they are dead, and by the hands of others. Which is the happier course of the two? Which is likely to confer the most extensive blessings on the subjects of it? Which will be most surely and successfully executed? To answer these questions, none can need a second thought. Mr. Wilson, should his life be spared, and may heaven grant him many days yet, will see the people who have been the objects of his care and the ground of his deepest solitudes, rising to emi-

nence, usefulness, and enjoyment in the land of their fathers' sepulchres, a blessing to our colony and to Africa, and who can doubt that in the contemplation of these majestic results, there will spring up in his bosom emotions thrillingly delightful, to which they are utter strangers, who leave this important work of benevolence to be performed by their "last will and testament!"

The scene which took place at the final separation of those people from their great benefactor at the wharf in Baltimore, very forcibly reminds us of what we witnessed on the bank of the Mississippi opposite New Orleans, when the "Mariposa" set sail, bearing away the large company who had been trained for the purpose, and were then sent out by John McDonogh, Esq!

We take this occasion to tender our sincere thanks to our many friends who have contributed so liberally to aid in sending out these people. We are firm believers in the promise, that "the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that waters shall also be watered again," and we have not a doubt that they will receive the fulfilment of it in their own sweet experience. May the time soon come when we shall have many instances like the present to record! Then shall the day of Liberia's glory have indeed dawned in its full splendor!

BALTIMORE, Nov. 18, 1844.

To the Editor of the *Colonization Herald*:

DEAR SIR:—At 2 o'clock this afternoon, the Brig Chipola, chartered

to take out the annual expedition of the Maryland Colonization Society, sailed from Kerr's wharf, with a fair wind, in the presence of a considerable concourse of people. The emigrants went in fine spirits, joyously seeking a free home among their brethren in the Liberia colonies. I was happy to see a large proportion of colored people on the wharf as witnesses, and could not resist the conviction that they were deeply interested, and I hope also favorably.

Indeed, in spite of all reproach, and every effort made by its enemies, Liberia, in my opinion, is destined to hold out an irresistible attraction for the aspiring and enterprising and pious among the free colored population of the U. S. The tide of emigration will set toward that rising Republic with increasing force.

The Kentucky emigrants, or at least twenty-one of them, made up a part of the sixty emigrants on board this vessel. As they were brought on at the expense of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and the expense of their passage and settlement borne by it, you will perhaps be interested in a brief account of my journey to Kentucky after them.

From the day when a resolution was passed by our board of managers authorizing me to send them out this fall, there was only the brief space of one month allowed for them to embark, and from the extreme haste thus rendered necessary, little time was allowed me to make appeals for aid or even to call upon many who would willingly have united in so interesting an enterprise.

I left Philadelphia, Oct. 15th, and after a delay of only one night in Baltimore, to contract for the terms of their passage, pressed forward to Kentucky, riding day and night in the stages to arrive at Cincinnati, Saturday the 19th. Here I remained until Tuesday, and received a considerable sum in aid of Mr. Wilson's people.

Dr. Wilson of the First Presbyterian church, kindly allowed a collection, which owing to the severe rain was obtained from a small audience, and not a fair index of the liberality of his congregation.

In the absence of the Pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, (Dr. Cleveland,) I was allowed to lecture there Monday evening, and was fortunate in obtaining the welcome, though unexpected, aid of Professor Drake, so well known as a philanthropist and man of science.

He made a most interesting address after my lecture was concluded, and especially seasonable, as removing a principal objection in many minds to our plan—viz: the apprehension of excessive mortality among emigrants. Dr. Drake and Mr. Rankin were appointed a committee to solicit aid for our object, and in furtherance of their duties, a second meeting was held in the same church, when Dr. Drake gave an extended view of the effect of climate upon the negro race in this country—a subject which for two seasons he has visited the southwestern part of our country to investigate, and the conclusion of which was that Liberia, in his opinion, was not only far preferable to Canada or our northern states, as a home for the man of color, but even a safer abode than Mississippi.

This lecture I have requested for publication in the *Colonization Herald*, and hope soon to obtain. By the agency of that committee, I received for our object \$137.

Leaving Cincinnati, Tuesday, I proceeded via Louisville direct to Mr. Wilson's plantation, and arrived Wednesday afternoon.

Here was a scene of mutual astonishment and surprise. Nearly three weeks before my arrival, I had written two letters to Mr. W., to apprise him of our purposes and request him to have all things ready, if

possible, on my arrival, neither of which had been received. No preparations had been made, and at first it seemed impossible in the short space of one week to get them ready.

"Where there is a will, there is a way," saith the old proverb. After a night's meditation and consultation, the decision was made that they should be ready and sent down to Louisville by the following Wednesday, and it was accomplished.

In the meantime I returned to Louisville to engage a passage for them, and if practicable, get some pecuniary assistance.

The political excitement and very wet weather combined to prevent much success. A committee of gentlemen was appointed to make our appeal for aid, through whose efforts, I obtained about \$120.

A meeting was called in Dr. Breckenridge's church, on Wednesday evening, when Mr. Wilson and his people had arrived, at which a most interesting incident occurred.

Among the emigrants were ten brothers and sisters, the children of old Rachel, who had last summer decided not to go. When, however, the time for a final decision came, she concluded to go with her children, and had come on for that purpose. Her husband, an old man named Reuben, who belonged to one of Mr. Wilson's neighbors, was allowed to accompany the family to Louisville and bid them adieu.

His master, however, sent a letter offering to let him go for \$100. It seemed hard to separate the old man from his family, his wife and children and grand children—and a statement of the facts was made to the meeting. All eyes were on the old man as he arose when Dr. Breckenridge inquired if he desired to go with his family. His answer was, "Yes sir, I would do anything to go with them."

A proposition having been made,

to open a subscription for his freedom, the President's table was soon crowded and old Reuben was free. He is now daily glorifying God for the liberality of those who secured for him the boon of liberty. It was an act, I doubt not, approved in heaven—and the actors in which will not regret it on a dying bed.

Our purpose was to leave Louisville Thursday morning, in the steamboat for Pittsburg, but at the moment of embarkation, it was discovered that an application had been made for a bill of injunction to prevent their departure.

Here was another difficulty, which at first seemed to threaten an entire failure. It however failed, the application was refused, and after only a day's delay, we were enabled to start Friday morning, in the mail boat for Cincinnati.

The hour of separation had come, and some who came to bid their fellow-servants adieu, parted with heavy hearts.

Several left husbands or wives behind, perhaps forever. Two of these cases were of deep interest: Jordan belongs to an estate near Mr. Wilson's farm, and had come down to bid his wife and two children adieu—application had been made to know if he could be redeemed, and an absolute refusal was given. When asked if he wished his wife and children to stay, he replied, "no, if they can be free let them go." Still their separation was sorrowful, and after having come all the way to Baltimore and put their clothes on board the vessel, his wife having been discouraged, decided to return to Kentucky.

Peter belongs to a gentleman who lives out of Shelby county, and has been hired by Mr. Wilson for some time at \$175 a year. He is a valuable blacksmith. He could scarcely speak, so affected was he at the pros-

pect of the departure of his wife and children. I felt deeply interested for him, and promised his wife to make an effort in his behalf. His owner had sent me a letter valuing him at \$1,000, but offering to let him go for \$600. Mr. Wilson expressed it as his opinion, that if Peter had his time, in two years he could earn enough to pay for his freedom, and had I possessed the means, without hesitation I would have advanced it for him. I wish some friend of Liberia who could spare \$600 for two years, would advance it for him and let him earn his liberty, and follow his family to their home in Africa.

James, a most excellent member of Mr. Wilson's family, after packing his clothing and getting them on board, found the sacrifice too great, and chose to remain in bondage rather than leave his wife and children behind.

One cannot but admire such motives, while the necessity which demands the sacrifice of liberty or affection may be lamented. I understood that the owner of James' wife had offered to let her go for \$500, but would not let their two children go on any terms.

But, not to dwell on particulars any longer, we left Louisville Friday morning, Nov. 1st, and arrived by the Ohio at Wheeling, Wednesday morning following.

At Wheeling I received advices from Pittsburg, which rendered it advisable to take them to Baltimore via Cumberland, instead of the Pennsylvania canal, as I had originally intended, and finding an empty wagon leaving that morning; a contract was made to take them to Cumberland in four days, and, without any serious accident, they arrived on Saturday night within five miles of that place, and came in Sabbath morning.

By the liberality of the citizens of

Cumberland, they were kept there until Wednesday morning, lodging in the school-house, and bountifully supplied with provisions without expense to the Society. The kindness of the pastor of the M. E. Church was especially conspicuous, and if the satisfaction of good done, or the blessings of the poor are to be prized, they are his.

Even from the vessel, the emigrants sent him, by their late master, messages of gratitude for his attention to them.

By an application to the gentlemanly superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, the emigrants were brought down in the cars at less than half the rate of ordinary passengers, and thus a saving of nearly \$100 made to our Society.

Besides the provisions purchased by us for the support of these emigrants in Liberia for six months, they have received a large outfit from their former owner, of clothing, hardware, dry goods, &c., and more than one hundred dollars in cash.

While thus delayed, one of the females, Eliza, the mother of two children, before mentioned as Jordan's wife, decided not to proceed. Her master offered to leave her in Maryland until another vessel should go, but she refused, and at Mr. Wilson's expense she and her two children have returned to Kentucky.

Her decision, as in the case of others who refused to go, was a disappointment, and augmented the expenses of the expedition *per capita*, as only twenty-one emigrants actu-

ally sailed, while he had made the contracts and necessary provision for twenty-seven. These changes are, however, incident to our work, and without murmuring at them we are disposed to rejoice that so many finally embarked with cheerful spirits for their new home.

The final separation of these interesting emigrants from their kind benefactor and former owner, exhibited a strength of mutual attachment and a depth of sorrow honorable alike to both, and affording a striking commentary upon the pictures of wrong, and tyranny, and injustice, so often spread before the people of the north as a necessary constituent of slavery and slave-holding. No one, I think, could have witnessed this scene without a deep conviction of the injustice of such views, indiscriminately applied. Confidence and affection, such as these emigrants manifested towards their former master, could be the result of no other than the most humane and benevolent treatment, and would doubtless favorably contrast with the state of feeling between the members of many northern families, in whose language and thoughts, nothing but words of detestation towards every slave-holder is heard.

If the insertion of this article in the Herald can be of service to the cause, please use it, with full liberty to prune or abbreviate at pleasure.

Respectfully yours,

J. B. PINNEY,

Agent P. C. S.

The Colony of Liberia.

THE following is the conclusion of the article commenced in a former number of our paper. It has just reached us in the May number of the Liberia Herald. It is written by the Editor of that paper, and does credit alike to his head and his heart. We commend it to a careful perusal. It will more than repay the reader :

The colony has now been settled

twenty-two years. In December of 1822, when the whole country was combined against it, thirty-five souls, including six native youths, was the sum total of its available force. Under the guidance of a beneficent Providence, it rode out the gale of that stormy year, and by its own energy, seconded by the timely British mediation, it composed the elements of a desolative discord, and arranged stipulations which have prevented the recurrence of those violent scenes.

The colony was then limited to the heights on which Monrovia now stands; but freed from the anxiety always attendant upon apprehension of war, and receiving continually assurances of firm friendship on the part of the natives, the colonists began to extend their acquaintance with the country. As their numbers gradually increased by fresh importations, they found an enlargement of territory absolutely necessary to the operations of agriculture and husbandry. They found no difficulty in obtaining land, but having no ambition of territorial aggrandizement, they limited their purchases to actual necessities.

The first line of extension ran up the St. Pauls river. Here they formed agricultural settlements. Negotiations were shortly afterwards opened for Cape Mount, where a school for native youths, taught by a colonist, had been some time in successful operation. The high road to the interior, the nursery of victims for the slave market at Gallinas, winds its way through this region. It was also the theatre of continual war, excited by the demand for slaves which at that time was very great. Apprehensive that an American settlement amongst them might prejudice this traffic, and most probably assured that it would do so, by the slavers scattered through the country collecting their cargoes, the natives refused

to sell at that time, but guarantied to the colony a small plat of land for a school, agreed to furnish the necessary buildings for the purpose, and pledged the power of the country to its protection. The extremely unsettled state of the country rendering the object impracticable, it was for the time abandoned.

The colonists now felt, in its deadliest force, the blighting influence of the slave trade. It raged on every side. Heralded by conflagration and murder, the whole country was in a state of consternation; and, as if safety consisted only in absolute solitude, each one appeared anxious to kidnap all others! While clouds of murky smoke ascended from smouldering ruins, while the heavens rang with the shrieks of mangled victims, the slave ship might be seen hovering near the land ready to barter for those who should fall alive into the hands of the conqueror, or to receive them in payment for debts already contracted. All lawful trade was suspended, and agriculture entirely neglected, and the whole attention of the natives was absorbed in pursuing and eluding pursuit. It appeared that the utter extinction of the tribes involved was at hand. The colonial authorities resolved upon an effort to arrest the progress of this disorder and to compose the natives to peace. While the land was in possession of the natives, the idea of force could not be entertained. Mediation was proffered, and treaties formed, in which, by mutual consent, a prominent article always appeared condemnatory of the slave trade. The most effectual method was to get possession of the land and by this means the right to put down the trade by force. This method was adopted, and the colonial territory was extended by purchase exactly in proportion to its increase in means to exercise over it a salutary control. Never for a moment was it

intended nor even wished, that the natives should remove from the land they thus conveyed away. Invariably they were earnestly solicited to remain, to enroll themselves as citizens of the colony, and urged to adopt the manners and customs of colonists. It has been the steady policy of the Society at home and of the colonial authorities here, as a means of rapidly advancing the colony and of improving the natives, to incorporate them with the Americans. The measure has had a most gratifying effect. Thousands of natives are now residing in the territory of the colony. Many have come from distant tribes induced by the security enjoyed here, which they in vain sought beyond the jurisdiction of the colony. Others, although they have conveyed away the sovereignty over the land, yet remain near the graves of their fathers, content to conform to the mild regulations imposed, while they enjoy all the privileges they could wish. The slave trade has ceased, and they are in peace.

The territory claimed by the colony extends from Cape Mount on the north to Cape Palmas on the south. Actual purchase has not been made of the whole extent of this line, but of many of the intermediate points; while of others, grants of lease have been obtained, and of others still, the natives have engaged to make no conveyance except to the colony. It is exceedingly desirable that this territory should be under the control and jurisdiction of the colony, and it would long ago have been purchased but for the petty jealousy and low intrigue of foreign traders. While the territory is thus cut up and divided by intermediate hordes of sovereign savages, indulging, unrestrained, in all the excess of barbarian liberty, the moral energies of the colony must be deplorably crippled, and at no distant period its growth permanently

arrested. The moral influence of the colony over the natives in its own territory will be enervated, while in these independent communities within its bosom, no system or enterprise could be suppressed, however disastrous, that the cupidity and avarice of others might encourage.

Should the colony be permitted to obtain the control of this territory, a measure demanded by every consideration of humanity and philanthropy—and which nothing but foreign interference will prevent—no interest will be prejudiced by it except such as is stigmatised by all civilized nations. The ports of the colony are, and it is to its interest to keep them, open to the vessels of all nations on an equal footing. It excludes only such as are known to be engaged in trade for slaves. Past experience shows that the amount of legal trade in any given territory is inversely as the slave trade. Wherever the demand for slaves is great, there the supply of all other articles of commerce is meagre. It is the direst of curses—it steels the heart of man and clenches the hand of nature. Slaves are procured more by predatory incursions than by purchase, and the demand is met only by a state of alarm and ambuscade that leaves no room for attention to any other pursuit.

By closing the line of coast referred to, against this traffic, which can only be done by actual possession, the great incentive to continual hostility would be precluded, friendly relations would be entered into and maintained, agriculture would flourish—the arts of civilized life could be introduced—the articles of commerce would rapidly increase, and the native ear now closed by an infatuating traffic, would be open to the instructions of civilization. That this is not merely a picture of what is rather wished than can be rationally predicted, is, we think, susceptible of

moral proof. We judge of the future by the past. These results have followed wherever the influence of the colony has been exerted. Voluntary native residents amongst us parade in our military ranks, vote at our elections, and bow with us in our temples before the feet of our common Parent. This is the last aim of the colony, the high elevation to which it aspires. Not to dispossess the natives of their land and drive them to die barbarians in the forest, but to guide them by a salutary control, and instruct them in the arts of peace—to pour into their ear the lessons of civilization and christianity, to incorporate them into our political and social body that they may be one with us. But should the colony be astricted, should the barriers which law and order would erect against the operations of lawless traders on the one hand, and of the constant feuds and heathenish practices of the natives on the other, this most desirable consummation for which so many lives have been sacrificed and so much treasure expended in vain, will be pushed back to an indefinite period, our colony will languish and our hopes expire.

It is worthy of remark that the gigantic scheme proposed by Mr. Buxton, is precisely the scheme of this colony with only inconsiderable modifications. It is not ours to say why it sustained a defeat when commenced on the Niger, under such imposing auspices. It is sufficient that all the elements of good to Africa which philanthropy beheld in that scheme, are found in this, arranged and combined and ready for enlarged and efficient operation. Never was there a better occasion for the display of disinterested benevolence and philanthropy than this colony presents. It is emphatically the cause of mankind, and to the sympathies of human kind it appeals. It can never be sufficient-

ly regretted that the agricultural interests of the colony have been suffered to languish—in fact to be almost totally neglected. Although the soil offers to the cultivator the richest reward for his industry, yet the productions have never equalled the consumption. The attention of those who have pretended to cultivate, has been directed almost exclusively to the commonest articles of tropical produce; while coffee, cotton and sugar, have been neglected as demanding too large a share of time and money. These articles are pointed out to us by nature as the great staples of commerce. Coffee and cotton, although growing spontaneously in the forests, require a larger amount of capital to make them important as articles of commerce than the colonists have possessed. The land is in the primitive wildness of nature. The forests of ages rest upon it. These are to be cleared away—the soil prepared, and the seed to be sown. This demands an amount of labor and money which none have been able to command. Enough however has been accomplished to cherish the hope, that, at no distant day, the colony will be able to offer these productions in return for productions of other countries, and the earlier the attention of the natives be drawn to this subject, the sooner this hope will be realized. Sugar making is now in successful operation at the Society's farm on the Stockton. The article produced this year is of a superior quality, equal to any of the West India, that we have seen. Admitting, however, that we have exported no coffee, nor cotton, nor sugar, we shall hardly be branded as peculiarly worthless, seeing the same may be written of so many other colonies on the coast settled long anterior to this, and favored with advantages which we have never possessed.

Great efforts we learn are being made by traders at the leeward, to prejudice the natives against the colonists; in some instances, they have so far succeeded, that the natives have declared they wish no communication with us. Should they incite them to aggression on the persons and property of the colonists, which is evidently their aim, the consequence may be disastrous to the property of the movers of the mischief. It should be borne in mind that the natives know no friends in a time of war. The property of all is alike booty.

In the present number, our readers will find the diplomatic correspondence between the government of Great Britain and the United States, relative to the character and jurisdiction of this colony. Although the colony is deeply interested in this discussion, and will be immensely affected for good or evil in which ever way the question shall be decided, yet we are happy that it is now brought before the world, as no time can be more proper for it, than the present. In discussing this matter, it would seem important to attend to its peculiar features, lest in viewing the subject in the light in which similar questions, when agitated between nations, are regarded, an error fatal to us be made. The question is not whether a community already possessing sufficient territory for a "healthful existence," shall be allowed to extend the line of its boundary—nor whether a country moved only by a greedy ambition, shall grasp a point where it can effect no object of general good to the human family, and which the equal interest of all requires to be maintained free and unappropriated, but whether this colony planted by Christian philanthropy, with the highest and holiest

of purposes, shall be allowed any longer to have an existence. The question involves nothing less than the existence of the colony. If it be restricted to its original limits, all its former efforts will have been in vain. It must languish and drop a helpless abortion. Nor will it be of avail to extend its purchases along the coast, if within this line, there be intervening communities independent of its control, seeing the most salutary regulations—those which its very existence may require to be enforced, may, through these exempted points, be sadly weakened, and set at naught.

In whatever light the question is viewed, it teems with interest to us, and as its decision must be pronounced at some time, the present *seems as good as any other*. Our fate depends upon it; but if we should be driven hence, where shall we go? As it is in the power of neither our hand nor tongue to plead for us, may we not trust to our former circumstances and our present helplessness, to afford argument?

Now that the question is agitated, would it be improper for us to send a deputation to Europe and America, to ask a recognition of the colony? We are not aware of all the qualifications that entitle a people to such consideration. If regard be had to power, in the ordinary acceptation of the term—or to population and territorial extent, of course we have no claim. But if (and it seems more consonant with certain fundamental principles,) regard is had to the amount of good to be effected—to the aggregate amount of evil and wretchedness to be prevented, then we may be permitted to plead. We throw out this by way of suggestion, in order to engage the attention of some of our more sapient friends.

Colonization and Missions.

"A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN WESTERN AFRICA, AS FORMED BY PAGANISM AND MUHAMMEDANISM, SLAVERY, THE SLAVE TRADE AND PIRACY, AND OF THE REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS."

Such is the title of a pamphlet written by the Rev. Joseph Tracy, Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, and published by the board of managers of that society. The author, first, shows by an appeal to history, the inexpressibly wretched condition of Africa, under the horrid influences which prevailed over it, until its rescue was attempted through missionary labors. Whilst contemplating this part of the history of that unhappy country, it is as though we looked upon a land, on which, in rapid succession, were pouring the seven Apocalyptic vials of wrath. Poor Africa! It was not enough that the unbroken darkness, and uncontrolled depravity, and degrading superstition of Paganism, should ravage all that might have been fair in her moral aspect, and overwhelm her in wickedness and misery; but Muhammedanism must add its delusions and cruelties, and slavery its chains and oppressions, and the slave trade and piracy their rapines and murders. The representation which the historian gives of the state of Africa is inconceivably dreadful. Curses seem to have fallen on her sons, darker far than their

own sable complexion. The millions of her population are presented before us, sunk to the very lowest state of ignorance and iniquity, tormenting, killing, enslaving each other, and enduring similar evils from almost all the nations of the earth.

Found in such a deplorable condition, the author next informs us that Christian missions were employed for their deliverance. He gives us an account of all that was done of this kind; but the whole is a history of successive and total failures. No doubt, here, as elsewhere, missions have in them elements of power sufficient to accomplish their end, but here that inherent power could not develop itself. The missionaries were speedily and universally driven from the land, either by the fatality of the climate, or the wickedness of the inhabitants. Hence, all efforts of this kind were fruitless, and had to be abandoned.

After the account of the failure of missions, the author tells us of the trial of the scheme of colonization, and its effects so far as yet produced. Through its simple instrumentality, though yet but feebly used, we are told that all the peculiar forms of evil under which Africa was perishing, have been successfully combated; and all that good which she needs for her salvation introduced. Superstition and slavery, and the slave trade and piracy, have been banished wherever the system of colonization

has operated, and civilization and its attendant benefits have been substituted, and Christian missions being protected, Christianity has shown its power to save. All this is *history*. Theory, so often delusive, is laid aside, while the whole appeal is made to facts, "stubborn facts."

The perusal of this pamphlet will afford both pleasure and confidence to the friends of colonization, and must stimulate, one would suppose, those who have hitherto been indifferent to this great subject, and stop the mouths of gainsayers. The argument in favor of African colonization, deducible from the facts collected and spread out before us, is incontestible. Three truths seem to be established, upon which the argument may be firmly based. They are the following:

First, The colonization of Africa by people of color is the only apparent means of her salvation.

Second, As an *experiment*, having this end in view, colonization has succeeded.

Third, It may, therefore, be relied on, under God, to accomplish fully this end.

In regard to the first truth, it becomes manifest from the failure of missions when tried alone. These could not succeed, because the climate is fatal to the white race, and because the inhabitants would either kill or expel the missionaries. In such a case, the country becomes inaccessible except to persons of the colored race, (who can, as is well

known, endure the climate,) and in such a number as to afford to themselves a protection against the inhabitants—that is, inaccessible except to a *colony of colored persons*. In such a colony, therefore, must remain the only hope of benefiting Africa. The angel of death meets the *white man* on the shores of Africa, and Providence thus seems to have forbidden *his* intrusion there, even for good and holy purposes. And the *colored man*, if in safety *he* would abide there, must not go single-handed and unprotected. Slavery, or death by violence, in such a case would be his doom. As in the natural wastes of Arabia's desert, the traveller who would live may not face the dangers of a pilgrimage alone, but must join the caravan; so in the more dreadful moral wastes of Africa's shores, may not even the black man venture to be found, but as one of a protecting colony. Hence, while other lands may be approached and blessed by other methods, the only hope for Africa appears to be in colonization by persons of color. This is the only star of promise which appears to kindle its light on her dark horizon. It is the only apparent means of her salvation.

We rejoice, therefore, that the second truth finds such strong confirmation in the pages of Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, viz: That as an *experiment*, having the salvation of Africa in view, colonization has succeeded. The facts which are narrated, prove that colonies can be, and have been

established in Africa, and that wherever they are established, they meet and overcome all the peculiar evils under which the African race are suffering such horrid things, and they introduce every means which need be employed for its salvation. The experiment has been tried, and has succeeded. Slavery, and the slave trade, and piracy, have ceased wherever the influence of a colony has been felt; and laws and civilization have been introduced; and missions are protected, and thus Christianity exerts its blessed power. As in the land of Egypt, of old, darkness and the plagues desolated all its borders, save only where Israel dwelt, and there was light and mercy; so moral darkness and plagues curse all Africa's coast, save only where the colonist abides, and there blessings abound. No candid person, we are persuaded, can compare the state of the colonies and their immediate neighborhood, with that of the rest of Africa, and not be convinced that colonization has proven a successful experiment wherever, and to whatever extent it has been employed.

Hence, we consider, also, the third truth which we have mentioned as brought to light and established by Mr. Tracy, viz: That colonization may be relied on, under God, to accomplish the whole work of Africa's salvation. When we speak of colonization, it is meant of course to include, also, all other instrumentalities and influences which it originates or protects, or sends forth. Thus it

gives origin to Christian education and missions where they could not otherwise exist, and to many other beneficial influences; and for this reason, they may all be viewed as elements of power embraced in the work of colonization. So understood, we may rely upon this work, under God, to save Africa.

But here the objection may be made, that, although colonization has done much, yet it has effected but a very small part of the whole, and, hence, even admitting that all that is stated is true, yet it is presumptuous to look to it to accomplish all. It has recovered some moral waste spots, but shall the *whole* wilderness and every solitary place be glad for it, and *all* the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose? It has blessed some individuals, or even tribes, but can it bring forth the *whole race* with salvation; shall *all* by it "obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing flee away?" It is a different thing to save a small district with its inhabitants, and to rescue a whole continent with its teeming millions. All this is true, but it does not overthrow what has been said. It requires the same instrumentality, only increased in power, which commenced the work of Africa's redemption, to complete that noble work.

Now, as colonization has commenced it, why may it not be made to complete it? And, besides, it is not the time, *now*, to say what it cannot do. A mere experiment has been made, a feeble one too, as yet, and it

has proven amply successful. Who *now* shall say what power may appear in this simple means, as more wisdom shall be gained through experience in employing it, and more strength through the enlargement of the field of its operation. It is generally a mark of folly, as all history shows, to say to what end a small beginning may not reach, or to what a feeble, but successful experiment, may lead. Sometimes in the arm of the weakest infant there are the beginnings of a giant's strength, yet to be developed, and he is silly who judges of its power by present appearances. Sometimes in an instrumentality for good or evil, which is but just budding forth its strength, there sleep the seeds which shall germinate to an inconceivable extent.

For illustration, let us suppose a case, which may have occurred. Suppose an incredulous spectator, standing on the banks of the Hudson, watching the first steamer which ever disturbed her waters, should strain his vision after it, as it slowly struggled against the wind and waves. He might be convinced that the experiment was triumphant, and yet he would hardly believe that it would lead to the wonderful results of which we know. On a smooth current, and for a short distance, he might believe the steamboat could "drag its slow length along," but he would ridicule the idea that it would in future days overcome all obstacles, dash aside the Atlantic billows, cross every ocean, and, leaving the white sail far in the

wake, would almost outstrip the wind itself in speed. Yet such have been the wonders performed by that which at first could scarcely toil along through its tedious voyage. Like the spectator on the banks of the Hudson, beholding the boat, we look upon colonization. It is being tried, it is succeeding, it has triumphed through toil and difficulty. The experiment is complete, and now who shall say what may not yet be the results? Let errors be corrected when discovered, and increased power be used, and who may say that Africa shall not be saved through colonization? Is it visionary to expect this? Is it not rational to anticipate this glorious result? We cannot but persuade ourselves that every unprejudiced mind must perceive that it is, and every benevolent heart must rejoice for the brightening prospects which colonization (and it only) opens for a lost continent. At least we may rely upon it, under God; to accomplish the whole work so far, that we may confidently give to it all the support which it needs to render it as powerful as it can possibly be made. It will be time to doubt its efficiency, only when we see it begin to fail. But that, perchance, may not be until "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands" in the joy of deliverance and salvation.

And, now, is it too much to say, that, from the facts recorded in Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, an incontestible argument is deducible in favor of African colonization? It will be perceived, also, the argument is one

which cannot be touched by the objections which are sometimes made against colonization, that its bearing upon slavery in this country is bad. Even admitting this to be so, still shall we blot out the only hope of Africa, and delay the redemption of her miserable sons lest some *incidental* evils may be occasioned to a portion of her exiles in this country? No, we fearlessly meet the objecting abolitionist on this ground, and, ceasing to combat his opinions, we ask him to aid us in saving the millions of the race he loves so much, who are perishing in their own land. We shall ask his aid, too, even if (as he may say, though we believe it not,) the slave holder may take occasion through our good and benevolent work to tighten somewhat the chains of his slave. In one word, we think that Mr. Tracy's history places colonization in one single light, that is, as it influences Africa, in which none but a dark and prejudiced mind, or a malicious heart can perceive it, to be aught else than one of the *noblest and most benevolent works of the present or perhaps any century.*

We, therefore, ask each of our readers to procure the pamphlet for himself, if possible, and read, and weigh its facts, and then to give to this noble work all the co-operation which such facts call for. But, lest any may not be able to get the pamphlet, it is intended to publish part or the whole of it in successive numbers of the Repository. We earnestly invite attention on the part of our readers to

it, as it may appear in our columns, and we appeal through this publication to each and every one of them who claims the name of Christian, or philanthropist, or lover of the African race, to come to our aid with renewed vigor and diligence and enlarged beneficence, that we may together seek the salvation of the most wretched and degraded portion of our earth—the deliverance of a ruined continent—the salvation of Africa.

PART I.

The question stated.—Proceedings of Missionary Boards and Colonial Governments.—Charges against the Government of American Colonies at an end.—Charges against the Moral Influence of the Colonists as Individuals, and mode of meeting them.

“If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast and unnumbered tribes yet obscure in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity, and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions to the holy charities; the sublime morality and humanizing discipline of the gospel, the nation or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race, unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence.”

Such was the language addressed by the American Colonization Society to the Congress of the United States, in a memorial presented two weeks after the formation of the Society. To the hope which these

words express, we are indebted for a large and valuable part of countenance and aid which we have received. For some years past, however, this hope has been pronounced a delusion. Men who strenuously contend that the colored people of this country are fit for social equality and intercourse with our white population, assert, not very consistently, that when settled in Africa, they corrupt the morals of the idolatrous natives, and actually impede the progress of civilization and Christianity.

These assertions have had the greater influence, because they have been thought to be corroborated by the representations of American missionaries, laboring for the conversion of the heathen in and around the colonial possessions. These missionaries, it is said, represent the colonies, or the colonists, or something connected with colonization, as serious obstacles to the success of their labors. In this way, some of our former friends have been led to disbelieve, and still greater numbers to doubt, the utility of our labors. The interests of the Society, therefore, and of the colony, and of Africa, and of Christianity, demand an investigation of the subject.

It would be easier to meet these charges, if we could ascertain exactly what they are. But this has hitherto proved impracticable. Common fame has reported, that the missionaries of the American, the Presbyterian, and the Protestant Episcopal Boards at Cape Palmas, united,

some time in 1842, in joint representation of their respective Boards, containing serious charges of the nature above mentioned.* It was reported, also, that this document was confidential; and that, for this reason, and especially as three Boards and their missionaries were interested in it, no one Board had a right to divulge its contents. As this was said to be the principal document on the subject, and to contain the substance of all the rest, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at an early date, applied to the Secretaries of those three Boards for a copy, or at least for a perusal of it; but the request was not granted. We do not charge this refusal upon the Secretaries as a fault, or even as a mistake. We only mention it as the occasion of a serious inconvenience to us. It has also been reported, that about the same time, a certain pastor received a letter from one of those missionaries, which was confidential in this sense—that it might be circulated from hand to hand, and used in various ways to our prejudice, but must not be printed nor copied. This report of its character, of course, precluded any application for a copy.

Now, how can any man answer a report, that some or all of several very respectable persons three thousand miles off, have said something to his disadvantage? A man may be seriously injured by such a report; but in ordinary cases, he must bear the injury as best he may, and “live down” its influence if he can. In order to reply, he needs to know

* Some have received the erroneous impression, that all the American missionaries in Liberia united in this representation. In fact, no missionary in any part of Liberia proper,—that is, none in any place under the care of the American Colonization Society,—had any concern in it, or any knowledge of it. The nearest station occupied by any of its reputed signers, was ninety miles beyond the southernmost set-

tlement of Liberia proper. Some of them had spent a few days at Monrovia as visitors; but for their knowledge of any settlement except Cape Palmas, they were almost wholly dependent on hearsay. Their representations concerning the other settlements, if they made any, are therefore of little value, and no official action has been founded on them.

authentically who his accusers are, and what things they testify against him.

Let us see, however, whether industry and a good cause may not extricate us, even from a difficulty like this. We may learn something of the grounds of complaint, from the proceedings of the Boards of Missions; and we may learn from common fame, what common fame has led people to suspect. From all that we have heard, the complaints appear to be of two classes; those which relate to the action of the colonial governments, and those which relate to the influence of the colonists as individuals. We will consider them in their order.

Several years since, there was a controversy between the colonial government of Liberia and the superintendent of the Methodist Mission there, growing out of a dispute concerning duties on goods, imported by the superintendent for the purpose of trade. But that whole matter was soon settled. Another superintendent was sent out; and since his death, the first has gone back, with express instructions to avoid his former errors. It is not known that the government of Liberia has ever had any other collision with any missionary, or missionary society.

It appears from the report of the American Board for 1842, that the missionaries complained, and, as the Board thought, with reason, of several laws of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, where the mission was located. It has been understood, that the other Boards which had missions there, entertained substantially the same views of those laws.

To this it is a sufficient reply, that we have nothing to do with Cape Palmas. The colony there is a distinct colony, with a government of its own. It was planted, and is sustained, by the Maryland Colonization

Society, which is not a branch of the American, nor auxiliary to it, nor any way connected with it or under its influence. To bring a charge against our colony on account of the laws of Cape Palmas, is as unjust as it would be to blame the government of England for the laws of France. But this difficulty, too, has been settled. A few words will explain its origin and its termination. It was from the beginning, the policy of that colony, as of ours, not to exterminate or expel the natives, but to amalgamate them and the colonists into one people. The missions at Cape Palmas, however, were commenced as missions to the heathen natives, and not to the colonists. They therefore had a tendency to raise up a native interest, distinct from that of the colonists; to keep the two classes separate, and make them rivals to each other, instead of uniting them as one people. In this respect, the policy of the missions was in direct conflict with that of the colony; and this was the true source of the conflict of opinion and feeling. The case may be better understood, by viewing it in contrast with the Methodist mission in Liberia. That mission is not sent to the heathen exclusively, but to all the inhabitants of the territory on which they labor. Of course, all who come under its influence, colonist or natives, are drawn to the same religious meetings; all are gathered into the same churches; or, if children, brought into the same schools. The whole influence of the mission goes to make natives and colonists one people, and thus coincides with the policy of the colony. The contrary policy at Cape Palmas naturally led to alienation of feeling, and to acts of both the government and the missionaries, which were mutually unpleasant, and some of which appear to have been unjustifiable. The mission of the American Board

was removed, for this and other reasons, to the Gaboon river; and that of the Presbyterian Board to Settra Kroo, in Liberia proper. That of the Episcopal Board was continued and strengthened, and has made peace by avoiding the original cause of dissension. The report of that board for the year 1844, says:—"The relations between the colonists and the missionaries at Cape Palmas during the past year appear to have been of a friendly character; and as the desire of the latter to promote, so far as in them lies, the moral and religious interests of the colonists, becomes more and more apparent, it is believed that no obstacles to the beneficial influence of the mission will be interposed." This is a very explicit statement, not only of the fact, that in the judgment of the Episcopal Board, no such "obstacles" *now* exist, or are expected to exist hereafter, but of the change which has led to their removal.

At present, therefore, the government of Cape Palmas, as well as that of Liberia, stands unaccused and unsuspected of any hostile bearing upon the cause of missions.

The charge against the influence of individual colonists is less easily ascertained, and therefore less easily met; but by a somewhat diligent inquiry, we believe that we know, very nearly, the substance of it. According to our best information, it is not denied that a larger proportion of the colonists are communicants in Protestant churches, than in almost any other community in the world; nor is it pretended that Sabbath-breaking, profaneness, or intemperance are very prevalent. It is said, however, that most of their religion is mere animal excitement; that many of the communicants are self-deceived, or hypocrites; that cases of church discipline for immorality are numerous; that many of the colo-

nists are lazy and improvident; that some make hard bargains with the natives; that many of them feel no interest in the conversion or improvement of the native population; that they neglect the instruction of hired laborers from native families; that, by the practice of various immoralities, they bring reproach upon Christianity; and finally, that their children are more difficult to manage in school, than the children of the natives.

Now, to a certain extent, all this is doubtless true. The world never saw, and probably never will see, a Christian community so pure, that such complaints against it would be wholly false. That professors of religion hinder the conversion of sinners, by not living as they ought, is a standing topic of remark at prayer meetings, all over New England; and who doubts that, in a certain sense, there is some truth in it? Much more may we expect it to be true among a people whose opportunities for improvement have been no better than the Liberians have enjoyed. We readily concede, that these complaints have too much foundation in facts.

But who, that understands Africa, would, on this account, pronounce the colony a hindrance to the progress of Christian piety, morality and civilization? It cannot be, that those who make such objections, or those who yield to them, know what that part of the world was, before the influence of the colony was felt there. Let that be once understood, and the thought that a colony of free colored people from this country *could* demoralize the natives, or render the work of missions among them more difficult, will be effectually banished. Let us inquire, then, what Western Africa was, when first known to Europeans; what influences have since been operating there; what effects

those influences are known to have produced; what was the character of the country when the colony was first planted; and what changes have resulted from its existence.

In pursuing this inquiry, we must gather our facts from the whole coast of Upper Guinea, extending from the mouth of the Senegal to the Bight of Benin; for, with partial exceptions among the Muhammedan tribes near the Senegal, the people are substantially one; the same in their physi-

cal character, their government, their social condition, their superstitions, manners, and morals; and the same influences have been at work among them all. In the middle portion, extending from Sierra Leone to Elmina, and including Liberia, this identity of original character and modifying influence is most complete, and illustrations taken from any part of it, are commonly applicable to the whole. The correctness of these remarks will be more manifest as we proceed.

(To be continued.)

[From the Newark Daily Advertiser.]

Seventh Annual Meeting of the New Jersey State Colonization Society.

TRENTON, Nov. 18th, 1844.

On Tuesday evening last, (the 12th,) the seventh annual meeting of the N. J. State Colonization Society, was held in this place at the Town Hall. Chief Justice Hornblower, the President of the society, took the chair, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Hall, of Trenton, Joseph P. Bradley was appointed secretary *pro tem*. The minutes of the last meeting being disposed of, the President called on the board of managers for their report, which was presented and read.

[The report will be given hereafter.]

On motion of Wm. Halsted, Esq., seconded by Rev. Mr. Young, of Trenton, it was resolved that the report be adopted and published under the direction of the executive committee.

Mr. Halsted followed his motion by an eloquent and happy address, adverting to the important step which had been taken, since the last meeting of the society, by Great Britain and the United States in the provision of the treaty of Washington, for the suppression of the slave trade. It is the glory and pride of Great Britain to have achieved for herself a name

in the cause of liberty and emancipation which will alone place her in the front rank of civilized nations. The cross of St. George is already hailed by the slave as the harbinger of freedom throughout the world. This should cause the blush of shame to mantle on our cheeks as long as the American stars and stripes are permitted to wave over the accursed decks of the slave ship. In six months, 36 vessels, under American colors, have been brought into Rio Janeiro, with average cargoes of 500 slaves each, making in all 18,000. Treaties and conventions cannot destroy the slave trade. The only way of doing it effectually is by colonizing the African shores with enlightened, Christian men. This is the object of the society now assembled.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Hall, accompanied by some introductory remarks, seconded by Rev. Samuel Cornelius, it was resolved that this society recognizes the importance of adding to the territory of Liberia the entire line of coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, and cordially approves the project of purchasing all the territory between these two points, and not as yet under the jurisdiction of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. J. P. Bradley, of Newark, remarked that the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas was 300 miles in extent, of which the Society owned only about 170 miles, and this in detached spots: that the residue of the coast was open to the slave dealer, and the general trader, free of any custom-house law, much to the prejudice of the pecuniary as well as moral interests of the colony: and that it was highly desirable that the colony should have the right of jurisdiction and property over the entire coast: that this right could now be purchased at a reasonable rate; and that contracts had already been made with the chiefs by Gov. Roberts for a good part of it. The Society now wanted funds to defray the cost of these purchases in addition to the other objects of its institution.

Rev. Wm. McLain, of Washington, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, being present, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the objects of the American Colonization Society are among the noblest objects of human benevolence, and that they combine the best efforts for promoting the cause of missions, the cause of the Bible and Sunday schools, and the cause of liberal institutions on the benighted continent of Africa; and that we are, therefore, earnestly called upon to redouble our efforts to advance its interests.

Mr. McLain reviewed the progress of truth and the downfall of error and superstition throughout the earth. Light had pierced the gloom of every land and continent except Africa. The wrongs of Africa at the hand of all other lands, were set forth in strong and vivid coloring. The breaking forth of light from the lone star of Liberia was hailed as the harbinger of a glorious day. Mr. McL. reviewed the labors of the American Colonization Society.

Liberia will compare well with any Protestant mission of modern times considering the expense of the establishment and the success which has attended it. As a colony it may compare advantageously with any of the American colonies, Plymouth, Jamestown, &c., both in the salubrity of its climate, and in the vigor of its institutions.

Mr. McLain's remarks applied only to the colony of Liberia, not to that of Cape Palmas, which is under the jurisdiction of the Maryland colonization society. We cannot even present a sketch of his interesting address. The resolution submitted by him having been adopted, the society further, on motion of Mr. J. P. Bradley, passed resolutions approving the appointment of an agent by the executive committee since the last meeting, authorizing the continuance thereof if deemed expedient by the committee, and such other arrangements to promote the cause as circumstances might require.

It was further

Resolved, That the society is highly gratified with the success which has attended the efforts of the Rev. Samuel Cornelius, as agent of this society, and that they repose full confidence in his zeal and efficiency in its cause, and commend him to the confidence and friendly regards of the people of New Jersey.

The executive committee have engaged Mr. Cornelius's services for half the time, being all that his engagements in Connecticut will permit.

The following were elected officers of the society for the ensuing year:

PRESIDENT—Joseph C. Hornblower.

VICE PRESIDENTS—(One for each county)—Peter D. Vroom, William Rankin, Lewis Condict, James B. Elmendorf, Roswell L. Colt, Daniel Haines, Dudley S. Gregory, John B.

Aycrigg, George S. Green, Alexander Wurts, Abraham Browning, Joseph Porter, Thomas G. Haight, Lucius Q. C. Elmer, Robert G. Johnson, Elias B. Caldwell, Jacob J. Janeway, Thomas H. Hughes.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—J. P. Jackson.

RECORDING SECRETARY—Joseph P. Bradley.

TREASURER—Matthias W. Day.

MANAGERS—Archibald Alexander, Robert F. Stockton, Wm. Pennington, Cortland Van Rensselaer, Stacy G. Potts, William Halsted, William L. Dayton, John Maclean, James S. Green, William B. Kinney, David Magie, John J. Bryant, Nicholas Murray, Ab. H. Dumont, James Newel, William B. Ewing, Matthew H. Henderson, Richard S. Field, George W. Janvier, Samuel R. Hamilton, Samuel Cornelius, Clarence W. Mulford, Professor Cook,

James Hague, Jr., Thomas J. Stryker, Henry W. Green, William C. Morris, Jeremiah C. Garthwaite, Isaac Baldwin, John Tyler.

The Board of Managers appointed Wm. Rankin, Isaac Baldwin, John P. Jackson, Joseph P. Bradley, and Matthias W. Day, the executive committee; and the society elected Jacob J. Janeway and George W. Doane, Directors of the American Colonization Society for the year; and John Maclean and Abraham H. Dumont substitutes, in case either of the former should not be able to attend the annual meeting of the board at Washington on the third Tuesday of January next.

The society then adjourned.

JOS. C. HORNBLOWER,

President.

JOS. P. BRADLEY,

Secretary.

Items of Intelligence.

INTELLIGENCE has been received from Liberia to the 1st of October. We however have not received letters of that late a date. We learn from the papers that the colony continued in a prosperous condition, and everything indicated a continuance of prosperity. The commerce along the coast was reviving. Goods were plenty. The Adairo, Madonna, and Echo had arrived from the United States. The brig Atalanta was expected to sail for New York about the middle of October. By this vessel we shall hope to receive despatches.

THE little state of New Jersey has done nobly for colonization the past year, having contributed to the great cause upwards of twelve hundred

dollars. It is said that but a very few towns have been visited. That the cause is popular in all parts of the state, and that if the agent can explore the whole ground the present year, a much larger sum will be contributed.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the American Colonization Society will be held in the Capitol on the 21st inst., being the third Tuesday of the month, at which time some of the most distinguished members of congress and gentlemen from abroad, will deliver addresses in support of the cause. The meeting is expected to be one of unusual interest, from the efforts which are making to secure the very best speakers for the occasion.

The Board of Directors will meet

the same day, and continue in session from day to day till they shall have accomplished all the business which comes before them.

THE \$15,000 subscription for the purchase of territory, we earnestly hope will be completed. A gentleman writing us from Worcester, Mass., says, "It is mentioned on the cover of the African Repository of November, that a gentleman in New York will be one of 15 who will give one thousand dollars, each, towards completing the purchase of the coast of Africa for the Colonization Society. Feeling an ardent desire for the accomplishment of that object, I forward to you the names of——and ——(sisters,) who will give \$1,000, and my own name for \$1,000 more, and when \$15,000, or even three quarters of that sum, has been subscribed by responsible persons, you will please to inform me of the fact, and I will forward you a draft for \$2,000 on the Worcester Bank in this place."

WE learn that the Rev. Mr. Griswold, missionary at the Gaboon is dead. Thus is another added to the long list of those who have laid down their lives endeavoring to plant the standard of the cross on the shores of Africa. And thus is another argument added to the invincible ones already existing in favor of educating colored men to send to endure the climate of Africa! Verily this seems the only hope of enlarged and permanent success.

THE PRESBYTERIAN, of Philadelphia, after mentioning the death of Mr. Griswold, missionary under the American Board, who was stationed at the Gaboon River, western Africa, says: "The faith of the church is tried by the frequent instances of mortality among the missionaries to poor, degraded Africa. Perhaps the indication of Providence is that the church should direct special attention to the raising up a band of colored missionaries to occupy these vacated fields."

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From 22d October, to the 31st December, 1844.

MAINE.		
Portland—Jona. Hyde, Esq.....	50 00	
NEW HAMPSHIRE.		
Concord—The Female Liberia School Association, for aid of schools, \$14, per Lydia Morrill, Tr	14 00	
VERMONT.		
St. Johnsbury—Erastus Fairbanks, \$10, J. P. Fairbanks, \$10, and Thaddeus Fairbanks, (with \$10 additional) \$10, annual subscriptions, Horace Fairbanks, \$5, Ephraim Jewett, \$2, Samuel G. Brackett, \$2, Hiram Knapp, \$1 50, James K. Colley, \$1, Moses Kittridge, \$5, Dr. Calvin Jewett, \$2, Rev. John H. Worcester, \$3, Luther Clark, \$5, and Dr. Josiah Shedd, of Peacham, annual subscription, \$10, per J. P. Fairbanks, Esq. Westminster—Rev. Seth Arnold, Seth Arnold, Eleazer May, and Wm. C. Bradley, each \$5.....		76 50 20 00
Montpelier—By Daniel Baldwin, Esq., jr., Vt. Col. Society, C. W. Stores, J. Y. Vail, J. I. Thurston, Jas. Howes, and Henry Nutt, each \$1, Daniel Baldwin, last instalment on \$50 subscription, \$12 50.....		17 50
Brookfield—Cong'l Society.....		27 50
Brattleboro'—Sam. Clark.....		4 00
Burlington—Rev. J. K. Converse, \$3, Chas. Adams, A. W. Hyde,		

and Tim. Talcott, each \$1....	6 00
Addison—Sylvanus Chapin.....	1 00
Middlebury—O. Seymor.....	1 00
Royalton—A. French.....	10 00
Craftsbury—Sam. C. Crafts.....	1 00
Barnett—Henry Slever.....	1 00
Brookfield—J. Carlton, E. Ellis, J. W. Hopkins, R. Peck and L. Wheatley, each \$2, A. Edson, and John Wheatley, each \$5, Wid. Polly Paine, J. Griswold, J. Edson, S. Edson, and D. Bigelow, each \$1, L. Pope, S. Graves, J. S. Allen, A. Burn- ham, and W. W. Ingalls, each 50 cts., Wid. E. B. Lyman, 25 cts.....	27 75
Burlington—Mrs. E. Hickok, to complete her life membership..	10 00
	203 25

MASSACHUSETTS.

From Mass. Aux. Col. Society...	53 25
Concord—Hon. Samuel Hoar....	100 00
	635 25

CONNECTICUT.

Wethersfield—Chester Bulkley, \$25, Simon Hale, William Wil- lard, W. H. Willard, Dr. E. F. Cook, Nancy Stillman, H. Griswold, Sally Deming, Capt. John Hanmer, Josiah Robins, Mrs. H. Walcot and Daughter, Robert Robbins, A. Wills, R. Wills, Sarah Dix, R. C. Church- hill, C. Robbins, Gen. L. R. Wills, and William Hanmer, each \$1, Ann Marsh, Sam. Hanmer, Capt. H. Wills, Horace Walcot, Dea. J. Goodrich, Dea. T. Stillman, and Winthrop Buck, each \$2, Roswell Clap, 50 cts., F. Talcot, 25 cts., Wid. Morse, 50 cts., Harriet Wood- house, 50 cts., M. A. Salls, 50 cts., D. Skaats, 25 cts., C. Adams, 50 cts., A. Golpin, 25 cts., J. Smith, 50 cts., T. Ha- vins, 50 cts., Mary Crane, 28 cts., a little boy, 6 cts., H. Blinn, 50 cts., E. Walcot, 50 cts., George Wills, 50 cts., Da- vis Morris, 50 cts., F. Griswold, 50 cts., T. Wills, 25 cts., S. Golpin, 50 cts., O. Harrison, 50 cts., Mrs. C. Clapp, 50 cts., Capt. J. Standish, 50 cts., S. Goodrich, 50 cts., H. Butler, \$3, H. Ferre, 50 cts., H. Wood- house, 50 cts., a friend, \$2, cash, 12 1/2 cts.....	71 96
Norwich—Henry Strong, Esq....	10 00
	81 96

NEW YORK.

New York City—H. L. W.,.....	20 00
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Ovid—Collection in Pres. Church.	11 78
Champion—Mrs. N. Hubbard, to aid in the purchase of territory.	5 00
	36 78

NEW JERSEY.

Newark—Smith Halsey, \$5, Dr. L. A. Smith, two annual pay- ments, \$20. By Rev. S. Corne- lius, John Chadwick, \$40, John Taylor, Hugh McDougal, Peter Sythoff, and Albert Annin, each \$5, C. Parker, E. T. Hillyer, W. A. Myer, each \$2, S. Bald- win, S. R. W. Heath, J. D. Vermilye, R. B. Canfield, Ste- phen Dod, J. Y. Miller, D. L. English, T. A. Waldron, Joseph Duryee, Thomas Kirkpatrick, Benj. Stiles, F. T. Frelinghuy- sen, Oliver S. Halsted, and Franklin Holden, each \$1, Thos. Barradett, and Wm. Hall, each 50 cts.....	106 00
Elizabethtown—Chas. Davis, M. D., \$10, Job Magee, and Jas. Earl, each \$2.....	14 00
Salem—Stoughton & Belden, \$6, John Tyler, \$3, cash \$3.....	12 00
Burlington—Bishop Doane, \$10, Mrs. Mahlon Clark, \$3, Mrs. Maylin, \$2, cash \$1.....	16 00
Princeton—Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., (his 4th annual subscrip- tion,) Capt. R. F. Stockton, and Jas. Potter, each \$10, Collec- tion in Pres. Church, \$18 55, Prof. John Maclean, Prof. Jas. Cannahan, A. B. Dod, Samuel Miller, D. D., Prof. Hodge, Rev. J. A. Alexander, Stephen Alex- ander, Cash, Thos. Crabb, Lou- is P. Smith, and Wm. L. Rod- gers, each \$5, J. V. Tallmage, \$3, J. W. Sterling, A. A. Hodge, Geo. M. Giger, A. M. H., and cash, each \$1.....	111 85
New Brunswick—Rev. J. J. Jane- way, D. D., \$20, Collection in 1st Reformed Dutch Church, \$11 73, Jas. Bishop, James Neilson, Wm. A. Crosby, and L. A. Van Vranken, each \$5, N. S. Neilson, Jas. J. Cannon, and Jas. Bishop, jr., each \$3, R. Davidson, John Clark, Mrs. Wm. Fannan, Mrs. Scott, J. M. Bruen, R. Miller, G. B. Millard, S. F. Miller, P. P. Rungon, Mr. Onderdonk, A. F. Ran- dolph, and Joseph Griggs, each \$1, cash, \$3, J. C. Hoagland, 50 cts.....	79 23
	839 80

PENNSYLVANIA.

Received of the Penn. State Col.	
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Society, per Rev. J. B. Pinney, of which \$1,000 to constitute the Rev. J. B. Pinney, a Life Director of the A. C. Society. 2,056 27			
VIRGINIA.			
<i>Tye River Mills</i> —Dr. Thos. Mas-			
sie.....	20 00		
<i>Wheeling</i> —From Ladies' Aux. So-			
ciet, received by Mr. Pinney, to aid in sending out Mr. Wil-			
son's slaves.....	50 00		
	70 00		
KENTUCKY.			
<i>Winchester</i> —Contribution from citizens of Clark co., \$100, do., \$10, Mrs. George Taylor, \$5, by the Rev. W. C. Matthews..	115 00		
<i>Henderson</i> —4th July collection in Epis. Church, by Rev. W. S. Jackson, rector.....	11 06		
<i>Danville</i> —M. G. Yance, \$20, John Ford, \$20, Sam. Ayres, \$5, Dr. Joseph Smith, \$5, Christian Gore, \$5, Capt. Jesse Smith, \$10, Ladies' Col. Society, \$3, J. S. Talbot and Mrs. Rachel Craig, each \$10, by J. A. Jacobs, Esq.....	78 00		
<i>Louisville</i> —Received by Rev. J. B. Pinney, to aid in sending out Mr. Wilson's slaves.....	120 77		
	324 83		
OHIO.			
<i>Zanesville and Putnam</i> —Aux. Col. Society, per H. Safford, Sec'y.	55 75		
<i>Euclid</i> —Mrs. Sarah Shaw, annual subscription.....	10 00		
<i>Cincinnati</i> —Hon. J. Burnet, annual subscription for 1845, \$100, Wm. Burnet, \$20, received by Mr. Pinney, to aid in sending out Mr. Wilson's people, \$132 34, Mr. McMicken, \$50.	302 34		
<i>Hartford</i> —Bequest of Jerusha P. Brockway, deceased, per Edward Brockway, Esq., ex'r.....	50 00		
<i>Troy</i> —William Babor, \$5, J. G. Telford, Rev. J. M. Stevenson, Jas. Cottingham, Isaac Peck, Asa Mayo, and Henry L. Mayo, each \$1, and from different persons, \$6 81, to purchase territory, Wm. Brown, J. Knoop, J. G. Telford, and D. Labin, each \$1, and several individuals, \$17, to remove emigrants.....	38 81		
<i>Bellfountain</i> —Rev. W. Gregg...	1 00		
<i>Xenia</i> —By Hezekiah L. Hosmer, agent, James Gowdy, \$10, Mrs. Martha Galloway, James C. McMillan, Daniel McMillan, and Rev. Hugh McMillan, each \$5, David Barr, Wm. J. Banks, each \$2, A. Trader, A. G. Beatly, J. C. Chalmers, Charles Elliott, John McMillan, Robert Nesbit, John Little, Rev. Geo. M. Hall, each \$1, James Galloway, D. W. Browne, N. Nesbit, Cash, Samuel Galloway, Richard Conwell, Cash, each 50 cts., Ed. McKnight, Rob't McMillan, James Munford, Henry McKnight, Sarah Neely, Caroline McClurg, Susan Oblinger, Cash, each 25 cts., Collection, \$2 75, to aid in purchasing territory...		50 25	
<i>Cedarville, Green co.</i> —Alex. S. Cowden, John Miller, each \$5, James Miller, J. C. Nesbit, each \$3, Wm. Harbison, John Orr, Joseph Kyle, Sr., Sam. Kyle, Sr., each \$2, James Small, Alex. Ruff, John McMillan, John R. Hemphill, Wm. Reid, John Stormant, James Holloway, Mrs. D. McMillan, James Bull, John Harbison, James Cooper, John Struthers, James E. Mitchell, John Reid, each \$1, John S. Pollock, Moses Pierce, Wm. H. Bull, Margaret Adams, F. W. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. M. Barr, Mrs. K. Torrence, Mrs. A. E. Mitchell, J. B. Turner, Innis Townsley, Robert Jackson, Rev. H. McMillan, J. C. McMillan, Martin Adams, each 50 cts., Jas. McCoy, 40 cts., John Jemison, Wm. Pollock, James Bull, each 25 cts., (\$5 85, not yet paid in,) amount less, \$5 85.....		42 00	
<i>Dayton</i> —H. G. Phillips, Mrs. H. G. Phillips, each \$10, J. D. Phillips, \$5, Sam. Rodebaugh, Cash, by Rev. Mrs. J. W. Hall, each \$1, W. G. Breene, F. S. Cain, each 50 cts., Mr. Thompson, \$1.....		29 00	
<i>Springfield</i> —Mrs. Ann Warder, John Murdock, Samuel Barnett, each \$5, W. M. Spencer, \$3, John B. Moody, \$1 50, Rev. Wm. Herr, Isaac Ward, Milton Buckingham, John Echelberger, John Bacon, E. L. Strong, J. G. Nottingham, Rev. Asa B. Stroud, David M. Barnett, Reuben Miller, each \$1.....		29 50	
		608 65	
ILLINOIS.			
<i>Mt. Morris</i> —Per Rev. J. B. Crist, \$4 20. <i>Galena</i> —P. F. Shermer, \$5. D. Wann, \$5, M. Jackson, \$1, A. Telford, A. S. Clet-ter, each 50 cts. <i>Du Buque</i> —\$4. <i>Plattsville</i> —\$5 95. <i>Rock Island</i> —\$1. <i>Knoxville</i> —\$1 25. <i>Canton</i> —\$3 50.....		31 91	
Total Contributions.....		\$4,454 70	

FOR REPOSITORY.

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4 50

\$4 50, Life Baldwin, for '44, \$1 50, Rev. J. Adams, for '44, \$1 50, John Field, do., \$1 50. *Brookline*—Thos. Briggs, Sam. Robinson, to Jan., 1846, each \$3. *Amesbury*—Rev. S. H. Merrill, to Jan., '45, \$3..... 149 50
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KENTUCKY.—Balance from J. H. Stevenson, \$1 93. *Danville*—J. A. Jacobs, to Jan., '45, \$3, Dr. J. Todd, to Jan., '44, \$1 50. 6 43
OHIO.—*Woodville*—Rev. G. Cronenwett, in full, \$1. *Lebanon*—Rev. Joseph J. Hill, Robert Sweeny, F. B. Howell, and Wm. Russell, each \$1 50, for 1845. *Morning Sun*—Wilson & McDill, for 1845, \$1 50..... 8 50

Total for Repository..... 272 43
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Aggregate Amount.....\$10,159 08

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY, AND COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY, 1845.

[No. 2.]

Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.

ANOTHER year in the history of colonization has passed away, and in commencing a review of its varied events, we are called upon to discharge the mournful duty of recording the death of some of its valued friends. The Honorable *Alexander Porter*, of Louisiana, the Honorable *Abel P. Upshur*, of Virginia, and *Colonel W. L. Stone*, of New York, three of the *Vice Presidents* of the Society, have ceased from their labors.

Judge Porter had long been known as a zealous advocate and liberal patron of the Society. Endowed with great natural abilities, a finished scholar, and a perfect gentleman, residing in the extreme south, his example and influence were of vast advantage to this cause.

Mr. Upshur, though more recently numbered among our active friends, was not less true in his devotion, nor energetic in his efforts. The noble and important part which he took in conducting the correspondence be-

tween the Executive of the United States and the British government, in behalf of Liberia, will long be remembered with gratitude to his memory. From his high station and commanding influence, and his great anxiety to see the colony flourish, and rise to greatness, we had reason to anticipate great good from his continued labors.

Of the general character and influence of Colonel Stone, it is not in our power adequately to speak. All, however, who have been familiar with the columns of the "Commercial Advertiser," know how continued and ardent was his attachment to this scheme of benevolence; how powerful were his appeals in its behalf; and how cutting were the rebukes, and convincing the arguments which he dealt out to those who were disposed to decry its pretensions, or oppose its progress. He had a large and benevolent heart, a vigorous and well-disciplined mind, and he was frank and fearless in the

avowal of his opinions. To the enlarged views of a philanthropist, he added the expansive benevolence and fervent hope of a Christian. The combination of all these noble traits of character, gave to his advocacy of this cause, a consideration and an influence which few men are so fortunate as to acquire. He considered it as pre-eminently a scheme of philanthropy, designed to carry civilization and establish Christianity in a land all lost and ruined, and irredeemable by any other process of benevolence. Hence, while he explained its principles, demonstrated its practicability, and enforced its importance, he drew from the great treasury of Christian love, motives broad and deep as the woes of man, and vast as eternity, to excite the careless and selfish to give it their support.

But he has been called, in the vigor of his intellect and the strength of his faculties, to a higher sphere! While we weep over his tomb, may we emulate his virtues and sacredly cherish the memory of his worth!

In addition to these, we have also to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the Honorable *Roger Minott Sherman*, President of the Connecticut state colonization society, who but recently departed this life. In him colonization has ever enjoyed a

warm and devoted friend, a ready and able counsellor and bountiful contributor. He was intimately and thoroughly acquainted with its origin, progress and achievements. Some of the purest and strongest feelings of his generous heart clustered around it, and he never ceased to cherish the firm belief that it would ultimately triumph over every towering obstacle, and accomplish the grand results which it contemplates. Among the last efforts of his pen, was a letter which he addressed to the Secretary, in regard to the best method to be adopted to secure the attention and command the patronage of all the churches and citizens of his own state, extracts from which appear in another part of this report. We cannot but deplore and deeply feel the loss of one whose influence and exertions were so eminently devoted to the interests of this institution. His name shall be honored among Africa's distinguished benefactors, and his benevolence be held in affectionate and perpetual remembrance.*

We have also to record the death of Dr. *Wesley Johnson*, who several years ago went to Bassa Cove, as colonial physician, under the direction of the New York and Pennsylvania colonization societies, while they maintained a separate organization. After residing in the colony for

*Since writing this report we have learned that he left by his will a bequest to this Society of \$4,000.

some time and making himself generally useful, his health failed him, and he returned to New York, his native state. He, however, had formed such an attachment for the colony, and felt such an ardent desire to make himself useful in promoting its welfare, that he again returned to it as superintendent of the high school on Factory Island, under the patronage of the Ladies' Liberia School Association of Philadelphia.

In their last annual report, the managers of that association thus speak of his usefulness, and their and Africa's loss in his death :

"We have also to mourn the loss of our excellent friend and helper, *Dr. Wesley Johnson*. In the death of this estimable Christian, we have lost an invaluable teacher, and Africa a devoted friend and martyr.

"The failure of his health, which necessarily suspended the high school of Liberia, about a year since, was to us a source of deep solicitude; still we trusted that his life might be spared many years. He returned to New York last May, in cheerful hope that his complicated disease was not incurable, that strength and time would still be granted him for further labors in the cause of human improvement.

"But, in the designs of an all-wise Providence, it was ordered otherwise. He lived but a few days after reaching the home of his childhood.

"To the piety, zeal and talents of *Dr. Johnson*, our society is mainly indebted for its success in founding the high school in Liberia. He watched with unceasing care over the erection of the building, organized the school, and proved by experience that its plan was practicable, and promised the best results.

"He had in the school about twenty-five scholars, who were received on condition of their paying 75 cents per week for their board, in labor, cash, lumber or provisions.

"*Dr. Johnson*, just before his death, observed, that he never regretted going to Liberia, for he hoped, in the erection of the

high school, *there* was one bright spot that would shed its influence far into the interior of Africa.

"Governor Roberts, during his late visit here, bore warm testimony to the estimate the colonists place on the school. He was very anxious to have it re opened as soon as possible, it being as he termed it 'the hope of the colony.'"^{*}

While we record these instances of mortality among the friends of the cause in this country, we are happy in being able to state that the past year has been one of unusual health among the citizens of Liberia. And it is now an admitted fact, that newly arrived emigrants suffer less in their acclimation, than the inhabitants of the northern sections of the United States do, on their removal to the extreme south or the far west, and that after a residence of a year in the colony, they will find the climate more congenial to their constitutions than that of America.

Immediately after the last annual meeting of the Society, the Executive Committee concerted measures for despatching an expedition from New Orleans. It being impossible for the Secretary to perform this duty in person, the services of *Wm. A. Bartlett & Brother* were secured, who attended to chartering a vessel, receiving and taking care of the emigrants, purchasing provisions and trade-goods, and doing every thing necessary in the premises, under full and explicit instructions from us. And it is due to them to say that they deserve great credit for their promptness, efficiency, and

^{*}The friends of the school will be glad to learn that another teacher has been obtained for the high school, *Ishmael Lock*, a colored man, well qualified for the station.

accuracy, and have inspired us with the fullest confidence in their honesty, industry, and business character.

The brig "LIME ROCK," chartered for this expedition, sailed from New Orleans for Monrovia and Sinou on the 10th of March. She had on board ninety-two emigrants, of whom seventy-two were sent out by Dr. Duncan and the Rev. Zebulon Butler, of Mississippi. Fourteen were from Flemingsburg, Ky., liberated by the will of the late Thos. Wallace; and six were free people of great respectability from the city of New Orleans. They were well supplied with provisions, and all the articles necessary for their comfort and happiness in the colony. A correspondent who visited the brig just before she sailed, wrote us as follows:

"I have this day visited the Lime Rock, as she lies at anchor in the river just below the city, in company with three clergymen, each of whom took part in some of the most interesting exercises I have had the pleasure of witnessing for some time past. The emigrants appeared very well, and seemed quite happy in anticipation of going."

The expense of sending out these ninety-two people amounted to \$5,394 80, viz: charter of the brig, \$3,500; provisions for the passage, and six months in the colony, \$1,588 82; water, fuel, berths, and other small items, \$305 98. This makes the expense for each emigrant \$58, and does not include house rent, medicine, medical attendance, nursing when sick, and other small expenses to be paid in the colony. We also sent in the vessel between sixteen

and seventeen hundred dollars worth of goods, to be expended in the purchase of territory, and carrying on the various improvements in the colony: making a total expenditure on account of this expedition of \$7,080 21.

The Lime Rock anchored at Monrovia on the 6th of May, after a passage of fifty-five days. Two of the emigrants died on the passage. Nineteen of them stopped at Monrovia, and the others went down to Sinou, and settled in the Mississippi colony, in the same neighborhood with those sent out a year before by Dr. Duncan and Mr. Butler. Gen. Lewis, of Monrovia, who accompanied these people to their new home, gives the following description of the appearance of the settlement, and of the meeting of the two companies of the same family:

"Yesterday I had the pleasure, in company with Dr. Lugenebel and Captain Auld, of the 'Lime Rock,' of visiting the settlement up the river, where the poor unfortunates of the 'Renown' were placed. I was more than pleased with the appearance of things there. It was truly a gratifying sight to see what improvements had been made in so short a time by a people who had nothing but their own industry to depend upon. Every man and woman in the settlement is living on their own lands, and nearly all their houses are built of timber. They are contented and happy, and would not, they say, exchange their homes under any consideration. They live in a free land—what more can they desire?"

"The moment the news of the 'Lime Rock's' anchoring reached the settlement, the people hurried down to congratulate and welcome their friends and relatives to their new home. The meeting was truly worth witnessing. They embraced and kissed each other, and could only say, 'Is it possible—thank God—did we ever expect to meet this side of the grave—the Lord is truly good and gracious.' They wept on each other's neck—they shed tears of joy and gladness—not a cloud in-

tervened to damp the ardor of their feelings ; it was truly a happy time, and my feelings flowed in unison with theirs."

Capt. Auld, master of the Lime Rock, in a letter of 26th July, makes the following allusion to the same thing :

"Dr. Lugenbeel, his student, General Lewis, Mr. Murray, and myself, visited the new settlement up the river, where the Renown's emigrants had located, and were agreeably disappointed. Notwithstanding the destitute situation they were in, after losing every thing they possessed, when cast away, they had built themselves comfortable houses, and had an abundance of every thing growing in a thriving condition, such as corn, potatoes, cassada, beans, peas, &c., fruit of various kinds, such as water-melons, cucumbers, cantelopes, pine apples, bannanas, plattains, &c. All those improvements have been done in the space of ten or eleven months."

The emigrants by the Lime Rock all passed through their acclimation with very little sickness. Dr. Lugenbeel remarks of them—

"I spent three months at Greenville, during which time all the emigrants who were landed at that place, sixty-eight in number, experienced one attack, or more, of acclimating fever; but, with the exception of two small children, whose death was caused by the effect of worms in the alimentary canal, they all recovered, and I left them in nearly or quite as good health as when they first arrived. Several of them had their lands cleared and their houses nearly built before I left."

The next expedition sailed from Norfolk, Va., on the 14th June, with fifty-eight emigrants, in the ship VIRGINIA. This company were generally well prepared for emigration ; many of them had been well instructed, and maintained uniformly good characters. They were all supplied with every thing necessary to render industry and economy sources of comfort and plenty. The bare outfit of one company of twenty-two

of them cost upwards of eighteen hundred dollars, which was paid by the executor out of the estate. They were liberated by the will of the late Hardinia M. Burnley, of Hanover county, Va., and have been under the management of John H. Steger, Esq., who has acted a most liberal part toward them. He also liberated one of his own best servants, that she might accompany her husband, who was one of the above number.

Four others were from Richmond, Va. They were liberated by Mrs. Sarah Brooke, to whom they were left by her sister, Mrs. Catharine Ellis, deceased, with the request that she would send them to Africa. She also made a bequest to the Female Colonization Society, which, however, was void, the said society not being incorporated. These people have been under the care of John B. Young, Esq., of Richmond, who deserves much praise for the interest which he has shown in their welfare.

One was from Fredericksburg, a young man of fine appearance and good character, liberated by Wm. M. Blackford, Esq., and furnished with the conveniences necessary to render him useful and happy.

Seven of them were from Washington county, D. C., liberated by our fellow citizen, Wm. G. Sanders, Esq., and provided with tools, clothing, and furniture, requisite to their comfort in commencing life in a new country.

Eighteen of them were from St. Charles, Missouri, having been liberated by the will of the late Thomas Lindsay, and provided with a very expensive outfit, under the direction of G. C. Sibley, Esq. As an evidence of their good character and industrious habits, it is worthy of remark that while they were detained in Norfolk, having arrived some six weeks before the Virginia sailed, they supported themselves by their own labor, and won for themselves the confidence and respect of the good citizens of that borough.

Three of them were from Nansemond county, Virginia, liberated for the purpose by the will of the late Mr. Kelly, having for some time been under the direction of Hugh H. Kelly, Esq., of Suffolk, and hired out for their own benefit. They were able-bodied young men, and took some money with them.

One was from Augusta county, Va. He had purchased himself, and had been very anxious to purchase his wife also, but was obliged to leave her behind, intending, if life and health were spared, to return for her.

One was a free man from Smithfield, North Carolina, who had been anxious to see the colony for himself. He paid his own passage out, and if he is pleased with the place and his prospects there, will return or send over for his family.

It has been said that when slaves are liberated to be sent to the colony, their masters are governed by selfish motives; that none are set free unless they are old and worthless, or young and vicious, and then only to avoid the trouble and expense of keeping them. Would that every person who has entertained such a suspicion could have seen this company as they were ready to sail. It would most undoubtedly have corrected their impressions, and convinced them that those who are seeking the removal to Africa of the colored race are governed by the most benevolent and philanthropic feelings!

The invoice of goods sent to the colonial store by this vessel amounted to \$2,222 02. For that part of the ship occupied by the emigrants and their provisions, &c., we paid \$1,740. Their provisions, water, fuel, berths, and other fixtures for the passage out and support six months, cost \$1,395—being a total expense for each one of \$54 03, not including house rent, medical attendance, &c., in the colony. Adding the freight on the goods sent to the colonial store, \$210, insurance, \$41 50, and some other small expenses, \$68 20, it makes a total expenditure on account of this expedition, of \$5,876 72.

The Virginia arrived at Monrovia on the 3d of August with the emigrants all well, who were safely landed and comfortable houses appropriated to their use. At our latest

dates, 23d October, Gov. Roberts was making preparations to locate them on the St. Paul's river. He remarks :

"Dr. Lugenbeel has been exceedingly successful in carrying them through the acclimating fever. Of the two companies, but five have died, one only of that number being an adult."

Dr. Lugenbeel, under date of 22d October, remarks :

"Nearly all of the last company (by the Virginia) have experienced one attack or more of acclimating fever. None are on the sick list at present; and, with the exception of occasional slight attacks of intermittent fever, they are all enjoying good health. About one-third of them have been going to school during most of the time since their arrival, and several of them have made considerable progress in learning to read and write.

"From my experience and observations, I am fully satisfied that forty-nine persons in fifty, if not ninety-nine in one hundred, who come from the United States to Liberia, might pass safely through the acclimating fever: provided their constitutions were not much impaired by previous disease, and they could be prevailed on to exercise that prudence which is necessary."

The only other company of emigrants sent out this year sailed from Baltimore on the 18th November, in the brig *Chipola*, chartered by the Maryland Colonization Society. They were twenty-one in number, having been liberated by Joseph H. Wilson, Esq., of Wilsonville, Ky., and furnished by him with a liberal outfit. To the indefatigable agency of the Rev. J. B. Pinney we are indebted for bringing these people from Kentucky and fitting them out for their voyage. The whole expense attending their departure, their passage out, and support six months, is \$1,425 38, not including house rent, medical attendance, &c., in Liberia,

being an average cost of \$67 87 for each one.

Thirty-seven of the other emigrants who sailed in the *Chipola* were from Virginia, and had been offered to this Society; but not having the means to send them, they went out under the patronage of the Maryland Society, and will be located at Cape Palmas.

We have been under the necessity of declining to send out a great many persons who have been anxious to emigrate the past year. The resources of the Society have been entirely inadequate to meet the demands upon it. These difficulties in the way of persons obtaining a passage to Liberia, have a tendency greatly to check the spirit of emigration, and to discourage a great many masters who have been hoping to send out their slaves. How important, therefore, that our friends should all bear this in their memories, and greatly enlarge their contributions the coming year!

From the accompanying financial report of the Treasurer, it will be seen that the whole amount of the receipts of the Society the past year was \$33,640 39. The whole expenditure was \$38,237 52, being an excess of the receipts of \$4,597 13.

The expenses of the office in this city have fallen below the amount appropriated by the board at their last annual meeting, being only \$1,910 56.

The receipts from subscribers to the Repository exceed the expenses of its publication by upwards of \$700, and would be greatly increased if subscribers would generally be more punctual in making their remittances.

No payments of consequence have been made on the *old debts* of the Society. The Committee found it impossible to meet the indispensable engagements, and perform the indispensable business of the year with their limited resources. They consider it an object of the first importance that the Society should be entirely relieved from debt. There is about \$6,000 of the old debt yet unpaid, and about \$7,642 97 of other debts.

To meet these we have debts due the Society amounting to \$3,062 70, together with \$4,000 due from several legacies, that will probably be paid in the course of another year or two.

We have also debts due the colonial store, and goods there for sale amounting to about \$6,000. We, however, do not expect to receive any immediate assistance from the colony to aid us in paying our debts in this country. Gov. Roberts is under instructions to prosecute the purchase of territory as rapidly as possible, and to appropriate all the available resources to that purpose.

One of the most prominent objects for which we have made special efforts to raise money, has been the

purchase of territory. Every arrival from the colony convinces us more and more of the indispensable necessity of obtaining possession of all the territory lying between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles, of which about one hundred and fifty is now owned by the Society. It is thought that the remainder can be purchased for about \$20,000. One important tract has been secured the past year. Alluding to it, Gov. Roberts says:

"You will see by the accompanying document that I have succeeded in purchasing from the natives a fine tract of land in the Little Bassa Territory—embracing about ten miles of sea-coast. In this purchase we have secured to the colony the principal landing-places in that country, and nothing but the want of funds prevents the Society from owning very soon the entire coast of the Little Bassa country. King Barguay, Salt Water, and Prince, the proprietors of the remaining section of that country, have expressed a willingness to sell. They own about fifteen miles of sea-coast, and I believe the only unpurchased territory between this place and Grand Bassa Point. This tract they propose to sell for six hundred dollars. I shall lose no time in bargaining with them."

Other tracts of land are also offered at present, on advantageous terms.

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Gov. Roberts makes the following statement, viz:

"I have to report to you that, during the past year, I have concluded treaties of alliance, amity, and trade, with several of the native tribes, both in the interior and on the sea-coast. And, notwithstanding but little immediate advantage may be expected to result to the citizens of this commonwealth by these treaties, still they will have the effect of bringing the natives into a closer connexion with the colony—cause them to identify our interests with their own, and will no doubt ultimately have the happy effect of drawing them from their present condition of heathenism and idola-

try to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Tribes far beyond us are now making application for citizenship, and to be identified with us in laws and government. I have not failed, in my intercourse with the native chiefs, particularly those on the seaboard, to introduce to them the subject of colonial jurisdiction, and to obtain from them an expression in regard to the purchase, by the Colonization Society, of the entire coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas. In almost every instance, the question has been favorably received; and if means had been within my reach, instead of securing only ten, I could have purchased more than one hundred miles of sea-coast the past year. The resources of the Society, however, have not been sufficient to enable them to make an adequate appropriation for the purchase of territory. They are, nevertheless, fully awake to its importance, and are now making strenuous efforts to raise twenty thousand dollars, to be applied to that especial purpose."

It is of great moment to the present welfare and ultimate prosperity of Liberia that its jurisdiction should be extended over an unbroken line of coast.

In his last despatch to us of 22d October, Gov. Roberts says:

"I have just been informed that the King, chiefs, and head-men of the New Sesters Territory are disposed to sell their country to the Americans; and as no time should be lost in acquiring it—as two great objects will be gained, viz: that of extending our territory along the coast, and extinguishing forever the *slave trade* between *Monrovia* and *Cape Palmas*—I have this day sent a commissioner to treat with them for the purchase of their territory, and wish him success with all my heart."

Surely, in whatever light we view it, the purchase of that territory is an object of commanding importance, well calculated to stir all the deep and tender feelings of our natures, and to draw from the benevolent and philanthropic their very largest contributions.

We regret to say that the receipts of the past year for this object have fallen far below our anticipations.

During the summer a plan was proposed by a gentleman in New York to raise \$15,000, by pledges of \$1,000, payable when the whole amount should be subscribed, and promising himself to be one of the number. Since that time three other pledges, of \$1,000 each, have been given, and we have strong hopes that several others will be added shortly.

An important Treaty of peace and friendship has been made with the Kroos, by which they bind themselves to abstain from all participation, direct or indirect, in the slave trade, "*that no foreign officer, agent or subject, except of the colony of Liberia, or the American Colonization Society, shall purchase, have, or in any way, by sale, lease or gift, obtain right to, or claim upon, the Kroo territory.*" They also bind themselves to foster and protect the American missionaries.

This Kroo country possesses many important commercial advantages; and foreign traders, and nations, have shown special desire to obtain possession of it. The Kroomen are the pilots of the coast, and their services are almost indispensable to foreign vessels. They have never been engaged directly in the slave trade, but have always been of great service to the slave ships, in assisting them to get their slaves on board. If they should strictly adhere to the terms and obligations of the treaty, it will subject the slavers to very great delay, and thus render them more subject to capture.

The influence of the United States squadron on the African coast has been of vast advantage to Liberia. It has given the native tribes a better idea of the American character and resources, and has tended to quell their turbulent feelings and cause them to seek a more intimate acquaintance, and a closer connection, with the commonwealth of Liberia.

Lieutenant Governor Benedict, in a letter under date of September 10, says :

"The United States squadron has been of much benefit to us: the officers generally seem to manifest the most friendly feelings and social disposition towards us. Commodore Perry, together with Captains Mayo, Tatnall, Abbott, and Craven, will ever be gratefully remembered in Liberia."

The relations of the colony with the native tribes have been of the most friendly character, during the year. Peace has been steadily maintained. This has resulted, as Governor Roberts remarks :

"Generally from a conviction that we consider them almost a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests. The attachment of the natives is gaining strength daily, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practiced towards them. They continue to refer to the authorities of the colony, for the adjustment of all their important disputes; and I believe in every instance, we have succeeded in settling them amicably; thereby preventing wars, and the great calamities that would necessarily follow."

A very remarkable instance in proof of the powerful influence exerted over the most warlike tribes by the government of Liberia, is cited in the case of a dispute which threatened to involve the whole *Goulah* country in a cruel war with the *Condoes*. It was referred to the *Legislature* of Liberia by *Ballasada*, a *Goulah* chief,

and was happily settled, and the two tribes have continued to live in peace and harmony ever since. That the influence of the colony is extending rapidly into the interior and along the coast, there cannot be a doubt.

The commerce and trade of the colony have been steadily on the increase. According to the official returns, the imports for a single quarter, exceeded \$40,000, and the exports were about the same. The country has immense resources. It only requires industry and indomitable perseverance to develop them.

It is worthy of remark in this connection, that the receipts into the colonial treasury, chiefly from import duties, were sufficient to meet the current expenses of the commonwealth. These receipts would be vastly increased if all the sea coast was under the jurisdiction of the colony, by which smuggling and the introduction of goods free of duty would be prevented.

While we have these assurances of the growing interests of the commerce of the colony, we are happy in being able to state that the *spirit of trade*, which has been so rife, is subsiding, and that a growing interest is felt in *agriculture*. Dr. Lugenbeel, in whose statements the fullest confidence may be reposed, alluding to this subject remarks :

"You need not be apprehensive that a 'thirst for trade' will induce any of them (the last company of emigrants) to take up their residence in the Metropolis; for I am happy in being able to assure you, that the trading mania is vastly on the decline. Some who are now engaged in trading, have already found out that fortunes are

not now so easily acquired, as formerly, in that way. I rejoice that the citizens of Liberia, generally, are convinced that the true source of wealth is in the soil—that in order to the maintenance of themselves and families, and the preservation of their standing as a free and independent community of people, endowed with the ‘unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,’ they must cultivate the land; and to a greater extent than formerly, live on the fruit of their own planting.”

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Governor Roberts, says :

“I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. Agriculture is in a steadily progressive state, and continues to be a subject of much interest to many of our citizens. It is calling up in a greater degree than formerly the attention of men of capital; and when such improvements have been introduced, as the present system requires, it will doubtless become a general source of affluence.”

This important and able document (the message of Governor Roberts) makes a most satisfactory exhibition of the present condition and prosperity of Liberia. The laws are respected—peace prevails—plenty is in all their borders—religion is in a healthful state, education is increasing, agriculture is advancing, and contentment and happiness every where prevail. It exhibits most conspicuously the beneficial tendencies and the happy results of colonization.

The **LIBERIA HERALD**, speaking of this message, says :

“The Colonial Council assembled on the 4th March, in the neat and commodious room prepared as a permanent place of meeting of the Legislature, over the court room in the new Court House. From the spirit manifested by some, and the known ability of others of the members, we argue something beneficial.

“Governor Roberts delivered the Annual Message. It is an able and interesting document, and does great credit to its author. It is to be published. It will manifest what every Liberian must be proud of,

that our trade, our strength, and our population are all on the advance.”

The meetings of the Legislature were all marked with great decorum, and their proceedings would do honor to many similar assemblies in much older countries.

Increasing attention has been given to the education of the rising generation. The colonial council are concerting measures for establishing a general system of public schools, in which efficient and competent teachers shall be employed, and a thorough course of instruction be given.

The spirit of improvement has been abroad in the colony. The *Liberia Herald* says: “The number of buildings at present going up in the colony, as well as those undergoing repairs, is truly cheering.” A large *stone jail* has been erected in Monrovia. Also a most substantial, well constructed and commodious Court House has been completed. This edifice is built of the stone with which Cape Mesurado abounds. It stands on a site which commands a beautiful view of the lower part of the town—overlooks the bay and anchoring ground, the bar and entrance into the river, Stockton creek, Mesurado river, and a vast extent of the interior country. It is thirty feet by forty in the clear. The first story which is occupied as the court room is twelve feet four inches high, from the floor, which is brick, to the ceiling.

The second story is fitted up for a council chamber. It is a large airy room, reached by two flights of stairs

of easy ascent and good workmanship. The Legislature met there last March. The third story is divided into jury rooms, offices, &c. The windows of this substantial building are all arched, with shutters made of durable wood, and well painted. The building cost \$4,500, and has been paid for entirely by the commonwealth.

The light house on the top of the Cape has also been completed. This is a substantial building, two stories high, with a cupola sufficiently elevated to be seen from any direction, and in any weather, at a distance of ten or twelve miles, unless when a thick fog covers the very Cape itself.

Dr. Lugenebel says of *Monrovia*:

"In visiting this place, a stranger is at once struck with the remarkably neat appearance of every thing around him, and the air of cheerfulness which seems to be depicted on every countenance."

Of the country, and other towns, he says:

"The other settlements are in a flourishing condition. I have visited those on the St. Paul's river. In ascending this noble stream, many neat little houses may be seen scattered along its banks, surrounded by cleared lots or small farms, on which may be seen a variety of fruit trees and vegetables."

An officer in the United States squadron says:

"The colony must advance and succeed under all circumstances. It is idle to say that *all* are prosperous or happy. Industry, economy, patience and temperance, are as indispensable here as elsewhere. Without them little can be done; but with them I do solemnly believe that the colored man is far, very far, better situated in Africa than in any part of America. I am much mistaken if one in twenty of the colonists who have been here two years, could be induced, in any way, to relinquish Africa, and return to spend their lives in America. Here they are the equals of the whites, and they feel the advantage of it."

Captain Wm. M. Hanbury, of New Orleans, says:

"That the present colonies of Liberia are destined to become a great, flourishing and powerful nation, I am fully convinced. I have dined frequently with the inhabitants in company with the officers of the American Navy, the Governor of the Colony, and other respectable citizens of Monrovia. They live well, and have plenty of every thing around them."

Commodore Perry, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Navy about a year since, says:

"It is gratifying to witness the comforts that most of these people have gathered about them; many of them are familiar with luxuries which were unknown to the early settlers of America. Want would seem to be a stranger among them. If any do suffer, it must be the consequence of their own idleness."

"At all the settlements the established laws are faithfully administered, the morals of the people are good, and the houses of religion are well attended; in truth, the settlers as a community, appear to be strongly imbued with religious feelings."

"On the whole, sir, I cannot but think most favorably of these settlements. The experiment of establishing the free colored people of the United States upon this coast has succeeded beyond the expectations of many of the warmest friends of colonization, and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the parent settlers are destined to become an intelligent and a thriving people."

These facts, and this testimony of disinterested persons, which might be extended indefinitely, certainly show that Liberia is in a healthy and prosperous condition at present, and that it promises well for the future. We actually beheld what Pitt thought would come to pass, when thirty years ago, in his great speech in Parliament on the slave trade, he said:

"He was free to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupation of industry, in the pursuits of just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and piety, breaking in upon that land, which at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and joining their influence to that of pure reli-

gion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent."

We have received in the course of the year a *census* of the colony—also a *statistical history* from the arrival of the first emigrants in 1820 down to September, 1843, which is full, minute, and definite, and contains nearly all the information that can be desired on all important points. Governor Roberts, in his letter accompanying it, gives the following description of its contents :

"It is in two parts. The first contains a roll of all emigrants that have been sent to the colony by the American Colonization Society, and its auxiliaries; showing their ages—state from which they emigrated—whether free born, purchased their freedom, or emancipated in view of their emigrating to Liberia, and by whom—where located—extent of education—profession—if dead, time and cause—i removed, to what place—showing of course, the number still living in the colony.

"A recapitulation, showing the number of emigrants from each state—the number of recaptured Africans that have been sent to the colony by the United States government, &c., &c.

"Recapitulation—showing the total number of emigrants that were free born, number that purchased their freedom, number emancipated in view of emigrating to Liberia, cause and number of deaths in each year, number of removals from the colony, &c., &c.

"The second part contains a census of the colony, showing the age, time of arrival, connections, profession, extent of education, health, &c.

"Recapitulation—showing the number in the colony this day, that have arrived in each year since 1820; number of children now living, born of American parents, number born of American and native parents, and number of native children adopted into the families of colonists.

"Recapitulation—names of heads of families, occupations, classification of age and sex, number of idiots and paupers in the colony.

"Agriculture—names of farmers, description and number of buildings on each farm, description of crops, quantity of land owned and number of acres under cultivation, where located, number of cattle and

other live stock, with an estimate of the value of each estate.

"Commerce—names of merchants and traders, description of buildings they own, number of vessels owned in the colony thei tonnage, whethe colonial or foreign built, amount of commission business transacted in the colony for the year ending 30th August, 1843, amount of stock employed in trade, an estimate of the value of property owned by merchants.

"A table showing the number of foreign vessels that have visited the different settlements during the two years, ending 30th September, 1843. The kind and amount of merchandise imported into the colony by each vessel. Amount of imports and exports of each port of entry.

"Schools—names of teachers, where located, number of children of each sex, distinguishing between American and native, by whom supported, &c., &c.

"Institutions for religious improvement, the number of churches in the colony, location, description of buildings, number of communicants, distinguishing between American and native.

Statement of crime, names of culprits, whether Americans, captured Africans, or natives belonging to some of the contiguous tribes, number of convictions for murder, kidnapping, burglary, grand larceny, petit larceny, &c., date of trial, court and punishment awarded, and lastly a map of Liberia. The principal object of this map, is to give you some idea of the course of the rivers between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, particularly the rivers St. Paul and Junk, as explored last season, and to fix the location of a number of native towns visited during that time, and others hat have not appeared on any map, to my knowledge, before. There are stil a number of native towns and villages in the vicinity of the American settlements, that could not be entered for want of space. At some future time I will try to send you one on a larger scale, embracing all."

We forbear in this place and time, making any extracts from this interesting document, believing that the whole of it ought to be printed and laid before the country as an irrefragable, unanswerable argument in favor of colonization, and hoping that means will be furnished to print and publish it as an *appendix* to this report, the estimated cost of which is \$1,166.

The cause of colonization is believed to be in a healthful and flourishing condition in this country. The number of its friends has greatly increased during the past year. The number of subscribers to, and readers of the *African Repository*, has been considerably enlarged. Many of the daily and weekly newspapers of the country, that formerly were silent on the subject, have opened their columns to communications, and have come out themselves strongly in favor of the Society. A number of new auxiliary societies have been formed, and old ones which had been suffered to languish, have been revived. Many clergymen who for years had been silent on the subject for various reasons, have come to the conclusion that they would be doing wrong longer to conceal "their light under a bushel," and have delivered discourses in favor of the cause, which have met a hearty response in the breasts of their people. Many churches, long shut, have been opened for a presentation of the claims of the Society. Ecclesiastical bodies that have for years thought it unadvisable to have the cause mentioned among them, for prudential reasons, are now anxious that the Society should come and take rank with the other great benevolent institutions of the day, and share in the contributions of the churches.

As a specimen of the changes that are taking place in favor of the Society, we insert the following letter. Dr. Tenney and Mr. Tracy are not

gentleman who are apt to be deceived in such matters. They are cool and dispassionate observers of men and things, who always examine the reasons and found their opinions on the most substantial evidence. The fullest confidence may therefore be placed in their deductions.

"COLONIZATION OFFICE,

Boston, October 11, 1844.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR:—You are aware that the Rev. C. J. Tenney, D. D., has for some months past, been acting as agent for the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in different parts of the state. I have just received a letter from him, containing some evidence of a change in public sentiment, which may be interesting to you, and perhaps to your readers.

"Dr. Tenney sends me a list of twenty-two parishes, where he has lectured, or has made arrangements to lecture at some future time, on colonization. Two of these lectures have been delivered, and one is to be delivered, in pulpits which have always been open for our use, even in times of the most excited opposition. He has lectured in six pulpits, and has obtained the use, at a future time, of thirteen others, into which admission could not have been obtained three years ago. He has also obtained, for other persons to lecture, the use of three pulpits, at least, formerly inaccessible, which I do not find in his list.

"In some of these parishes, the pastors have formerly thought unfavorably of our enterprise. In others, and probably in a majority of cases, they have shut their pulpits against the agents of all societies which have any bearing on slavery, from the conviction that by opening them, they should only involve their people in bitter and hurtful quarrels, without any good result. Both in closing and opening the pulpits, the pastors have very generally been sustained by their people; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, it has been done by the united voice of pastor and people. There are still many parishes where nothing can be done but by calling on individuals, without any public movement.

"Dr. Tenney remarks:

"The bitterness of opposition from the abolitionists has greatly abated since they have adopted political action. There is much less sensitiveness in our churches on the subject of slavery. The facts, showing the influence of the colony on Christian missions, and the general prosperity of the colony, are carrying conviction to the can-

did and pious, of the great importance of the colony to Africa. There is most decidedly, a reaction in public sentiment, respecting colonization; although the amount given by individuals is not increased in equal proportion; still, several who had discontinued their donations for three or four years, have renewed them. I feel persuaded that next year we ought, anew, to bring our enterprise before associations and ecclesiastical bodies.'

"This last sentence may need explanation. Nearly all the pastors in Massachusetts, of various denominations, are members of associations, meeting usually four times a year, and each on a different day from the others. Agents of various benevolent societies practice attending those meetings, to lay their claims before the pastors, and make arrangements for addressing their congregations. In some communions, ecclesiastical bodies of other names, answer a similar purpose. For some years past, even our friends in the several associations would have regretted the presence of an agent of our Society, as an occasion of unpleasant and unprofitable excitement. By another year, Dr. Tenney thinks, they may hope to be generally welcome; which is as much as to say, that colonization may then take its place among the benevolent enterprises which our churches generally think it their duty to sustain. This, however, you must understand not as a promise, but as the present opinion of one well qualified to judge. The facts, I think, give a fair sample of our past depression, and of the rate at which we are emerging from it.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH TRACY.

REV. WM. McLAIN."

In a letter of later date, Mr. Tracy gives some extracts from a communication received from another clergyman in the state, of which the following are a sample:

"I inclose you two dollars as the first fruits of my labors in this county, in behalf of the colonization enterprise.

"The people seemed to be heartily ashamed of this small contribution; but they came together supposing that nothing could be said to justify their giving at all. The facts, however, which were communicated, changed all their views on the subject, and they promise to do better next time.

"The places which Dr. Tenney regarded as accessible, I found to be closed, because the time devoted to taking collections for this Society, had gone by, and other objects of charity must have their turn.

"I have stated the facts, so far as I know them, in reference to the claims of the Colonization Society, to our ——— association; and, with two or three exceptions, all are in favor of giving the cause a hearing before their people, and of allowing me to address them as soon as circumstances permit. The month during which, heretofore, collections have been taken, is that of July; and I do not expect that, till then, much can be done, except to prepare the way by scattering light and truth on the subject, among the ministers and churches. I am amazed at the ignorance of some of our best ministers, as to what the Colonization Society has done for the benefit of the African race during the last half a dozen years. They seem to have got the impression that this Society was dead and buried long ago.

"This change in their views, I think, may be expected to give us collections next summer, in twenty or twenty-five congregations from which we have hitherto been excluded. The first collections will probably be small; but if our affairs go on well abroad, will increase from year to year."

We might give many facts, connected with the operations of the secretaries of the New York and Pennsylvania colonization societies, showing changes of public sentiment, and unfolding new openings to the churches, similar to those exhibited in the above extracts, all evidencing that the cause is becoming increasingly popular in the country.

The same thing is exhibited in the receipts of the past year. Every reflecting person is aware that the intense excitement which prevailed throughout the country during most of the year, in regard to the presidential election, so absorbed the public mind as to render it almost impossible to call attention to any other object. Almost all the great charities suffered in their receipts in consequence. And yet the contributions from the churches, and from private individuals, to this Society, considerably exceed what they were

the year preceding. This is certainly a most encouraging fact, especially when it is considered that, for a considerable part of the year, (notwithstanding the efforts made to engage them,) not a single agent was employed by the Society. Captain Barker has labored for this Society, and in connection with the African Repository part of the time, and the balance of the time for the Massachusetts colonization society. The Rev. J. B. Pinney performed a temporary agency of three months in Kentucky and Ohio, during the summer, for this Society, and was very successful in raising funds. Excepting these, no agent has been employed by this Society until since the presidential election. We have appointed H. L. Hosmer, Esq., in Ohio, Rev. A. M. Cowan, in Kentucky, and Rev. J. B. Crist, in Tennessee and Alabama, who have just entered on their labors with flattering promises of success.

The Rev. D. L. Carroll, D. D., has been appointed by the New York state colonization society their secretary, and he has made his arrangements for vigorous efforts the coming year.

The Rev. S. Cornelius has labored part of his time in Connecticut, as the secretary of that state society, and part in New Jersey, as the general agent of that society; and in both these States his efforts have been very successful.

The Rev. J. B. Pinney will continue his important services as secretary of the Pennsylvania state

society, by which he was made a life director of the American Colonization Society by the contribution of \$1,000 just before the close of the year.

The Rev. Joseph Tracy continues secretary of the Massachusetts colonization society. He has lately published an able and very important argument in favor of the missionary character of colonization, under the following title: *"A historical examination of the state of society in Western Africa, as formed by Paganism and Muhammedanism, Slavery, the Slave Trade and Piracy, and of the remedial influence of Colonization and Missions."* It is a pamphlet of forty pages, and it is not too much to say that, from the facts which he has recorded, an incontrovertible argument is deducible in favor of African colonization! He places it in one single light, that is, as it appears to the in which none but a dark and prejudiced mind, or a malicious heart can perceive it to be aught else than one of the noblest and most benevolent works of the present or perhaps any other century.

The Missouri state colonization society has lately been reorganized, and has secured the services of that firm and long-tried friend of the cause, the Rev. R. S. Finley, who hopes to be able to add much to the resources of the Society during the coming year.

It is known to our friends that we enjoyed a visit from the able and

talented Governor of Liberia last summer. His presence among us was attended with the most happy results. The communications which he made to various public assemblies, and the information which he imparted to the many influential gentlemen with whom he had intercourse, tended greatly to inspire new confidence in the stability and growing importance of the commonwealth of Liberia. He was introduced to the *PRESIDENT* of the United States and *Heads of Departments*, who received him with great respect, and were much interested in his statements relative to the colony.

Gov. Roberts may be considered as the first ripe fruits of Liberian culture and training. As such, he stands forth at once an evidence of the capabilities of his race, and of the practically benevolent spirit of colonization, as it necessarily rouses up and evolves faculties of mind, which, in a state of slavery or freedom in this country, or in Africa, must have remained torpid and dormant forever!

The question was repeatedly asked him, whether he considered the colonists capable of self-government, if now left entirely to themselves? And his uniform answer was, that he believed that if the Society were no longer to render them any aid or counsel, the colony would live and prosper, if they were not interfered with by any foreign nation.

Dr. LUGENBEEL, alluding to the meeting of the colonial legislature last March, says:

"No unprejudiced individual could have attended the meetings of this body, and listened to their deliberations, without being convinced that the citizens of Liberia are capable of self-government."

Dr. JAMES HALL, who, during his long residence in the colony, became intimately acquainted with all its settlements, and whose perfect candor and integrity, accuracy of observation, and soundness of judgment, impart to his opinions great weight and value, says:

"The Liberians have shown a capacity for maintaining a free and independent government, a capacity and disposition for a fair degree of moral and intellectual improvement. The soil of Liberia is one of the most productive in the world, and capable of yielding all the varieties of vegetables, and all the staple commodities of the tropics. The climate of Africa is one that will prove as favorable to the American emigrant as does the climate of the western States to the New Englander. In fine, all that is necessary to favor and perpetuate, on the coast of Africa, an independent Christian government, is an increase of the number of *select* emigrants, an increase, for a certain period, of the appropriation to each individual on his arrival, and a general protection from the Government of this country."

Early in November last, letters were addressed to the secretaries of the State societies, and to other distinguished friends of colonization, making various inquiries in regard to the present state of the cause in their various sections of the country; the number and warmth of its friends; the efforts made the past year, and the obstacles in the way; and as to their opinion of the best measures to be taken, to give increased energy and efficiency to its operations, at the beginning of the approaching year.

The various answers to these inquiries which have been received,

present many facts and truths touching the present and prospective condition of our enterprise, in a manner more satisfactory than could otherwise be done. As we cannot, however, present them entire in this report, we shall make such extracts from them as seem requisite to illustrate the subject.

The Hon. Judge BRENET, of Cincinnati, Ohio, says :

"A large proportion of the people in the Miami valley are friendly to the colonization cause, and if called on, would willingly contribute more or less to sustain it.

"The chief difficulty is in the want of a local agent to keep the subject constantly on the public mind, and to solicit contributions in the sparse as well as the dense settlements of the country. Our agent, such as Mr. Perry, would be more than all the organs of the cause in Ohio valued, and in effect it requires such an agent to keep the subject alive."

"A large part, probably three-fourths, of your contributions are from business men, the collection of which requires much time, and great patience and perseverance. Men engaged in business cannot spare the time necessary for this purpose, nor do they possess the information necessary to accomplish it. A man with the proper qualifications could do the work in one month that an ordinary collector could in two, and might appear successful with many persons who would not listen to an ordinary applicant.

"Heretofore, but very little aid has been received out of our ties and relations. The great body of farmers and tillers of the soil in the country have not shown themselves attended to."

"The colonization camps have my white friends in Omaha thinking that I am not their affectionate neighbor. I am not. I am their feelings and I will not let them be communicated as an enemy. I will not let them to give."

It is much to be regretted that the American Republic is not better represented and calculated. That a more liberal and enlightened could be seen, and by the very constitution, would produce a very beneficial influence on the public mind, and a better revolution. I doubt if there be more than one in a hundred in the western States who has a correct knowledge of the constitution and prospects of the colony, much less

of the influence it is destined to have, and is now producing on the native tribes in its vicinity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and on the commerce of our own country, as well as of the world. This knowledge would be obtained from that publication, were it universally read; and at the same time such an extended circulation might be made to contribute largely to your funds."

The following extracts are from the letter of the late Hon. **ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN**, to which allusion has been made in this report:

"In this village, Fairfield, Connecticut,) the Congregational Society have seven annual contributions for religious and benevolent objects, of which this Society is one; and I supposed it was receiving regular aid in a similar form in other places. But alas! my expectations were much disappointed to find that there is not another church in this association which gives this a place among its offerings. Thus, with the influence of abolitionists, and great teachers. A clergyman is not well acquainted to the peace of his parish by existing in a restless, turbulent spirit. But in most churches, the neglect is owing to the want of the attention of the clergy to the objects of aid to the subject. A remedy would I apprehend, be easily found in the regular system of collections in their respective parishes, if the authorities of the enterprise, and the interesting objects which it embraces, were fully and truly understood. In order to aid in the work of the world, their *Pastors* must possess the same sympathy in their pastoral parishes. We must aid, we must encourage, and we must work with it."

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...the extent of the energy of the vibrations which is to be added to the substance, it will certainly be able, and I believe, is disposed to change, to a very considerable degree, the amount of our annual

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remittances. I hope the attention of our most influential men may be arrested, and if this can be done successfully, I shall look for an increase of patronage. Your 'Address to our Friends and Patrons,' lately published in the Journal of Commerce, and Commercial Advertiser, is well calculated to arrest attention, by an impressive presentation of the influence of the Colonization Society and its wants.

"Accept, dear sir, my grateful acknowledgments for your important public services, and the assurances of my personal respects, &c."

RICHARD HENRY LEE, Professor in Washington College, Pennsylvania, says :

"The opinions of the people of this part of Pennsylvania are very generally favorable. *Abolitionism* has made no great progress here. The calm and patriotic in this region see plainly that colonization has afforded them the most effective arguments and facts against its visionary and agitating schemes.

"With regard to the present position of our cause here, it is still strong. In this county and Fayette there must be between twenty-five and thirty auxiliary societies. Many others might be formed by an active agent.

"I can think of no surer means of increasing the energy of our friends and societies than the employment of agents. I can speak from much experience in this matter, that, whenever political excitements are abated, the subject of colonization becomes the most interesting to the people at large ; but this interest must be roused into activity by the frequent bringing of the subject before their minds. I would suggest, then, that you prepare an address, for the end of this, or the beginning of the next year, urging a renewal of the attention of the friends of the cause, after the political excitement has passed away. The increasing prosperity of the cause—its enlargement of operations—its soothing influence on the political and religious interests and passions, &c., might be urged as motives and reasons for renewed attention and energy."

The Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, of Ohio, says :

"The intelligent part of the people in this section of the State, who are not abolitionists, are generally friendly to the cause of colonization. Very many who were formerly its friends, have become its bitterest enemies, by uniting with and becoming abolitionists, taking, however, more

recently the designation of 'Liberty Men.' Nothing has been done for some time past to revive the colonization societies. The friends of the cause here have hoped, by retiring from all grounds of controversy, that the exertions of the abolitionists would be less vigorous and successful. In this, I think, they were mistaken. **LESTER KING**, their candidate for Governor, resides in this county, and he has been, with most of his supporters, very active during the past year. The friends of colonization have been very unwilling to have the cause mingled with politics, and, therefore, the efforts of the abolitionists have not been resisted or counteracted. The decision of public sentiment prevents clergymen from taking an active part in favor of colonization when they are its friends ; and when they are abolitionists, they lecture and preach on the subject everywhere.

"As to future operations, I think the State Society should be resuscitated. I shall go to Columbus, and if possible assist in its reorganization."

Professor SIMON GREENLEAF, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, says :

"I have reason to believe that the violence of political abolitionism in the north has already created some change of feeling and opinion in favor of colonization, and that the present is a favorable season for renewed action on the part of its friends. Since abolitionism has assumed a separate political organization, I think it has lost much of the sympathy of the real friends of the African race, and that it will soon follow the fate of political anti-masonry, from a similar cause—the want of a true political foundation, and a departure from that of good morals and honesty of purpose.

"I should think, in the present state of the public mind, that a calm but energetic address or circular to the real friends of Africa and her children, would be very favorably received. Such an address, freely circulated through the northern States, I think, could not fail of being of great service to the cause."

The following extracts are from the letter of the **Rev. PHILIP LINDSEY**, D. D., of Nashville, Tennessee. They bring to view an entirely different class of difficulties in the way of colonization. He says :

"I duly received your communication of November 1st, but was at that time too ill to attend to its contents. It was a season, also, of extraordinary political excitement.

phlet of some forty pages, which is now in the press, and will reach you almost as soon as this letter. Its object is, to secure the intelligent support of the friends of foreign missions. I have aimed to exhibit the argument on this point with as much fullness of detail as I could in a pamphlet of a readable size.

"To 'give increased energy and efficiency to the cause,' we must keep Dr. Tenney in the field; or if winter drives him within doors, as I fear it will, get a good substitute, if we can: but a good one, or none. 'Circulate the documents,' as politicians say. Work with the Repository. Diffuse information through the newspapers, and in other ways, as found practicable. Make arrangements, as far as possible, for parochial contributions next July. Carefully avoid all spasmodic efforts; all attempts to get up a 'vigorous movement,' as the old expression is, at some particular time. Our future patrons are yet too ignorant, and conscious of their ignorance, to be wholesomely moved in that way."

The Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D., of New York, says:

"The answers which you seek to these inquiries are of great moment, and ought to be given intelligently, and with the utmost candor.

"I do not understand you as asking my opinion of the cause of colonization in *general*, or in the *abstract*; but my opinion of its *position* within the more immediate sphere of my knowledge. My opinion of this general cause has long been known. The spirit, the conception, the execution, of the enterprise of African colonization, exhibit some of the loftiest qualities—the noblest combinations of thought, and the grandest and most august benevolent action that pertain to fallen human nature! But this is not the general estimate of the cause in the 'Empire State.' I therefore proceed to 'define its present position' here. It is not as flourishing as it should be in this large and flourishing portion of the north. A number of causes have contributed to this result. *Abolition* excitement became so tumultuous and alarming, some years ago, that the friends of colonization cowered before it, and, for the sake of peace, ceased to defend, or do any thing to promote, the cause. Our late most worthy and venerable secretary, Dr. Proudfit, for three or four years previously to his death, ceased to speak of colonization *publicly*, and from the pulpit, or to impart information, or to give impulse to the cause in this way; so that it has measurably 'fallen out' of the popular mind to make way for other things that

have been more exciting, and that have been prominently urged upon public attention.

"Some of the obstacles which have stood in the way, are, utter want of information respecting the present condition of the enterprise; total misapprehension of the real nature of the cause; violent prejudices, excited by the misrepresentations, falsehoods, and untiring vituperations of abolitionism!—the grand throes and agony of political excitement; the lingering effects of the late prostration and pecuniary pressure of the country.

"In regard to future measures, one thing, it seems to me, will be indispensable, and that is, *to diffuse information on the subject*. Wherever I have obtained the ears of people, and communicated the facts respecting the present condition of the enterprise, I have conciliated favor to the cause, and increased the number of its friends. So that the colonization interest in this State is now a little on the increase, and the cause begins to look up from its deep depression with a commingling of smiles and tears on its face! If some good, never-tire agent for the Repository could be procured to traverse the States and *thrust* that periodical upon people as other publications are crowded in, this would be a great desideratum. Another thing that ought to be, and *must* be done, to give increased energy to this cause, is, *to induce pastors to consent to have it brought back to the pulpit, from which it has been most iniquitously exiled, as a mistaken concession and costly peace-offering to the fiery and inexorable Moloch of Abolition!* The secular and religious press, too, ought to be laid under contribution to our cause to a greater extent than hitherto. Some means ought also to be used to diffuse more courage and determination in the friends of this cause. If a general convention could be appointed at such time and place as to secure a good attendance of the friends of colonization, and be addressed by some of the most distinguished speakers that could be obtained for the purpose, this might have a salutary effect in creating a new interest, and infusing a new and indomitable energy in this cause. The fact is, we want something more of the fierce and unconquerable spirit of determination, in this cause, which politicians manifest in theirs. *Inflexible determination and unfaltering perseverance*, are the two great elements of success in every human enterprise! The truth is, we must make a mighty aggressive movement for the conquest of new influence and resources. There are so many objects of engrossing, not to say *maddening* excitement, pressed upon the popular mind in this country, that

colonization will be jostled out, unless it can be invested with a *new glow of heat*, that will bring it up somewhere near to the degree of temperature—the ‘point of combustion,’ at which other surrounding objects are!”

The preceding extracts are sufficient for the object we had in view. They furnish a mass of concurrent testimony in favor of this great cause which cannot be gainsayed, or resisted. In view of them, it is impossible to doubt that colonization has a deep seat in the affections, and a strong hold on the benevolence of the great body of our countrymen who have given to it the slightest attention. They also fully show that a cause so admirably designed to benefit our own country, and so adapted to dispense the richest blessings to the whole African race, *can* be sustained and rendered effectual in accomplishing the great ends contemplated!

It is true, there are obstacles in the way; there are difficulties to be surmounted. But are not our friends ready to buckle on their armor? Is there any shrinking among them? Any irresoluteness? Any doubt that the work can be accomplished?

Surely not. They all speak the language of confidence—of determination, and of perseverance, until the nation is awakened—until a moral and Christian influence in favor of this Society has reached every heart in our country; and until the colony is erected into an everlasting monument to the praise of American justice and benevolence!

Rise, then, ye friends of humanity! ye statesmen and orators, join all your eloquence, and your exalted powers in this noble cause. Animated by the encouragements to be drawn from the past, fully impressed with the magnitude of the work to be accomplished in the present, let us press forward under the cheering prospects of the future! The God of heaven is with us! The enterprise is undoubtedly His, and His richest blessings have been upon it. He has brought it safely thus far, and He will pursue with a steady and uniform course, and complete, with a splendid and glorious triumph, whatever and every work which His wisdom has devised, and His hands have begun!

Extracts from the Proceedings of the twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
January 21, 1845.

THE American Colonization Society met according to adjournment. In the absence of the PRESIDENT of the Society, the Hon. L. Q. C. ELMER, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and the Rev. A.

D. Eddy, D. D., opened the meeting with prayer.

W. McLain read extracts from the annual report; after which—

On motion of the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, it was—

Resolved, That the report be referred to the Board of Directors for their action.

On motion of the Hon. R. C. SCHENCK, it was—

Resolved, That the degree of success which has attended the operations of this Society, in the effort to found a colony and build up a free and civilized nation in Africa, should be encouraging to the heart of every Christian and philanthropist; and that the results of the work, thus far, will compare most favorably with whatever is seen to have been accomplished, with equal means, and in the same period of time, elsewhere or in any other age, in the history of colonization.

On motion of the Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D., it was—

Resolved, That in the great principles to which the enterprise of colonization appeals, we see the evidence of its permanency and ultimate triumph.

On motion of the Rev. A. D. EDDY, D. D., it was—

Resolved, That, in view of the increased favor manifested towards this Society by the philanthropic and Christian community, and the unusual success which has attended its operations during the past year, its friends and directors should feel encouraged to prosecute, with increased energy and hope, their efforts in the cause of African colonization, relying upon the blessings of God for the full attainment of its benevolent designs.

On motion of the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, it was—

Resolved, That this Society express its profound regrets at hearing of the decease of the several distinguished individuals mentioned in the *Report*, and that, while we bow with submission to the divine decree, we will cherish their memory, with feelings of gratitude for the important services which they have rendered to this cause.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, the Society adjourned, to meet in the Colonization Rooms to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

Adjourned.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
January 22, 1845.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment, the Hon. MR. ELMER, in the chair.

Messrs. Eddy, Phelps, and Tracy were appointed a committee to nominate a President and Vice Presidents of the Society. They reported the following persons, who were unanimously elected, viz:

PRESIDENT:

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

- 1 John C. Herbert, of Maryland,
- 2 General John H. Cocke, of Virginia,
- 3 Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts,
- 4 Charles F. Mercer, Florida,
- 5 Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.,
- 6 John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut,
- 7 Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York,
- 8 Louis McLane, of Baltimore,
- 9 Moses Allen, of New York,
- 10 General W. Jones, of Washington,
- 11 Samuel H. Smith, of Washington,
- 12 Joseph Gales, of Washington,
- 13 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia,
- 14 John McDonogh, of Louisiana,
- 15 Geo. Washington Lafayette, of France,
- 16 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
- 17 William Maxwell, of Virginia,
- 18 Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio,
- 19 Walter Lowrie, of New York,
- 20 Jacob Burnet, of Ohio,
- 21 Joshua Darling, of New Hampshire,
- 22 Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi,
- 23 William C. Rives, of Virginia,
- 24 Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington,
- 25 Rev. William Hawley, of Washington,
- 26 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi,
- 27 James Boorman, of New York city,
- 28 Henry A. Foster, of New York,
- 29 Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi,
- 30 Robert Campbell, of Georgia,
- 31 Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey,
- 32 James Garland, of Virginia,
- 33 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Ohio,
- 34 Rt. Honorable Lord Bexley, of London,
- 35 Wm. Short, of Philadelphia,
- 36 Willard Hall, of Delaware,
- 37 Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.,
- 38 Gerald Ralston, of London,
- 39 Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.,
- 40 Dr. Hodgkin, of London,
- 41 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, Massachusetts,
- 42 Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I.,
- 43 Dr. Thos. Massie, of Tye River Mills, Virginia,
- 44 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia,
- 45 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington,
- 46 Rev. Thos. E. Bond, D. D., N. York,
- 47 Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., N. J.,

- 48 Samuel Wilkeson, of New York,
 49 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey,
 50 James Railey, of Mississippi,
 51 Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.,
 52 Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.,
 53 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia,
 54 Anson G. Phelps, Esq., New York,
 55 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover,
 Massachusetts,
 56 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine,
 57 Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., Carlisle, Pa.,
 58 Rev. Beverley Waugh, Bishop of the
 M. E. Church, Baltimore.
 59 Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.,
 60 Moses Shepherd, Baltimore,
 61 Jonathan Coit, Connecticut,
 62 John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.,
 63 Hon. D. Waldo, Worcester, Mass.,
 64 Bishop McIlvain, of Ohio,
 65 Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.,
 66 Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., do.
 67 Hon. J. R. Underwood, Ky.

After which the following preamble and resolution were adopted :

Whereas, the cause of African colonization is obviously one of commanding importance, and in its present state requiring the concentrated wisdom of its friends in various parts of this country ; therefore—

Resolved, That it is expedient to elect, from time to time, honorary and corresponding members of the Board of Directors of this Society.

[The Society then elected fifteen honorary and corresponding members, in different parts of the country, whose names will be announced at a future time.]

And after the transaction of some other business, the Society adjourned to meet on the 3d of January, 1846, at 7 o'clock P. M.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met at the Colonization Rooms, in the City of Washington, January 22, 1845.

The Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey, was called to the Chair, and the Rev. A. D. Eddy, of New Jersey, was appointed Secretary.

Testimonials of the appointment of the following delegates, were then read :

- Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D.D. } N. Y. S. C. S.
 A. G. PHELPS, Esq., }
 Rev. A. D. GILLETTE, } Penn. S. C. S.
 Dr. JOHN BELL, }
 Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, } Mass. S. C. S.
 Rev. S. K. LATHROP, }
 Rev. A. D. EDDY, D. D. } N. J. S. C. S.
 Hon. L. Q. C. ELMER, }
 Hon. W. A. ARCHER, } Va. S. C. S.
 Hon. G. W. SUMMERS, }
 Hon. J. W. HUNTINGTON, } Conn. S. C. S.
 Hon. C. W. ROCKWELL, }

The Rev. J. B. Pinney, and Elliott Cresson, Esq., were present as Life Directors.

Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., H. Lindsly, M. D., and Rev. C. B. Davis, were present as members of the Executive Committee. And Rev. W. McLain, as Secretary of the Society.

Messrs. Tracy and Phelps, were appointed to examine and audit the accounts of the Treasurer for the last year.

So much of the annual report, already submitted to the Society, as relates to the emigration of colonists, was referred to Messrs. Pinney and Carroll.

So much of the report as relates to the state of the cause of colonization in this country, was referred to Messrs. Cresson and Davis.

So much as relates to the present state of the colony, was referred to Messrs. Pinney, Huntington, Bell, Tracy, Ellsworth, Summers and Archer.

Messrs. Tracy and Phelps, were appointed a committee to examine and report upon the concerns of the African Repository.

Messrs. Pinney, Eddy and Dr. Carroll, were appointed to nominate members of the Executive Committee, and a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.

On motion, adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at half past 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING.

Half past 9 o'clock.

The Board of Directors met according to adjournment. The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted.

The committee on that part of the annual report which relates to the emigration of colonists, made a report, which report was re-committed, and the committee were instructed to prepare and present resolutions in accordance with the first and third subjects embraced and recommended in said report.

The committee on that part of the report which relates to the cause of colonization in this country, made the following report:

"Your Committee beg leave, respectfully to report, that they find much cause for congratulation on the general aspect of our affairs in this country, and in their management during the last year, but we believe that enlightened economy will dictate an

appropriation of the additional sum of \$400 to the office outlay of \$2,000, for the coming year, so as to afford the aid of an assistant, for the relief of our able and indefatigable Secretary, and accordingly recommend the grant of that sum.

"We note with great regret, the inadequacy of our funds to meet the many cases where benevolent slave holders have offered the gratuitous emancipation of their people for settlement in our colonies; and that your Executive Committee has been compelled to reject these proffered trusts, on the sole ground of pecuniary inability. We are well aware of the difficulty of procuring suitable agents; but with full confidence in the benevolent feelings of American philanthropists, and in their readiness to contribute towards the moral regeneration of Africa, and the restoration of her long exiled children to her bosom—when made acquainted with our wants and their exigencies—we cannot doubt that important service would be rendered to the cause, by calling forth the volunteer labors of our friends in the different States. We would therefore suggest that the Executive Committee, be instructed to present some of the most striking cases where large bodies of valuable slaves, trained specially for future usefulness in Africa, have relapsed into hopeless bondage, from our inadequate receipts; and to invoke the co-operation of our friends in calling forth the requisite funds for preventing similar catastrophes, as well as for the completion of our territorial purchases between Capes Mount and Palmas, now, perhaps, the most important duty devolving upon the American Colonization Society, in view of the claims of three millions of unfortunate fellow creatures, upon the best sympathies of the American people.

"Our own observation happily corroborating the views of the annual report, in relation to the growing interest manifested by various religious bodies, towards this truly Christian and constitutional mode of blessing the African race, we would further suggest the selection of some of the most affecting cases of slaves reverting into bondage, to be embodied in a circular to the clergy, asking their active services in preventing the recurrence of similar circumstances.

"All of which is very respectfully submitted.

"ELLIOTT CRESSON,
"Chairman."

The committee to whom the accounts of the Treasurer were referred, made the following report:

From 1st January, 1844, to 1st January, 1845.

To balances due the Society per last report,	\$352 50	By balances owed by the Society per last report,	\$7,513 96
to which add error, since discovered,	11	Cash paid passage of Emigrants, Provisions, &c.,	6,941 90
Due and since collected, on an old debt not brought into the last year's statement,	693 24	Cash paid for goods consigned to the Colonial store,	4,653 25
Cash in hand, as per last report,	305 55	Cash paid for Improvements, Purchase of Territory, Salaries of Governor and Colonial Secretary, and other expenses in Liberia,	10,243 59
Received from the Colonial store, of which \$7,759 09 was the profit on its business for the year,	8,094 81	Cash paid Officers' expenses, viz: Salary of the Secretary, \$1,500; Rent, \$200; Clerk hire, \$119; Stationery, Lights, Fuel, &c., \$91 56,	1,910 56
Received from Donations,	12,781 70	Cash paid Postage, Contingent Expenses due at last Report, &c.,	540 69
Received for passage of Emigrants, and freight on goods carried out for others,	7,122 87	Cash paid Salaries of Agents, and other expenses attending Collection of Funds,	2,035 10
Received from Legacies,	2,495 18	Cash paid old debts, Discount, Exchange, &c.,	678 75
Received from subscriptions to the African Repository, Balances now owed by the Society, not including "old debts,"	1,794 43	Cash paid for Paper and Printing African Repository, Balances due the Society this day,	1,062 70
	7,642 97	Cash paid expenses on the Expedition by the Renown, \$72 08, and by the Virginia, \$2,584 94; which amounts have not yet been charged to the respective accounts,	3,045 84
			2,657 02
	\$41,283 36		\$41,283 36

From the above statement it will appear that the total receipts of the Society, during the year, (including the cash in hand at last report, \$305 55,) were \$33,640 39; and that the total expenditure was \$38,297 52: leaving a balance against the Society of \$4,597 13. The same being the difference between the amount which is due the Society and the amount which the Society owes this day, (not including "old debts.")

W. McLAIN.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
Washington City, Jan. 1st, 1845.

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

JOSEPH TRACY, }
A. G. PHELPS, } Auditors.

JANUARY, 28, 1845.

The committee on the present state of the colony made their report:

"The Committee to which was referred the subject of the state of the colony, report—

"That the colony of Liberia exhibits in all its aspects, whether as regards the extension of agriculture and commerce, the increase of buildings, and all the evidences of material prosperity or the continued salutary workings of its municipal laws and educational and religious institutions, a state of things every way gratifying to the Society and the friends of the colored race every where.

"January 23, 1845."

The committee to nominate members of the Executive Committee, Secretary and Treasurer, reported the names of Hon. Messrs. H. L. Ellsworth, and M. St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Hon. H. O. Dayton, Rev. C. B. Davis, Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Bacon, as members of the Executive Committee, and the Rev. W. McLain, as Corresponding Secretary.

The aforementioned gentlemen were unanimously elected to the offices for which they were respectively nominated.

Resolved, That the whole expense of the office at Washington, be limited for the ensuing year to a sum not exceeding twenty-four hundred dollars.

Resolved, That the appointment of a Treasurer, be referred to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of memorialising Congress, that measures be adopted to foster and protect the American commerce on the western coast of Africa, and to give encouragement to the commonwealth of Liberia, and to take into consideration the disposal of the census of Liberia, and whatever may relate to the American commerce on the African coast.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to confer with the subscribers to the \$15,000 fund, for the purpose of purchasing territory in Africa—on the importance of entering upon immediate negotiation for such purchase, and to see if the terms of such subscription may not be so modified as to allow donations to be applied at once to such purchase of territory.

The following resolutions were presented by Dr. CARROLL, and unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved. That the very nature, the objects, and the great ulterior aim of colonization preclude *indifference* and impose upon every patriot, philanthropist and Christian, the imperious duty of actively and zealously patronizing this cause, or of presenting satisfactory reasons for withholding from it that countenance and support due to a professedly great and important enterprise.

Resolved. That it is expedient and desirable that a series of district meetings, or conventions, should be held during the approaching spring and summer, with direct reference to enlisting the great body of the clergy more zealously in this enterprise, and to induce them to bring it back again to their several pulpits, and give at least one annual collection in aid of the funds of the Society.

Resolved. That the Executive Committee be instructed to review the proceedings of the Society and of this Board, and to publish such portions of their minutes as they may think proper.

The committee on the African Repository, made a verbal statement of the condition of said publication, which was satisfactory to the Board.

The committee on Emigrants, whose report was recommitted, made their report, which was referred to the Executive Committee for such action upon the subjects therein contained as they may deem expedient.

The annual report was referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board of Directors are due and are hereby tendered to the Corresponding Secretary and the Executive Committee of the last year, for the faithful and efficient manner in which their duties have been performed.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Hon. Mr. Elmer, for his valuable services at the present meetings of the Board, and for presiding as Vice President over its deliberations.

The Board of Directors adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1846, at 12 o'clock, M.

Items of Intelligence.

ANNUAL REPORT.—We devote nearly the whole of the present number to the Annual Report, the proceedings of the Society and the Board of Directors at the Annual Meeting. Able and interesting addresses were made by the various gentlemen who offered resolutions at the public meeting. We, however, have no room at present to give even a sketch of their remarks.

We hope our readers will give the Report a careful perusal. It exhibits the cause in this country and in Africa, as in a very flourishing condition.

WORTHY OF NOTICE—We have received two donations this year which give us great pleasure to acknowledge. One is \$10 from a young man just licensed to preach the gospel in South Carolina. He delivered his first sermons in the church of another minister, whose people handed him, as a small tribute of respect, \$10, which he took pleasure in passing into our treasury.

The other is from a minister in Connecticut, who says he is settled in a small country parish, on a small salary, with increasing expenses. He sent us \$3, saying it is "*part of long arrearage of a laborer's hire*." Such instances of liberality and devotion to this cause are truly encouraging and worthy of mention.

DEATH OF THE REV. HENRY HAWLEY, one of the Vice Presidents of the American Colonization Society.

The decease of the Rev. WILLIAM HAWLEY, which took place on the 28th ult., the late most worthy senior pastor of St.

John's Church, in this city, pierces many hearts with grief, and throws a shade of sorrow over our whole community. As a man, he was candid, upright, courteous, and affectionate; as a citizen, active and earnest in every public duty; as a friend, firm, faithful and unchanging; as a Christian Pastor, unostentatiously devout, hold in the maintenance of truth, devoted to the sacred duties of his office, ever watchful of the spiritual condition and necessities of his flock; prompt in counsel, tender in admonition, gentle towards the weak, the guide of the young, the guardian of the interest of the poor, and, like his great Master, ready at all times to weep with the afflicted and to rejoice with the joyful. For near thirty years has he maintained amongst us an unblemished reputation as a servant and minister of God, and to his exertions, the church with which he was connected, and the various religious institutions of our city and district, are largely indebted. For many years was he one of the most earnest and laborious managers of the American Colonization Society; stood by that association during its most dark and trying periods; was the friend of the lamented ASHURUS when he had few friends beside, and finally (after the character of that great and good man shone bright to all eyes) attended his remains to their grave.

We attempt not to pay an adequate tribute of respect to him who is now, in God's good providence, removed from this sphere of duty to a great and endless reward. His memory will be cherished in our inmost heart. Those deprived of his presence in their home, now sad and desolate, have our deepest sympathy. Let them remember His words, and be comforted. He shall rise again.—*Nat. Int.*

NEW AGENTS.—The Rev. Benjamin T. Kavanaugh, has been appointed an agent of this Society for the State of Indiana, and the Rev. L. Rogers for the State of Illinois. We commend them to the attention and liberality of our friends in those States.

AFRICAN REPOSITORY.—Arrangements have been made by the Managers of the State Colonization Societies of Illinois and Missouri, by which the Repository will be sent to

all the clergy in those two States who are willing to receive it, the present year. It is to be hoped that its circulation will be of great benefit to the benevolent enterprise whose claims it advocates, and that many of the clergy will be induced to take up collections in its behalf about the 4th of July next.

Is not this measure worthy of consideration by other State societies?

Items of Intelligence deferred from last Number.

THE LAST TOUCH OF ABOLITION.—A *Theocratic Conference* was held on the 15th November, at Lairdsville, N. Y., “for the purpose of asserting their rights, renouncing their allegiance to all human governments, and taking the kingdom.” They formerly, by an “Amen,” adopted a series of resolutions setting forth their “mind and will,” and a “declaration of independence,” by which they pronounce that “in the kingdom,” “the church and the state are one and the same, and that all matters usually distinguished as civil and religious, are under its control.” They explain their position in relation to the governments of this world thus: “That they are absolved from all allegiance to all human governments and institutions; that all political and religious connection between them and these various dominions, *is*, and of right ought to be, *totally dissolved*.” And they claim a divine prerogative to do as they please henceforward! But they do not state how they intend to execute their resolutions and carry into effect their independence! On what a surging, restless billow have the minds of abolitionists been tossed! The hour

they struck out on the broad sea of their mistaken philanthropy, was fraught with peril to all their principles of truth, to all their social affections, and to all their obligations to society. Better, far better, had it been for them and the world if they had remained fast anchored in the quiet waters of philanthropy as they float along the streams of COLONIZATION.

EDGAR JANVIER, Esq., of “Soldiers’ Rest,” Virginia, has been appointed an agent of the American Colonization Society for that state, and is about entering on the duties of the agency. He is respectfully and cordially commended to the friends of the cause generally, and their hearty co-operation is bespoken for him.

EMANCIPATION.—The Hon. Henry Clay has rewarded the faithfulness of his personal servant, *Charles*, by giving him his freedom, and, as we understand, a handsome *bonus* besides. Charles, five years ago was travelling with his master through Canada, but declined all the solicitations of the abolitionists, by whom he was constantly beset, to *take his freedom*, telling them that his sense of propriety and obligation was so high

that the offer of all Canada would not induce him to leave his master in that manner.

The following is a transcript of the deed of emancipation :

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Henry Clay, of Ashland, for and in consideration of the fidelity, attachment and services of Charles Dupey, the son of Aaron, (commonly called Charles, and Charlotte,) and of my esteem and regard for him, do hereby liberate and emancipate the said Charles Dupey, from this day, from all obligation of service to me, or my representatives, investing him, as far as any act of mine can invest him, with all the rights and privileges of a freeman.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, this 9th day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1844.

"H. CLAY, [*Seal.*]

"Sealed and delivered }
in the presence of }

"THOS. H. CLAY."

AN interesting colonization meeting has been held in Philadelphia, at which the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society made an interesting and powerful address. It is spoken of by the papers as having been a masterly effort, and the cause as being in a reviving condition.

THE following article is extracted from the sermon of Bishop Henshaw, preached before the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, October 3, 1844.

"To Africa we owe a debt which it will be difficult to discharge. For our national wealth, prosperity, and comfort, we are, in a considerable degree, indebted to the sufferings and toils and sweats of her children. We can make no adequate return but by sending to that oppressed continent, the comforts of civilization, and the unspeakable blessings of the Gospel of Christ. Thank God, we have commenced the discharge of our obligations.

"At one of the colonies planted by American benevolence, on its western coast, we have established a Mission, which, in the very infancy of its being, has received the seal of God's blessing and proved a nursery for Heaven. There future Cyprians and Augustines may yet be trained for the service of Christ and his church. Scarcely had we begun to sow the seed before we were permitted to reap. The Lord has been swift to crown our humble labors with the influence of His grace and the manifestations of His love. O, that it may prove the first fruits of a plentiful harvest! May the new song of the converted children at Cape Palmas, which has given joy to angels, prove but the first note of the anthems of redemption to be sung, in full chorus, throughout that dark continent, by a regenerated race!"

Colonization the only way of Christianizing Africa.

An important change is taking place among the great missionary societies with reference to the purposes and achievements of colonization. If we mistake not the signs of the times, it will not be long until they will come

out in their respective publications and take the same ground which we have always occupied, viz: that if colonization is not the *only*, it is certainly the most certain and effectual way of christianizing Africa. And that there is yet no instance of a mission having accomplished any lasting and permanent good apart from colonial influence. It is understood that the Baptist mission is confined to the

limits of the colony, and its continuance and extension under this benign influence, argues well for the cause, and we doubt not will soon command the attention of those interested therein.

If we could command the men and the money, we could show the operations of missions, in connection with our colony, on a grand scale.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 1st January, to the 1st February, 1845.

VERMONT.

Hinesburgh—Daniel Goodyear, \$2, Marcus Hull, \$2, John Baird, J. Boynton, H. Boynton, L. Bates, L. Dorwin, J. Marsh, Wm. B. Vilie, and Murray & Patrick, each \$1, Isaac Higbor, L. Jane Hoyt, Francis Wilson, Lucretia Wilson, N. L. Boynton, Stephen Boynton, Andrew Burritt, and John Haslam, each 50 cts., Hannah Boynton, Emeline Bucher, Celinda Viele, Mary J. Strong, Harriet Butler, each 25 cts., Henry Wilson, 12 cents, by John Wheelock, Esq..... 17 37

CONNECTICUT.

By the Rev. S. Cornelius,
New Haven—Collection at the annual meeting, \$8. *Bridgeport*—\$8 50. *Birmingham*—\$40 50. *Kent*—\$15 50. *Woodbury*—\$16 75. *Litchfield*—\$23 00. *Stamford*—\$26 00. *Bristol*—\$40 75. *Salisbury*—\$15 50. *Norfolk*—\$4. *Falls Village*—\$5 00. *New Milford*—\$1 00. *Greenwich*—\$22 50. *Canaan*—\$19 50. *Stratfield*—\$7. *Stratford*—\$2 50. *New Haven*—\$159 00. *Hartford*—\$287 00. *Bloomfield*—\$8 75. *Middletown*—\$44 00..... 754 75
Greenwich—S. B. S. B., toward a life-member..... 5 00
759 75

NEW YORK.

"A friend to the cause."..... 50 00

NEW JERSEY.

By the Rev. S. Cornelius,
Burlington—Rev. C. Van Rensselaer..... 20 00
Camden—A. Browning, Esq., \$30, Mrs. J. Shepherd, \$1..... 31 60
Jersey City—J. B. Miller, \$10, Thomas Kingsford, Mrs. Gautier, and Mrs. Van Vorst, each \$5, D. S. Gregory, to constitute Rev. John Johnstone a life-member, \$30, David Jones, Hiram Gilbert, and J. Meson, each \$1, A. Van Winkle, 50 cts. Henry Fowler, 45 cts..... 58 95
Trenton—Samuel Gumery, \$50, Henry Stryker, and P. D. Vroom, each \$5, Samuel G. Stryker, and J. C. Potts, each \$3. Peter Howell, \$2..... 68 00
Bridgeton—Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, 20 00
Morristown—Dr. A. P. Johnston, through the Society of the D. C., by Jas. Adams, Tr..... 50 60
247 95

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington—Society of the D. C., per James Adams, Treasurer, \$76. Collection in the 2d Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. James Knox, Pastor, \$15..... 91 00

VIRGINIA.

Fincastle—Bottetourt Aux. Col. Society, by James T. Logan, Treasurer..... 30 00
Richmond—Through the Society, of the D. C., by Jas. Adams, Treasurer..... 309 00
Charleston—Daniel Ruffner, Esq., through the Society of the D. C., by James Adams, Tr... 50 00

<i>Petersburgh</i> —Rev. Mr. Foot, thro' the Society of the D. C., by James Adams, Treasurer.....	15 00
<i>Norfolk</i> —L. W. Stray.....	5 00
<i>Frederick Parish, Clark co.</i> —Collection by the Rev. W. G. H. Jones, Rector.....	30 00
	<hr/> 439 00

SOUTH CAROLINA.

<i>Lindo</i> —Rev. W. W. Patton, being the first money he received for preaching the gospel	10 00
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KENTUCKY.

By the Rev. Alex. M. Cowan, <i>Shelby county</i> —Mrs. Joseph G. Lyel, \$20, John Cowan, and Woodford Hall, each \$10, Wm. Q. Morton, Mrs. Morton Sam'l Glass, Wm. Hewlett, John L. Hanna, Rev. Wm Crawford, Oswald Thomas, Stephen C. Hanna, B. M. Hall, E. C. Payne, Stephen H. Myles, Geo. L. Harbinson, Robt. Long, Wm. Hanna, Robt. P. Hanna, James Wight, James V. Harbinson, A. R. Scott, Mrs. Jane McDowell, Mrs. J. lia Scott, Walker W. Barton, Sam. W. White, Jacob Fullenwider, George W. Johnston, Rev. John Tivis, Josephus H. Wilson, Robt. McGrath, A. S. Clay, Rev. D. C. Procter, Dr. John T. Parker, Col John Cunningham, Henry O. Offutt, Dr. David M. Sharp, Dr. Benj. Logan, John P. Allen, James Bradshaw, W. C. Winlock, each \$5, Col James D. Allen, \$4 84, John E. Burton, \$4, Mrs. Ellen Morton, George Johnston, John McDowell, Singleton Wilson J. M. Owen, John Lane, Dr. G. W. Nuckold, Wm. Jarvis, Mrs. Mary J. Waters, Judge Thos. P. Wilson, Dr. N. O. Mettitchesson, each \$3, S. B. Moxley, Alfred Harrington, Wm. S. Harbinson, John Botts, Alex. Logan, Rachel Shannon, Samuel Shannon, each \$2, Alex. Long, \$2 50...	303 34
OHIO.	
<i>Granville</i> —Serenio Wright, Esq., annual life subscription.....	10 00

ILLINOIS.

<i>Columbus</i> —Collection by Rev. J. B. Crist.....	10 00
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MICHIGAN.

<i>Nankin and Livonia</i> —Aux. Col.	
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Society, by Rufus Swift, Esq., Treasurer.....	12 00
Total Contributions.....	1,950 41
Received from house rent....	32 00
	<hr/> \$1,982 41

FOR REPOSITORY.

MAINE.— <i>Machias</i> —R. K. Porter, for 1844.	2 00
VERMONT.— <i>Hinesburgh</i> —Daniel Goodyear, for 1844 and 1845, \$3, John Wheelock, Esq., for 1845, \$1 63.....	4 63
MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>Springfield</i> —Mrs. Prudence Howard, for '45 and '46, \$3. Lowell—Mrs. Harriet A. Thompson, for 1845, \$1 50.....	4 50
CONNECTICUT.— <i>Farmington</i> —Mrs. Phebe Jones, for 1842 and 1843, \$3. East Windsor—Samuel P. Walcott, for 1844 and 1845, \$3. Greenwich—Zenas Mead, Thomas A. Mead, J. Mead, Augustus Mead, and Joseph Branch, each for 1844, \$1 50.....	13 50
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.— <i>Washington City</i> —Dr. Bradley, for 1844, \$2, Hon. E. R. Potter, M. C., and Charles King, Esq., each for 1845, \$1 50,	5 00
VIRGINIA.— <i>Walnut Grove, Kenawha Co.</i> —Miss Jane A. Summers, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Wheeling</i> —Morgan Wilson, for 1844 and 1845, \$3. <i>Burgess' Store</i> —Rev. B. Burgess, to Jan., 1845, \$5.....	9 50
NORTH CAROLINA.— <i>Raleigh</i> —John Primrose, to 1 May, 1845, \$1 50.....	5 00
ALABAMA.— <i>Mobile</i> —Rev. Robert Nall for 1845.....	1 50
MISSISSIPPI.— <i>Louisville</i> —L. Keese, L. B. Gaston, Rev. John Micon, and Hon. R. C. Thornton, each for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Lexington</i> —A. E. Whitten, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Fern Spring, Winston County</i> —Miss Harriet Micon, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Macon</i> —A. G. Byram, Esq., and Dr. W. G. Poindexter, each for 1845, \$1 50.....	12 00
KENTUCKY.— <i>Bloomfield</i> —Dr. J. Bemiss, for 1844 and 1845, \$3. OHIO.— <i>Bolivar</i> —D. Yant, for '45, \$1 50. <i>Canal Dover</i> —J. Burris, for 1845, \$1 50.....	3 00
Total Repository.....	63 63
Total Contributions.....	1,982 41
Aggregate Amount.....	<hr/> \$2,046 04

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, MARCH, 1845.

[No. 3.

Colonization and Missions.

WE continue the publication of "Colonization and Missions," by Rev. Joseph Tracy, which was commenced in the January number. We hope our readers will not fail to bestow upon it a candid, careful and continuous perusal. We shall complete it in our next number, and then they will be fully in possession of an unanswerable argument in favor of the splendid enterprise of colonization. The signal manner in which all efforts to establish missions in Africa have failed, the insuperable obstacles which lie in the way of doing any thing apart from colonization, and the fair promise which Liberia shows of perpetuity and growing enlargement, and the great facilities which it affords for operating upon the native tribes, far in the interior, are all so many powerful inducements to the friends of missions and well-wishers of our race, to rally around this Society, and bestow upon it an enlarged support, and enable

it to perform the vast and important work which it now has on hand. Let all remember that every day's delay, is a real and substantial loss to Africa and humanity. How many of her 150,000,000 of heathens will perish from the earth before another number of our publication, with its appeals and its arguments "strong as holy writ," reaches our many friends? How soon will the destiny of millions of them be fixed? And our days, too, how rapidly they pass! How important that "we do with our might, whatsoever our hands find to do."

PART II.

Discovery of Guinea.—Rise, progress and influence of the Slave Trade.—Prevalence and influence of Piracy.—Character of the natives before the influence of Colonization was felt.

We shall not dwell upon the full length portraits of negroes on Egyptian monuments three thousand years old, because their interpretation might

be disputed ; though their dress, their attitudes, their banjos, and every indication of character, show that they were then substantially what they are now. We shall pass over Ethiopian slaves in Roman and Carthaginian history ; because it might be difficult to prove that they came from the region under consideration. We will begin with Ibn Haukal, the Arabian Geographer, who wrote while the Saracen Ommaides ruled in Spain, and before the founding of Cairo in Egypt ; that is, between A. D. 902 and 968.

Ibn Haukal very correctly describes the "land of the blacks," as an extensive region, with the Great Desert on the north, the coast of the ocean to the south, and not easily accessible, except from the west ; and as inhabited by people whose skins are of a finer and deeper black than that of any other blacks. He mentions the trade from the land of the blacks, through the western part of the Great Desert, to Northern Africa, in gold and slaves ; which found their way thence to other Muhammedan regions. "The white slaves," he says, "come from Andalus," [Spain.] "and damsels of great value, such as are sold for a thousand dinars, or more."*

Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, after returning from his travels in the east, visited Tombuctoo, and other Muhammedan places on the northern border of the negro country, in 1352. The pagans beyond them enslaved each other, sold each other to the Muhammedans, or were enslaved by them, as has been done ever since. Some of them, he learned, were cannibals ; and when one of the petty monarchs sent an embassy to another, a fatted slave, ready to be killed and eaten, was a most acceptable present.

Of Christian nations, the French claim the honor of first discovering the coast of Guinea. It is said that the records of Dieppe, in Normandy, show an agreement of certain merchants of that place and Rouen, in the year 1365, to trade to that coast. Some place the commencement of that trade as early as 1346. Having traded along the Grain coast, and made establishments at Grand Sesters and other places, they doubled Cape Palmas, explored the coast as far as Elmina, and commenced a fortress there in 1383. In 1387, Elmina was enlarged, and a chapel built. The civil wars about the close of that century were injurious to commerce. In 1413, the

* This expression must not be taken too strictly. Sicily also furnished many Christian slaves, and others were obtained from other parts of Europe. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Muhammedans of Northern Africa have been able to obtain but few Christian slaves, except by piracy. They however continued to do what they could. Their corsairs, principally from Algiers on the Barbary coast, and Salee on the western coast of Morocco, seized the vessels and enslaved the crews of all Christian nations trading in those seas. To avoid it, nearly, if not quite, all the maritime nations of Christendom paid them an annual tribute. The United States, we believe, was the first nation that refused to pay this tribute ; and this refusal led to wars with Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. Several European powers have since followed our example. In 1815, the Emperor of Morocco stipulated by treaty, that British subjects should no longer be made slaves in his dominions. Several of the southern powers of Europe still pay this tribute ; and while we have been preparing these pages for the press, negotiations have been going on with Morocco, for releasing one or two of the northern powers from its payment. At this day, the Turks and Persians obtain "black slaves" from the interior of Africa, by the way of Nubia and Egypt, and by sea from Zeila and Berbera, near the outlet of the Red Sea, and from the Zanzibar coast. According to Sir T. F. Buxton, this branch of the slave trade consumes 100,000 victims annually, half of whom live to become serviceable. White slaves, mostly "damsels of great value," they procure from Circassia and other regions around Mount Caucasus.

company found its stock diminishing, and gradually abandoned the trade, till only their establishment on the Senegal was left. There are some circumstances which give plausibility to this account; yet it is doubted by some writers, even in France, and generally disbelieved or neglected by others.

The account of the discovery by the Portuguese is more authentic; and its origin must be narrated with some particularity.

During the centuries of war between the Christians of Spain and their Moorish invaders and oppressors, an order of knights was instituted, called "The Order of Christ." Its object was, to maintain the war against the Moors, and also "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." To this, the knights were consecrated by a solemn vow. Henry of Loraine was rewarded for his services in these wars with the gift of Portugal, and of whatever else he should take from the Moors. Under his descendants, Portugal became a kingdom, and John I., having expelled or slaughtered the last of the Moors in his dominions, passed into Africa and took Ceuta in 1415. He was attended in this expedition by his son, Henry, Duke of Viseo, and Grand Master of the Order of Christ. Henry distinguished himself during the siege; remained sometime in Africa to carry on the war, and learned that beyond the Great Desert as the country of the Senegal and the Jaloofs. With the double design of conquering infidels and finding a passage to India by sea, having already pushed his discoveries to Cape Bojador, he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., granting to the Portuguese an exclusive right in all the islands they al-

ready possessed, and also in all territories they might in future discover, from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. The Pope also granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church. And certainly, few indulgencies have been granted to souls that had more need of them.

The Portuguese laity were at first averse to an enterprise which appeared rash and useless; but the clergy rose up in its favor, and bore down all opposition. Ships were fitted out, and after some failures, Gilianez doubled Cape Bojador in 1432. In 1434, Alonzo Gonzales explored the coast for thirty leagues beyond. In 1435, he sailed along twenty-four leagues further. In an attempt to seize a party of natives, some were wounded, on both sides. In 1440, Antonio Gonzales made the same voyage, seized about ten of the natives, all Moors, and brought them away.* Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Blanco. In 1442, Antonio Gonzales returned to the coast, and released one of the Moors, formerly carried away, on his promise to pay seven Guinea slaves for his ransom. The promise was not fulfilled; but two other Moors ransomed themselves for several blacks of different countries and some gold dust. The place was hence called Rio del Oro, (Gold River,) and is nearly under the Tropic of Cancer. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Arguin, and caught 14 blacks. In 1444, Gilianez and others, in six caravels, seized 195 blacks, most of whom were Moors, near Arguin, and were well rewarded by their prince. In 1445, Gonzales de Cintra, with seven of his men, were killed 14 leagues be-

* The common statement, that the first slaves were brought home by Alonzo Gonzales, in 1434, appears to be an error.

yond Rio del Oro, by 200 Moors. In 1446, Antonio Gonzales was sent to treat with the Moors at Rio del Oro, concerning peace, commerce, and their conversion to Christianity. They refused to treat. Nunno Tristan brought away 20 slaves. Denis Fernandez passed by the Senegal, took four blacks in a fishing boat, and discovered Cape Verde. In 1447, Antonio Gonzales took 25 Moors near Arguin, and took 55 and killed others at Cape Blanco. Da Gram took 54 at Arguin, ran eight leagues further and took 50 more, losing seven men. Lancelot and others, at various places, killed many and took about 180, of whom 20, being allies treacherously seized, were afterwards sent back. Nunno Tristan entered the Rio Grande, where he and all his men but four were killed by poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez, 40 leagues beyond, had two battles with the natives, in one of which he was wounded. Gilianez and others were defeated with the loss of five men at Cape Verde, made 48 slaves at Arguin, and took two women and killed seven natives at Palma. Gomez Perez, being disappointed in the ransom of certain Moors at Rio del Oro, brought away 80 slaves.

Thus far from Portuguese historians. Next, let us hear the accounts which voyagers give of their own doings and discoveries. The oldest whose works are extant, and one of the most intelligent and trustworthy, is Aluise de Cada Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

Cada Mosto sailed in 1455. He found the people around Cape Blanco and Arguin, Muhammedans. He calls them Arabs. They traded with Barbary, Tombuctoo and the negroes. They get from ten to eighteen negroes for a Barbary horse. From 700 to 800 annually are brought to Arguin and sold to the Portuguese.

Formerly, the Portuguese used to land by night, surprise fishing villages and country places, and carry off Arabs. They had also seized some of the Azenaghi, who are a tawny race, north of Senegal, and who make better slaves than the negroes; but, as they are not confirmed Muhammedans, Don Henry had hopes of their conversion, and had made peace with them. South of the Senegal are the Jaloffs, who are savages, and extremely poor. Their king lives by robbery, and by forcing his subjects and others into slavery. He sells slaves to the Azenaghi, Arabs and Christians. Both sexes are very lascivious, and they are exceedingly addicted to sorcery. A little south of Cape Verde, he found negroes who would suffer no chief to exist among them, lest their wives and children should be taken and sold for slaves, "as they are in all other negro countries, that have kings and lords." They used poisoned arrows, "are great idolaters, without any law, and extremely cruel." Further on, he sent on shore a baptized negro as an interpreter, who was immediately put to death. He entered the Gambia, and was attacked by the natives in 15 canoes. After a battle, in which one negro was killed, they consented to a parley. They told him they had heard of the dealings of white men on the Senegal; knew that they bought negroes only to eat; would have no trade with them, but would kill them and give their goods to their king. He left the river and returned. The next year he entered the Gambia again, and went up about 40 miles. He staid eleven days, made a treaty with Battimansa, bought some slaves of him, and left the river because the fever had seized his crew. He found some Muhammedan traders there; but the people were idolaters, and great believers in sorcery. They

never go far from home by water, for fear of being seized as slaves. He coasted along to the Kasamansa and Rio Grande; but finding the language such as none of his interpreters could understand, returned to Portugal.

In 1461, the Portuguese began to take permanent possession, by erecting a fort at Arguin.

In 1462, Pedro de Cintra discovered Sierra Leone, Gallinas river, —which he called Rio del Fumi, because he saw nothing but smoke there—Cape Mount, and Cape Mesurado, where he saw many fires among the trees, made by the negroes who had sight of the ships, and had never seen such things before. Sixteen miles further along the coast, a few natives came off in canoes, two or three in each. They were all naked, had some wooden darts and small knives, two targets and three bows; had rings about their ears and one in the nose, and teeth strung about their necks, which seemed to be human. Such is our earliest notice of what is now Liberia. The teeth were those of slaughtered enemies, worn as trophies. The account of this voyage was written by Cada Mosto.

In 1463, Don Henry died, and the Guinea trade, which had been his property, passed into the hands of the king. He farmed it, for five years, to Fernando Gomez, for 500 ducats, and an obligation to explore 500 additional leagues of coast. In 1471, Juan de Santerem and Pedro de Escobar explored the Gold Coast, and discovered Rio del Oro del Mina; that is, Gold Mine River, which afterwards gave name to the fortress of Elmina.

In 1481, two Englishmen, John Tintam and William Fabian, began to fit out an expedition to Guinea; but John II., of Portugal, sent two ambassadors to England, to insist on

his own exclusive claims to that country, and the voyage was given up.

The same year, the king of Portugal sent ten ships, with 500 soldiers and 100, or as some say, 200 laborers, and a proper complement of priests as missionaries, to Elmina. They arrived, and on the 19th of January, landed and celebrated the first mass in Guinea. Prayer was offered for the conversion of the natives, and the perpetuity of the church about to be founded.

In 1484, John II. invited the powers of Europe to share with him the expense of these discoveries, and of "making conquests on the infidels," which tended to the common benefit of all; but they declined. He then obtained from the Pope a bull, confirming the former grant to Portugal, of all the lands they should discover from Cape Bojador to India, forbidding other nations to attempt discoveries in those parts of the world, and decreeing that if they should make any, the regions so discovered should belong to Portugal. From this time, the king of Portugal, in addition to his other titles, styled himself "Lord of Guinea."

The same year, Diego Cam passed the Bight of Benin, discovered Congo, and explored the coast to the twenty-second degree of south latitude. In a few years, a treaty was made with the king of Congo, for the conversion of himself and his kingdom. The king and several of the royal family were baptized; but on learning that they must abandon polygamy, nearly all renounced their baptism. This led to a war, which ended in their submission to Rome.

About the same time, the king of Benin applied for missionaries, hoping thereby to draw Portuguese trade to his dominions. "But they being sent, the design was discovered not to be religion, but covetousness.

For these heathens bought christened slaves; and the Portuguese, with the same avarice, sold them after being baptized, knowing that their new masters would oblige them to return to their old idolatry. This scandalous commerce subsisted till the religious king John III. forbade it, though to his great loss." Such was the character of the Portuguese in Guinea.

And here, for the sake of placing these events in their true connection with the history of the world, it may be well to state, that in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1492, Columbus made his first voyage to America. In 1493, May 2, Pope Alexander, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge and apostolic power," granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, all countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered or might discover, on condition of their planting and propagating there the Christian faith. Another bull, issued the next day, decreed that a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, and extending from pole to pole, should divide the claims of Spain from those of Portugal; and in June, 1494, another bull removed this line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In 1498, Vasco de Gama succeeded in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thenceforth, the more splendid atrocities of the East and West Indies threw those on the coast of Guinea into the shade, and historians have recorded them with less minuteness; so that from this time, we are unable to give names and dates with the same precision as heretofore. We know, however, that they continued to extend their intercourse with the natives, and then pronounced along the coast.

It was some time previous to 1498, that one Bonoim came to Portugal,

representing himself as the rightful king of the Jaloiffs, and requesting aid against his rivals. To obtain it, he submitted to baptism, with twenty-four of his followers, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of Portugal. Pedro Vaz de Cunha was sent out, with twenty caravels well manned and armed, to assist him, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Senegal. The fort was commenced; but Pedro found some pretext for quarrelling with Bemoi, and stabbed him to the heart. Intercourse, however, was soon established extensively with the Jaloiffs, the Foutahs, and other races in that region; of whom the Portuguese, settling in great numbers among them, became the virtual lords. We find them subsequently in possession of forts or trading houses, or living as colonists, at the Rio Grande, Sierra Leone, probably at Gallinas, Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, certainly at the Junk. Serros and Sangwin on the coast of Liberia, at Cape Three Points, Axim, Elmina, and numerous other places on the Ivory, Gold and Slave Coasts. So universally predominant was their influence, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the common language of business, and was every where generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with Europeans. A few Portuguese words, such as "palaver," "festa," and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day.

Of the character of the Portuguese on the coast, some judgment may be formed from what has already been said. It seems rapidly to have grown worse and worse. It was a place of resort for criminals, overgrown by various cruelties, violence and robbery, a place where fugitives from justice sought and found a refuge, a place where adventurers,

who hated the restraints of law, sought freedom and impunity. "No wonder, therefore," says a writer who had been at Elmina, "that the histories of those times give an account of unparalleled violence and inhumanities perpetrated at the place by the Portuguese, whilst under their subjection, not only against the natives and such Europeans as resorted thither, but even amongst themselves." Bad as the native character originally was, Portuguese influence added rapidly to its atrocity. A series of wars, which commenced among them about this time, illustrates the character of both.

In 1515, or as some say, in 1505, the Cumbas from the interior, began to make plundering incursions upon the Capez, about Sierra Leone. The Cumbas were doubtless a branch of the Giagas, another division of whom emigrated, twenty or thirty years later, to the upper region on the Congo river, and there founded

the kingdom of Ansiko, otherwise called Makoko, whose king ruled over thirteen kingdoms. "Their food," says Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Ansiko, "is said to be human flesh, and human bodies are hung up for sale in their shambles. Conceiving that they have an absolute right to dispose of their slaves at pleasure, their prisoners of war are fattened, killed and eaten, or sold to butchers." Specimens of this cannibal race, from near the same region, have shown themselves within a very few years. The Cumbas, on invading the Capez, were pleased with the country, and resolved to settle there. They took possession of the most fertile spots, and cleared them of their inhabitants, by killing and eating some, and selling others to the Portuguese, who stood ready to buy them. In 1678, that is, 163 years or more from its commencement, this war was still going on.*

The trade in slaves received a new

* These Giagas form one of the most horribly interesting subjects for investigation, in all history. In Western Africa, they extended their ravages as far south as Benguela. Their career in that direction seems to have been arrested by the Great Desert, sparsely peopled by the Demaras and Namaquas, extending from Benguela to the Orange River, and presenting nothing to plunder. In 1586, the missionary Santos found them at war with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambeze. He describes their ravages, but without giving dates, along the eastern coast for a thousand miles northward to Melinda, where they were repulsed by the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandez, writing from Abyssinia in 1609, mentions an irruption of the Galae, who are said to be the same people, though some dispute their identity. These Galae, "a savage nation, begotten of devils, as the vulgar report," he informs us, issued from their forests and commenced their ravages a hundred years before the date of his letter; that is, about the time of the invasion of Sierra Leone by the Cumbas. We find no express mention of their cannibalism; but in other respects they seem closely to resemble the Giagas. Thus we find them, from the commencement of the sixteenth century far into the seventeenth, ravaging the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and through thirty degrees of latitude. As to their original location, accounts differ. Some place it back of the northern part of Liberia. This was evidently one region from which they emigrated. Their migrations hence to Sierra Leone on the north, and Congo and Benguela on the south, are recorded facts. Here, under the name of Mani, Manez, or Monou, though comparatively few in numbers, they exercised a supremacy over and received tribute from the Quajos, the Folgias, and all the maritime tribes from Sierra Leone almost to Cape Palmas. East of Cape Palmas, their cannibalism and general ferocity marked the character of the people quite down to the coast, especially along what was called the Malegentes (Bad People) and Quagua coasts. The testimony is conclusive, that the Cumbas who invaded Sierra Leone, and the Giagas of Ansiko and Benguela, were from this region. According to other accounts, their origin was in the region on the eastern slope of the continent, from the upper waters of the Nile and the borders of Abyssinia, extending southward across the equator. In most regions, they appeared merely as roving banditti, remaining in a country only long enough to reduce it to desolation. Every where the Giagas them-

impulse about this time, from the demand for them in the Spanish West Indies. They had been introduced into those colonies, at least as early as 1503; and the trade was encouraged by edicts of Ferdinand V. in 1511, and of Charles V. in 1515. At the close of the century, this trade was immense. Portuguese residents bought the slaves of the natives, or procured them otherwise, and sold them to Spanish traders, who carried them to the West Indies.

The Protestants of England and Holland felt little respect for the Pope's grant of all Western Africa to Portugal; and even the French soon learned to disregard it.

The English took the lead. In 1551, and again in 1552, Thomas Windham visited the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese threatened him, that, if found again in those seas, he

and his crew should be treated as "mortal enemies." Nothing daunted by these threats, he sailed again the next year. He took a Portuguese partner as a guide, and visited the whole coast from the river Sestos to Benin. In 1554, Capt. John Lok, with three ships, reached the coast at Cape Mesurado, sailed along it nearly or quite to Benin, and brought home "certain black slaves," the first, so far as appears, ever brought to England. From this time, voyages appear to have been made annually, and sometimes several in a year, always in armed ships, and attended with more or less fighting with the Portuguese, the natives, or both. In 1564, David Carlet, attempted to trade with the negroes near Elmina. The negroes, hired and instructed by the Portuguese, first secured their confidence, and

selves few, but had numerous followers, who were of the same ferocious character. Every where, except perhaps among the Galae, they had the same practice of making scars on their faces by way of ornament. Every where they practiced the same cannibalism. On taking the city of Quiloa, a little south of Zanzibar, they butchered "three thousand Moors, for future dainties, to eat at leisure." Every where their religion was substantially the same, consisting mainly in worshipping the devil when about to commence an expedition. They had various names, some of which have been already mentioned. In the east, they were also called Mumbos, Zimbab, and Muzimbab. In the same region, and the vicinity of Congo, they were also called Jagges, Gagas, Giachi, and it was said, called themselves Agags. Compare, also, of terms still in use, the Gallas, a savage people on the south of Abyssinia, who are doubtless the Galae of Fernandez; the Golahs, formerly written Galas, north east of Monrovia, in the Monou region, of whose connection with the Giagas, however, there appears to be no other evidence; and the Mumbo Jumbo, or fictitious devil, with whom the priests overawe the superstitious in the whole region south of the Gambia. Their followers, in eastern Africa, were called Caffres; but perhaps the word was used in its original Arabic sense, as meaning infidels. Near the Congo, their followers were called Ansikos, and their principal chief, "the great Makoko," which some have mistaken for a national designation. Here, also, Imbe was a title of office among them, while in the east it was applied to the whole people. In Angola they were called Gindae. Whether any traces of them still remain in Eastern Africa, or around Congo and Benguela, we are too ignorant of those regions to decide. In the region of Liberia, there can be no doubt on the subject. American missionaries at Cape Palmas have seen and conversed with men from the interior, who avow without hesitation their fondness for human flesh, and their habit of eating it. On the Cavally river, the eastern boundary of Cape Palmas, the cannibal region begins some twenty, thirty or forty miles from the coast, and extends northward, in the rear of Liberia, indefinitely. Farther east, it approaches and perhaps reaches the coast. In this region, prisoners of war and sometimes slaves are still slain for food. Here, too, slaves are sacrificed at the ratification of a treaty, and trees are planted to mark the spot and serve as records of the fact. Such trees have been pointed out to our missionaries, by men who were present when they were planted. Compare, too, the human sacrifices of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the devil-worship of all Western Africa. But after all, were the Giagas one race of men, as cotemporary historians supposed? Or were they men of a certain character, then predominant through nearly all Africa, south of the Great Desert?

then betrayed Carlet, a merchant who accompanied him, and twelve of his crew, to the Portuguese, as prisoners. This mode of employing the negroes now became a common practice. In 1590, "about 42" Englishmen were taken or slain and their goods seized by the Portuguese and negroes combined at Portudal and Joal, on the coast of the Jaloffs. Captains Rainolds and Dassel, who were there the next year, detected a similar conspiracy against themselves, said by the chief conspirator to be authorized by the king of Portugal. In 1588, the African Company was incorporated.

The French, we have seen, profess to have been the first traders to the coast of Guinea, and to have always retained their post at the Senegal. Rainolds found, in 1591, that they had been there more than thirty years, and were in good repute. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were detested; and as for the Portuguese, "most of them were banished men, or fugitives from justice; men of the basest behavior that he and the rest of the English had ever seen of these nations."

In 1578, the French were trading at Accra, on the Gold coast. The negroes in the vicinity, at the instigation of the Portuguese, destroyed the town. There was then a standing offer, from the Portuguese to the negroes, of 100 crowns for a Frenchman's head. In 1582, the Portuguese sunk a French ship, and made slaves of all the crew who escaped a watery grave.

There is no account of the Dutch on this coast, till the voyage of Barent Erickson in 1595. The Portuguese offered to reward the negroes

if they would kill or betray him. They also offered a reward of 100 florins for the destruction of a Dutch ship. About the same time, a Dutch crew, with the exception of one or two men, was massacred at Cape Coast. Of another crew, three Dutchmen were betrayed by the negroes, and made slaves by the Portuguese at Elmina. In 1599, the negroes near Elmina, at the instigation of the Portuguese, inveigled five Dutchmen into their power, beheaded them, and in a few hours made drinking cups of their skulls.

But the English and Dutch continued to crowd in, and the Portuguese, who, after such atrocities, could not coexist with them on the same coast, were compelled to retire. In 1604, they were driven from all their factories in what is now Liberia. Instead of leaving the country, however, they retreated inland, established themselves there, intermarried with the natives, and engaged in commerce between the more inland tribes and the traders on the coast; making it a special object to prevent the produce of the interior from reaching the coast, except through their hands; and for this purpose they obstructed all efforts of others to explore the country. They traded with the people on the Niger; and one of their mulatto descendants told Villault, in 1666, that they traded along that river as far as Benin.* Their posterity gradually became merged and lost among the negro population; but the obstruction of intercourse with the interior became the settled policy of those tribes, and has done much to retard the growth of commerce in Liberia.

* As the Niger was then supposed by Europeans to flow westward and disembogue itself by the Senegal or Gambia, this statement was considered absurd; but since the discovery of the mouth of the Niger in Benin, there is reason to suppose it true. It ought to have led to an earlier discovery of the true course and outlet of that long mysterious river.

In other parts the Portuguese held possession some years longer. But the Dutch took their fort at Elmina in 1637, and that at Axim in 1642; after which they were soon expelled from the Gold and Ivory coasts. Before 1666, they had given place to the Dutch at Cape Mount, and to the English at Sierra Leone. In 1621, the English were trading in the Gambia, and in 1661, built James Fort near its mouth. Here also the Portuguese retired inland and mingled with the natives. Not many years since, some of their descendants were still to be found.

The influence of the English, Dutch and French, on the character of the natives, was in some respects different from that of the Portuguese; but whether it was on the whole any better, is a question of some difficulty. Portuguese writers assert that the Dutch gained the favor of the negroes by teaching them drunkenness and other vices; that they became absolute pirates, and siezed and held several places on the coast, to which they had no right but that of the strongest.

The Dutch trade was, by law, exclusively in the hands of an incorporated company, having authority to seize and confiscate to its own use, the vessels and cargoes of private traders found on the coast. These private traders, or interlopers, as they were called, were frequently seized by stratagem by the Dutch garrisons on the coast, and treated with great severity. But they provided themselves with fast sailing ships, went well armed and manned, and generally fought to the last man, rather than be taken by the Company's forces. Captain Phillips, in 1693, found more than a dozen of these interlopers on the coast, and had seen four or five of them at a time lying before Elmina castle for a week together, trading, as it were, in defiance of it.

The English had also their incorporated company, and their private traders. Of the character of the latter, we find no specification which dates in this century. In 1721, there were about thirty of them settled on the "starboard side" of the bay of Sierra Leone. Atkins describes them as "loose, privateering blades, who, if they cannot trade fairly with the natives, will rob. Of these," he says, "John Leadstone, commonly called 'Old Cracker,' is reckoned the most thriving." This man, called Leadstone in Johnson's "History of the Pirates," had been an old buccanier, and kept two or three guns before his door, "to salute his friends the pirates when they put in there." Such, substantially, appears to have been the character of the English "private traders" upon this coast from the beginning. Of the regular traders, English and Dutch, a part, and only a part, seem to have been comparatively decent.

The influence of the pirates on this coast deserves a distinct consideration.

They appeared there occasionally, as early as the year 1600, and seem to have increased with the increase of commerce. For some years, the piratically disposed, appear to have found scope for the indulgence of their propensities, among the buccaniers of the West Indies. But after the partial breaking up of the buccaniers in 1688, and still more after their suppression in 1697, they spread themselves over the whole extent of the Atlantic and Indian oceans. The coast of Guinea was one of their principal haunts, and Sierra Leone a favorite resort. They not only plundered at sea, but boldly entered any port where the people, whether native or European, were not strong enough to resist them, and traded there on their own terms. In 1693, Phillips found that the governor of Porto Praya made it a

rule never to go on board any ship in the harbor, lest it should prove to be a pirate, and he should be detained till he had furnished a supply of provisions, for which he would be paid by a bill of exchange on some imaginary person in London. Avery, commonly known as "Long Ben," had thus extorted supplies from the governor of St. Thomas, and paid him by a bill on "the pump at Aldgate." At Cape Mesurado, Phillips found a Scotchman, of the crew of Herbert the pirate. The crew had quarrelled, all the rest were killed or afterwards died of their wounds, he ran the brigantine ashore near the Cape, and had since been living among the natives. Capt. Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, April 1, 1719. He found three pirates in the harbor; Cocklyn, LeBouse and Davis. They had lately taken ten English vessels. His first mate, Jones, betrayed him into their hands. He had with him a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all English pirates who should surrender themselves on or before the first of July. An old buccanier tore it in pieces. They took Snelgrave's vessel for their own use, leaving an inferior one for him, and left the bay about the 29th of the month. Afterwards, he tells us, that more than a hundred vessels fell into the hands of these pirates on the coast of Guinea, and some of the gang did immense damage in the West Indies. A few days after sailing, Davis took the Princess, of London, plundered her and let her go; but her second mate, Roberts, joined him. He landed at Prince's Island, where the Portuguese governor at first favored them, for the sake of their trade, but finally assassinated Davis. The crew then chose Roberts for their captain, whose exploits were still more atrocious.

The same year, England, the pirate, took an English vessel near

Sierra Leone, murdered the captain, Skinner, and gave her to Howell Harris, who, after trial and acquittal, obtained command of a merchant sloop and turned pirate. Having had "pretty good success" for a while, he attacked St. Jago, in the Cape Verde Islands, but was repulsed. He then took, plundered and destroyed, the English fort, St. James, at the mouth of the Gambia. The fort appears to have been partially rebuilt immediately. In 1721, the African Company sent out the Gambia Castle, Capt. Russel, with a company of soldiers under Maj. Massey, to strengthen it. The new governor, Whitney, had just arrived. Massey, with the assistance of Lowther, second mate, seized both the fort and the ship; and after cruising a while as a pirate, went home, brought on his own trial, and was hanged.

In 1721, Roberts, before mentioned, had become so formidable as to attract the notice of the English government. Two ships of 50 guns each were sent out to capture him. Atkins, surgeon of the squadron, has given an account of the cruise. At Elmina, in January, they found that Roberts had "made a bold sweep" in August, had taken a vessel a few leagues from that place, and had "committed great cruelties." His three ships were well manned, "seamen every where entering with them; and when they refused, it was oftener through fear, than any detestation of the practice." This shows what was then the general character of English seamen in that region, and what influence they must have exerted on the natives. January 15, they reached Whidah. The pirates had just plundered and ransomed eleven ships, and been gone twenty-four hours. They followed on to the south, and by the 12th of February, took all three of their ships; the crew of the last having abandoned it and fled. They

found on board about 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negroes, great plenty of trade goods, and eight or ten thousand pounds of gold dust. The trial of these pirates occupied the court at Cape Coast Castle twenty-six days; 52 were executed there, 74 acquitted, 20 condemned to servitude, and 17 sent to the Marshall-sea.

The next year, Capt. Geo. Roberts was taken by three pirates, of whom Edmund Loc was the chief, at the Cape Verde Islands. While there, after Loc had gone, he fell in with Charles Franklin,* who had been taken some time before by Bartholomew Roberts, a pirate, had escaped from him at Sierra Leone, and taken refuge among the negroes in the interior.

The pirates seem generally to have been content with trading at Sierra Leone, without plundering the people; though Roberts took the place in 1720. They afterwards took permanent possession of the first bay below the Cape, and occupied it for seven years or more, till broken up by an expedition from France in 1730. Hence the place was called "Pirate's Bay," and was so named on British charts.

The moral influence of such a concentration of piracy upon the coast for nearly half a century, cannot be doubtful. The character of pirates, we know, has always been made up of remorseless ferocity, unscrupulous rapacity, and unbridled licentious-

ness. Perfectly versed in all the vices of civilization, restrained by no moral principle, by no feeling of humanity, by no sense of shame, they landed whenever and almost wherever they pleased upon the whole coast, with forces which it would have been madness to resist, and compelled the inhabitants, whether negro, European or mixed, to become the partners of their revels, the accomplices or dupes of their duplicity, or the victims of their violence. This, added to all the other malign influences at work upon the coast, gave such an education in evil, as probably was never inflicted on any other portion of the human race. A few statements of cotemporary writers may place this matter in a still clearer light. We will confine our remarks to what is now Liberia and its vicinity, where this tempest of evil seems to have fallen with special fury.

Even in the days of Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado river was called the Rio Duro, on account of the cruelty of the people.

Dapper, a Dutch writer, whose description of Africa was published about the year 1670, says of the Quojas, who were predominant from Sierra Leone to the Rio Sestos, that both sexes were extremely licentious, they were great thieves, and much addicted to witchcraft, in practising which they used real poisons. On the death of a chief, it was their practice to strangle one or two fe-

* This case is mentioned chiefly for the sake of introducing a note.—Franklin says that "these inlanders have a notion that the Bakkarous [whites] have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old; but that there wants so much to be done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all the most valuable things from their old world thither, the labor of which is carried on by the negroes they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work and slave very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the Bakkarous are all settled there. But when that is done, having no farther service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit this world, without ever being molested more by the whites, who will never come here again. This happy time they earnestly wish for."

Such was Franklin's statement to Roberts in 1722, published in London in 1726, and now transcribed from a copy printed in 1745. Is not Bakkarau about ready to spare them?

male slaves, to bury with him. From the Sestos to Cape Palmas, the people were much the same, but still more adroit at theft, and more addicted to witchcraft and devil-worship.

Barbot, agent general of the French African Company, was on the coast much of the time from 1680 to 1701. He says that the English had formerly a settlement at Sangwin, but abandoned it because of the ill temper of the blacks. At Bottowa, they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well looked to in dealing with them.

Phillips,* in 1693, at Grand Sesters, thought it unsafe to go up the river eight miles to visit king Peter, hearing that the natives were very treacherous and bloody. The people whom he saw were surly, and looked like villains. Though his ship carried 36 guns, on learning the temper of the people, he immediately cleared for action and left the river.

Snoek was at Cape Mesurado in 1701. Only one negro came on board, and he saw but a few on shore. Two English ships had two months before ravaged their country, destroyed their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people.

Bosman was on the coast about the same time. His description of Guinea, written in Dutch and translated into several languages, is one

of the best extant. "The negroes," he says, "are all, without exception, crafty, villainous, and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating a European, nor indeed one another." The mulattoes, he says, are "a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the negroes nor us; nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you rarely see them agree together. Whatever is in its own nature worst in the Europeans and negroes, is united in them." At some place, probably beyond Cape Palmas, he saw eleven human sacrifices at one funeral.

Marchais was at Cape Mesurado in 1724. He says that the English, Dutch and Portuguese writers all unite in representing the natives there as faithless, cunning, revengeful and cruel to the last degree; and he assents to the description. He adds, that "formerly they offered human sacrifices; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners." He gives a map of the Cape, and the plan of a proposed fort on its summit; and thinks it might yield 1,500 or 2,000 slaves annually, besides a large amount of ivory.

At the river Sestos, Marchais witnessed a negro funeral. "The captain or chief of a village dying of a

* Phillips sailed in the employment of the English African Company, and was evidently one of the most humane, conscientious and intelligent voyagers to that coast. He found the people of the Quaqua coast, a little beyond Cape Palmas, to be cannibals, as most who visited them also testify. At Secondee, Johnson, the English factor, had been surprised in the night, cut in pieces, and his goods plundered by the negroes, at the instigation of the Dutch. At Whidah, Phillips bought for his two ships, 1,300 slaves. Twelve of them wilfully drowned themselves, and others starved themselves to death. He was advised to cut off the legs and arms of a few, to terrify the rest, as other captains had done; but he could not think of treating with such barbarity, poor creatures, who, being equally the work of God's hands, are doubtless as dear to Him as the whites. He saw the bodies of several eaten by the sharks which followed his ship. On arriving at Barbadoes, the ship under his immediate command, had lost "14 men and 320 negroes." On each dead negro, the African Company lost £10, and the ship lost the freight, £10 10s. He delivered alive 372, who sold, on an average, at about £19. Such was the slave trade, in its least horrible aspect, in 1693.

hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives immediately spread the news through the town. All the women ran there and howled like furies. The favorite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause." She was watched by the other women, to prevent her escape. The marbut, or priest, examined the body, and pronounced the death natural—not the effect of witchcraft. Then followed washing the body, and carrying it in procession through the village, with tearing of the hair, howling, and other frantic expressions of grief. "During this, the marbut made a grave, deep and large enough to hold two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragout, of which he and the assistants ate. He also caused the favorite wife to eat some; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some, however; and during the repast, the body of the goat was divided in small pieces, broiled and eaten. The lamentations began again; and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favorite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two stout negroes. These, seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast. Then, holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least half despatched her, they threw her into the grave, with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately, the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one retired home as quietly as if nothing had happened."

Smith was sent out by the African Company to survey the coast, in 1726. At Gallinas, in December, he found Benjamin Cross, whom the natives had seized and kept three months, in reprisal for some of their people, who had been seized by the English. Such seizures, he says, were too often practiced by Bristol and Liverpool ships. Cross was ransomed for about £50. At Cape Mount, he found the natives cautious of intercourse, for fear of being seized. At Cape Mesurado, in January, 1727, he saw many of the natives, but not liking to venture on shore, had no discourse with them.

In 1730, Snelgrave, who had been captured by pirates nine years before, was again on the coast. There was then not a single European factory on the whole Windward Coast, and Europeans were "shy of trusting themselves on shore, the natives being very barbarous and uncivilized." He never met a white man who durst venture himself up the country. He mentions the suspicions and revengeful feelings of the natives, occasioned by seizing them for slaves, as a cause of the danger. He, too, witnessed human sacrifices.

Such was the character of what is now Liberia, after 268 years of intercourse with slave traders and pirates.

Meanwhile, nations were treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. The Genoese at first had the privilege of furnishing the Spanish colonies with negro slaves. The French next obtained it, and kept it till, according to Spanish official returns, it had yielded them \$204,000,000. In 1713, the British government, by the famous Assiento treaty, secured it for the South Sea Company for thirty years. In 1739, Spain was desirous to take the business into her own hands, and

England sold out the remaining four years for £100,000, to be paid in London in three months.*

From this time to 1791, when the British Parliament began to collect testimony concerning the slave trade, there seems to have been no important change in the influences operating on the coast, or in the character of its inhabitants. The collection and publication of testimony was continued till the passage, in 1807, of the act abolishing the trade. From this testimony, it appeared that nearly all the masters of English ships engaged in that trade, were of the most abandoned character, none too good to be pirates. Their cruelty to their own men was so excessive and so notorious, that crews could never be obtained without great difficulty, and seldom without fraud. Exciting the native tribes to make war on each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves, was a common practice. The Windward Coast, especially, was fast becoming depopulated. The Bassa country, and that on the Mesurado and Junk rivers, were particularly mentioned, as regions which had suffered in these wars; where the witnesses had seen the ruins of villages, lately surprised and burned in the night, and rice fields unharvested, because their owners had been seized and sold. On other parts of the coast, the slaves were collected, and kept for embarkation, in factories; but on the Windward Coast, "every tree was a factory," and when the negroes had any thing to sell, they signified it by kindling a fire. Here, also, was the principal scene of "panyaring;" that is, of enticing a negro into a canoe, or other defenceless situation, and then seizing him. The extent of this

practice may be inferred from the fact, that it had a name by which it was universally known. A negro was hired to panyar a fine girl, whom an English captain desired to possess. A few days after, he was panyared himself, and sold to the same captain. "What!" he exclaimed, "buy me, a great trader?" "Yes," was the reply, "we will buy any of you, if any body will sell you." It was given in evidence, that business could not be transacted, if the buyer were to inquire into the title of those from whom he bought. Piracy, too, added its horrors whenever the state of the world permitted, and, as we shall have occasion to show, was rampant when Liberia was founded.

Factories, however, were gradually re-established and fortified; but not till the slave trade had nearly depopulated the coast, and thus diminished the danger. Two British subjects, Bostock and McQuinn, had one at Cape Mesurado. In June, 1813, His Majesty's ship *Thais* sent forty men on shore, who, after a battle in which one of their number was killed, entered the factory and captured its owners. French, and especially Spanish factories, had become numerous.

A large proportion, both of the slave ships and factories, were piratical. By the laws of several nations, the trade was prohibited, and ships engaged in it liable to capture. They therefore prepared to defend themselves. The general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, left many privateers and their crews out of employment, and they engaged at once in piracy and the slave trade. In 1818, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the ambassadors of the leading powers of Eu-

* Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Assiento. The statement may be slightly inaccurate. The treaty, or "convention," with Spain in 1739, stipulated for the payment of £95,000, and the settlement of certain other claims, the amount of which was still to be ascertained.

rope, a list of eighteen armed slavers lately on the coast, of five vessels taken and destroyed by them, and of several battles with others; and these were mentioned only as specimens.

The natives, notwithstanding the evils which the slave trade inflicted upon them, were infatuated with it. In 1821, the agents of the Colonization Society attempted to purchase a tract for their first settlement at Grand Bassa. The only obstacle was, the refusal of the people to make any concession towards an abandonment of that traffic. In December of that year, a contract with that indispensable condition was made for Cape Mesurado. The first colonists took possession, January 7, 1822. In November of the same year, and again in December, the natives attacked the colony in great numbers, and with an obstinate determination to exterminate the settlers, and renew the trade at that accustomed spot. In April and May, 1823, Mr. Ashmun, governor of the colony, went on business along the coast about 150 miles, to Settra Kroo. "One century ago," he remarks, "a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth; commonly distinguished from the original by the profusion of brambles and brushwood, which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the bill-hook."

In May, 1825, Mr. Ashmun purchased for the colony, a fine tract on the St. Paul's. Of this he says: "Along this beautiful river were formerly scattered, in Africa's better days, innumerable native hamlets; and till within the last twenty years, nearly the whole river-board, for one or two miles back, was under that

slight culture which obtains among the natives of this country. But the population has been wasted by the rage for trading in slaves, with which the constant presence of slaving vessels and the introduction of foreign luxuries have inspired them. The south bank of this river, and all the intervening country between it and the Mesurado, have been, from this cause, nearly desolated of inhabitants. A few detached and solitary plantations, scattered at long intervals through the tract, just serve to interrupt the silence and relieve the gloom which reigns over the whole region."

The moral desolation, he found to be still more complete. He writes: "The two slaving stations of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado have, for several ages, desolated, of every thing valuable, the intervening very fertile and beautiful tract of country. The forests have remained untouched, all moral virtue has been extinguished in the people, and their industry annihilated, by this one ruinous cause." "Polygamy and domestic slavery, it is well known, are as universal as the scanty means of the people will permit. And a licentiousness of practice which none—not the worst part of any civilized community on earth—can parallel, gives a hellish consummation to the frightful deformity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of these tribes." "The emigrants, from the hour of their arrival in Africa, are acted upon by the vitiating example of the natives of this country. The amount and effects of this influence, I fear, are generally and egregiously underrated. It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an ignorant rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. It may not be easily credited, but the fact certainly is,

that the advantage is, oftenest, on the side of the latter. The sameness of color, and the corresponding characteristics to be expected in different portions of the same race, give to the example of the natives a power and influence over the colonists, as extensive as it is corrupting. For it must not be suppressed, however the fact may be at variance with the first impressions from which most African journalists have allowed themselves to sketch the character of the natives, that it is vicious and contaminating in the last degree. I have often expressed my doubt, whether the simple idea of moral justice, as we conceive it from the early dawn of reason, has a place in the thoughts of a pagan African. As a principle of practical morality, I am sure that no such sentiment obtains in the breast of five Africans within my acquaintance. A selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another's good; a habit of dishonest dealing, of which nothing short of unceasing, untiring vigilance can avert the consequences; an unlimited indulgence of the appetites; and the labored excitement*, and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly—these are the ingredients of the African character. And however revolting, however, on occasion, concealed by an assumed decency of demeanor; such is the common character of all."

This last extract was dated May 20, 1827, when Mr. Ashmun had been nearly five years in Africa, and in the most favorable circumstances for learning the truth.

And this horrid work was still going on. In August, 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote:—"I wish to afford the Board a full view of our situation,

and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but because it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, for her victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skillfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation, with the exception of a few towns, of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

King Boatswain was not such an untaught barbarian as some may suppose. He began life without hereditary rank, served in the British Navy till he attained the rank of boatswain, and gradually arose among his own people by his superior intelligence and force of character. In September, 1824, he seized 86 more of the Queahs.

In August, 1825, the Clarida, a Spanish slaver connected with the factory at Digby, a little north of the St. Paul's, plundered an English brig at anchor in Monrovia harbor.

* Of this, in respect to both sexes, we might have produced disgusting testimony more than a century old, relating especially to this part of the coast. In this, as in other things, their character had evidently undergone no essential change.

Mr. Ashmun, with twenty-two volunteers, and the captain of the brig with about an equal force, broke up the factory and released the slaves confined in it. A French and a Spanish factory, both within five miles of Monrovia, uniting their interests with the Clarida, were soon after broken up, and their slaves released. The French factory had kidnapped, or purchased of kidnappers, some of the colonists, and attempted to hold them as slaves.

In 1826, the *Minerva*, a Spanish slaver, connected with some or all of the three factories at Trade town, had committed piracy on several American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several of the colonists. At the suggestion of Mr. Ashmun, she was captured by the *Dragon*, a French brig of war, and condemned at Goree. The factories at Trade town bought eight of the colonists, who had been "panyared," and refused to deliver them up on demand. In April, Mr. Ashmun, assisted by two Columbian armed vessels, landed, broke up the factories, and released the slaves. The natives under King West, then rose in defence of the slavers, and made it necessary to burn Trade town. The Colonial government then publicly prohibited the trade on the whole line of coast, over which it assumed a qualified jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Trade town. In July, a combination to restore Trade town was formed by several piratical vessels and native chiefs. July 27, the brig *John*, of Portland, and schooner *Bona*, of Baltimore, at anchor in Monrovia harbor, were plundered by a piratical brig of twelve guns, which then proceeded to Gallinas and took in 600 slaves.

"The slave trade," Mr. Ashmun wrote about this time, "is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every week from Havana, and desperadoes enlisted for

enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either forgotten entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal, from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last twelve months been on this coast, as low as six degrees north, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards."

The batteries for the protection of Monrovia harbor were immediately strengthened, the Trade town combination was of short continuance, and the growth of the Colony soon changed the character, both of the coast and its visitors.

Would the non-resistance policy of William Penn have succeeded better? It has been tried. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society commenced an unarmed settlement at Bassa Cove, about the end of the year 1834. King Joe Harris sold them land to settle upon, and professed to be their cordial friend. In a few months, a slaver arrived. Harris had slaves for sale; but the slaver would not trade so near a settlement of Americans. This finished the temptation which Harris had already begun to feel. He fell upon the settlement in the dead of night, killed about twenty of the colonists, and while the remainder fled to save their lives, plundered their houses. A singular fact shows that he was not only fully and minutely acquainted with their peaceful character, but that he was encouraged by it to make the attack. One of the colonists owned a musket, and another sometimes borrowed it; so that Harris could not know in which of their houses it might then happen to be. He therefore refrained from attacking either of those houses.

Would purely missionary establishments be more secure? This also has been tried. The Methodist station at Heddington, on the south

bank of the St. Paul's, about 20 miles from Monrovia, was of that character. Gatumba, king of those lately known here as Mendians, and whose strong hold was about two days' march north-east from Monrovia, had in his employ, Goterah, a cannibal warrior from the interior, who, with his band of mercenary desperadoes, had desolated many native towns, and taken hosts of slaves for his employer to sell. He was evidently a remnant of the Giagas. One night in 1841, he made an attack on Heddington. His threats, to plunder the mission property, take the children in school for slaves, and eat the missionary, had been reported at Heddington, and arms had been procured for defence. After an obstinate contest, Goterah was shot while rushing, sword in hand, into the mission-house. His followers were soon seized with a panic, and fled. Among the camp equipage which they left, was a kettle, which Goterah had brought with him, to boil the missionary in for his breakfast.

The experiment was tried again. The Episcopal missionaries at Cape Palmas imagined that the peace and safety in which they had been able to live and labor for several years, were in no degree owing to colonial protection; and they resolved to act accordingly. They commenced a station at Half Cavally, about 13 miles east of the Cape, among the natives, but within the territory of the colony; another at Rockbokah, about eight miles farther east, and beyond the limits of the colonial territory; and another at Taboo, some 17 miles beyond Rockbokah. In 1842, some of the natives near these last named stations seized the schooner Mary Carver, of Salem, murdered the captain and crew, and plundered the vessel. The perpetrators of this outrage soon become known to Mr. Minor at Taboo, and

Mr. Appleby at Rockbokah. To guard against exposure and enrich themselves, the chiefs entered into a conspiracy to kill the missionaries and plunder their premises. The missionaries, being aware of the design, were on their guard, and its execution was deferred to a more convenient opportunity, and, as Mr. Appleby supposed, was at length abandoned. Meanwhile, Mr. Minor died. The natives within the colonial territory agreed to force the colonists to pay higher prices for provisions, and prepared for war. Early in December, 1843, Mr. Payne, at Half Cavally, finding himself surrounded by armed natives, from whom his life and the lives of his family were in danger, sent to Cape Palmas for rescue. When his messenger arrived, the United States squadron had just come in sight. A vessel was immediately sent for his relief. A force was landed, he and his family were escorted to the shore, taken on board and conveyed to Cape Palmas. On proceeding eastward, to punish the murderers of the crew of the Mary Carver, the squadron took off Mr. Appleby from his dangerous position at Rockbokah. The presence of the squadron soon induced the natives to make peace with the colony; but for several weeks it was supposed that the Cavally station could never be safely resumed. The school at Rockbokah is still continued, under a native teacher, and perhaps Mr. Appleby may yet return to it, as the natives think that his presence will be, in some degree, a pledge of peace.

We may then consider it as proved by facts of the plainest significance, that up to the commencement of this present year, 1844, unarmed men, whether colonists or missionaries, white or black, native or immigrant, could not live safely in that part of the world without colonial protection.

(To be continued.)

Colonization.

WHY WILL NOT OTHERS "GO AND DO LIKEWISE" FOR THE CAUSE OF COLONIZATION?

The following extract of a letter from an esteemed minister of the gospel, and a pastor in the interior of the State, accompanied by a collection from the people of his charge in behalf of the Colonization Society, exhibits the spirit which we so devoutly desire to see pervading all our churches, and the great community.

"DEAR SIR:—We made our effort for the Colonization Society a few Sabbaths ago, and the result is hereby transmitted. It is the want of means, not of a disposition, that has prevented our doing more." (The contribution was, relatively, a very liberal one.) "I have rarely felt more the want of a mint or a mine to go to than when the claims of that Society have been before me. There are many fast friends of the cause in this region, and there would be many more, if its merits could be properly represented. It suffers by reason of having withdrawn so much from the field. Mutual confidence between the Society and the public has in this way been weakened. Each has felt itself deserted by the other, and an impression has been too common, that the cause has been given up even by its friends, as not justifying the expectations formerly entertained of it. Its enemies have been numerous and noisy, and as there has been no advocate on the ground to support its claims, the charges brought against it have gone uncontradicted, and the community, acting on the principle that silence gives consent, have had their confidence shaken, and have suspended effort. I regret that you cannot visit every town and county in our State. I believe you would find more friends

than you imagine, and perhaps *make* more than you find. In some places where you have been, I have reason to know the effect has been most salutary. We ought to have county organizations, to rally the friends of the cause and to concentrate their efforts. What the public mind needs, is light, and if one-half of the funds of the Society were expended in diffusing information, it would occasion no loss to the cause."

We are fully aware of the justness and pertinency of some of the remarks of our valued correspondent. This righteous and blessed cause has indeed retired or withdrawn too much from the field. But if every pastor had had the zeal and moral courage of our worthy correspondent, colonization *would not* have been so little before the public as it is now. The withdrawal has not been *altogether voluntary*. It has been *exiled* from many pulpits in this State; in some cases, as a well-meant, though we think *mistaken, peace-offering*, to a spirit that has not been appeased or satisfied by the sacrifice; and in others, it has been left out through the combined influence of apathy and of groundless fears of disastrous agitation.

We believe that if "the merits" of this cause could be properly represented to pastors, and they were really in possession of the facts which characterize its present condition and prospects, it would be welcomed again to their pulpits as "*ranking*," in the language of the lamented Sherman, "with the most important benevolent institutions of this century."

If pastors would contemplate the colony of Liberia in the light in which the providence of God has placed it, as the most active and efficient agency yet discovered for the

civilization and *Christianization* of Africa—if they would think of the wise and well-ordered civil government there administered now wholly by *colored* men, and with fifteen thousand of the native tribes already under its salutary laws—if they would think of the *twenty-three* Christian churches there, with fifteen hundred communicants, nearly *five hundred* of whom are converts from the *native pagan tribes*—if they would think of the schools and seminaries of learning being founded there—of the physical resources and temporal prosperity of the colony at present, and of all the elements of a *permanent* social, political and religious influence which that young Christian commonwealth embodies, we are persuaded they would not, they *could not*, exclude this cause from their pulpits, under the plea that it conflicted or ever could possibly conflict in any way, with that sound, conservative, Christian philanthropy and benevolence which seeks the highest good of the *whole* African race.

We doubt not but that our esteemed correspondent has estimated too highly the influence of the Secretary's visits to places through the State. But be that as it may, he *cannot* visit *every* county and town in the State, and he would therefore avail himself

of this opportunity and this means of earnestly requesting other pastors in different parts of the country, to follow the example to which these remarks refer, and to send us their contributions to a cause whose merits are not exceeded even by its present pressing necessities. Were every pastor and people to do as much in proportion to their means as those above alluded to, our funds would soon bear a proper relation to our wants, and the much desired line of coast on the western shores of Africa would soon be ours, under colonial law, and forming an available platform for the settlement, institutions and extending enterprise of a civilized and Christian people.

Will not our individual patrons, too, receive an intimation from us at this time, volunteer their contributions, and save us from the delay and expenses of agencies? A little thought bestowed on this subject, a little prompt and generous effort on the part of our friends at this time, would furnish us the means of securing some objects of vital and permanent interest to our prosperous and promising colony at Liberia. Will the liberal devise liberal things, and respond to our appeal? We shall see.

D. L. CARROLL,
Cor. Sec., N. Y. S. C. S.

Despatches from Liberia.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,
October 22d, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—By the "Francis Lord," which left our port about the 12th ultimo, I informed you of my return to the seat of government, and of the condition of the immigrants whom I left at Greenville, and of those who arrived at this place in the ship "Virginia," on the 3d of August.

Since the date of my last letter, two more of the last immigrants have died, a very aged woman, named Hannah, and an old gentleman, named Benjamin Lawson. The latter made a will, and bequeathed all his effects to Abram Blackford. Two more of the immigrants by the "Lime Rock," have died—a woman about seventy years of age, named Judith, and a child about three years old. Nearly

all of the last company have experienced one attack, or more, of acclimating fever. None are on the sick list at present; and, with the exception of occasional slight attacks of intermittent fever, they are all enjoying good health. The Governor is making preparations for their removal to their future place of residence, on the St. Paul's river. About one-third of them have been going to school, during most of the time since their arrival; and several of them have made considerable progress in learning to read and write.

From my experience and observations, I am fully satisfied that forty-nine persons in fifty, if not ninety-nine in one hundred, who come from the United States to Liberia, might pass safely through the acclimating fever, provided their constitutions were not much impaired by previous disease; and they could be prevailed on to exercise that prudence which is necessary. Moderation in exposure and exercise, contentment of mind, and temperance in eating and drinking, and in the use of physic, are *sine qua nons* to the enjoyment of health in this country. These precautions should especially be observed during the first six or eight months. And, if they were always observed by new-comers, whether white or colored, I believe that the proportionate number of deaths would be at least one-half, if not three-fourths less than it has been heretofore. One of the late immigrants had several relapses, in consequence of intemperance in eating; and, after having become exceedingly feeble, he consented to abstain from every article of food except that which I sent to him; and, through the kindness of Governor Roberts' lady, he was regularly furnished for four or five days, with such things as I directed. The poor fellow thought

that his prescribed diet was very slim in proportion to his appetite; but he stuck to the pledge, and a restoration to health was the consequence.

My own health is remarkably good at present—only two chills within the last two months. I still have occasional ephemeral fevers, which generally go off kindly, when not fed too much.

I received the medical books, (sixteen volumes,) which were presented by Dr. Bell, of Philadelphia, for the use of the Liberia Medical School. Although I did not receive any information respecting them, except the notice in your last letter, yet I intend to address Dr. B. a letter of thanks. Such presents will always be gratefully received.

My students are making fine progress in their studies. They are of very considerable assistance to me, and I hope and believe that they will become blessings to the colony. I endeavour to give them every opportunity to learn practically, as well as theoretically, by frequently taking them with me and giving them clinical lectures.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

REV. W. McLAIN,
Sec'y Am. Col. Society.

MONROVIA.

October 23d, 1844.

DEAR SIR:—We arrived safe at Monrovia on the 1st inst., after a passage of 43 days, including 3 days spent at Porto Praya. On my arrival, I found every thing quiet and the affairs of the Society progressing in their regular order.

The emigrants by the Lime Rock and Virginia are all doing well, the

former at Sinou, and the latter for the present at Monrovia. Preparations are being made for their reception up the St. Paul's river, where I expect to be able to remove them now in a few days. Those at Sinou are already on their farms and doing well. Dr. Lugeneel speaks of them as a very industrious and enterprising company, and a great acquisition to that part of the colony. The Doctor has been exceedingly successful in carrying them through the acclimating fever—of the two companies, but five have died; and of that number, but one grown person.

I called at Porto Praya, but could not succeed in obtaining mules for the colony. I saw but one on the island, which belonged to the French consul, and could not be purchased. I shall send to Sierra Leone, in a few weeks, to procure two or three good horses, so as to commence operations at the farm in earnest—without animals, it is utterly impossible to cultivate any thing here to advantage. Most of the farmers in Liberia have been accustomed to the use of the plough, and, in its absence, have become discouraged. I am determined, sir, if such a thing is possible, (and I believe it is,) to introduce the plough at once.

I have just been informed that the king, chiefs and head-men of the New Cesters territory are disposed to sell their country to the Americans, and as no time should be lost in acquiring it, as two grand objects will be gained, viz: that of extending our territory along the coast, and extinguishing forever the slave trade between Monrovia and Cape Palmas. I have this day sent a commissioner to treat with them for the purchase of their territory, and wish him success with all my heart.

Business is exceedingly dull all along the coast, and particularly so at the settlements. This is somewhat owing to the great quantity of rain that has fallen the present season. Goods are plenty, and selling in the colony almost at American prices.

Business will no doubt improve in a few weeks, when the rains will have ceased, so that the people from the interior can pass down to the beach.

I am, sir, respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
J. J. ROBERTS.

To

REV. W. McLAIN,
Sec'y Am. Col. Society,
Washington City, D. C.

Africa an important portion of the field of Christian Missions.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is the great missionary command of our Lord. The world, then, is the field of missions, and each portion of it can present its own distinct claims to our charitable regard as a part of that field. And, as the world is divided naturally into five grand divisions, and each of these vary much

from each other, it can hardly be supposed that the claims of each do not differ much from those of the other. Now, we are not going to make any invidious comparisons, we have no intention of placing beside each other, Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, north or south, that we may strike a balance in favor of any one; but we do wish to present the claims

of Africa, as being no mean ones, to be regarded as a most important part of the great sphere of Christian missions.

Africa, to say nothing of its comparatively large extent, is not, by any means, an unimportant portion of our earth. Physically, it appears the first favorite of the great Creator.

"A land, of every land the pride,
Beloved by heaven o'er all the world beside."

Its soil most abounds in the richest productions; its birds are of the most various, beautiful, and noble species; and its minerals of the most valuable kind.

"Africa's sunny fountains,
Roll down their golden sands."

But we would speak more especially of its moral features. It is emphatically the home of the colored race, and as such, chiefly, it presents its high demand for the gospel and its attendant blessings. If the colored man has any right to these privileges—if he has any title to challenge them at our hands, then has Africa her claims, and she makes them in the name of all the race. It is true, indeed, this portion of the human family is "a nation scattered and peeled;" and to the four winds of heaven have been exiled the natives of Africa. And now, because under every sun they toil, bearing "the heat and burden of their day," some may suppose they are a people without a country—and it is so? Are they an anomaly in the world?

"And is the Negro outlawed from his birth?
Is he alone a stranger on the Earth?
Is there no shed, whose peeping roof appears,
So lonely that it fills his eyes with tears?"

No land whose name in exile heard, will dart,
Ice thro' his veins and lightning through his heart?
Ah! yes, beneath the beams of brighter skies,
His home amidst his fathers' country lies."

As is Palestine to the wandering Jew, such is Africa to the exiled colored man: it is his own, his native land. But, what is of special importance to be remembered, is, that it is only in his home that he can be approached by us with the gospel under favorable circumstances. Only there, he exists as aman, might almost be said; certainly, only there in a condition in which a man should be found, in order that the gospel may do for him all that is in its power. It is only in Africa that the full experiment of the adaptation of the gospel to elevate him can be made. And, besides, the largest number of the race are yet congregated there. After all the draining and murders of the slave trade, it is estimated that one hundred, or an hundred and fifty millions, yet populate their own country. If then, these can be extensively blessed, elevated, and saved, the whole race must be affected, and all the exiles must also be made to rejoice.

He who designs to purify the waters of the stream most effectually, and speedily, acts wisely in beginning at the fountain head. So, also, he who would benefit a nation most successfully, must seek out, not its wanderers and scattered fragments, but its source and the place of its residence. The influence which may there be exerted, like that which

should touch the heart in the living frame, shall soon spread itself until it reaches the extremities of the body. Hence, we are fully persuaded that the friend of the colored race, who desires to bestow upon it the most extensive and speediest benefits, will attain his end most surely by laboring to bless the millions yet in their own land. The claim, therefore, of Africa for the blessings of the gospel may, in a most important sense, be considered as that of the whole of her children, both at home and abroad; as that of a whole race of the human family. Yes! Let Africa be regenerated and who can doubt that her sons, afar off, and her daughters, in the ends of the earth, shall begin to rise from the dust and feel the benign influence of her elevation and sanctification. Let Africa take her place, through the gospel's power, amongst Christian nations, and the African will every where obtain his place amongst men. If the truth can be made to appear in that long degraded land, that its inhabitants are not inferior, or at least so inferior as some may suppose, the influence of this alone will, while it shall speak to the colored man every where in tones of encouragement and consolation, place him in the eyes of mankind on new vantage ground. Thus shall be removed, if ever it can be, the oppressive incubus which loads down, and paralyzes his energies, while he is found amongst those with skins "not colored like his

own." Or, if this may not be, yet will he not be induced, beholding the glory of his own land, to make it his abode, and thus the exiles be all again gathered?

If, then, the claims of Africa be one and the same with those of all the race, we must so estimate them. And what are those claims? They are those of millions of the most wronged, injured, and debased of mankind. There is no necessity that proof should be produced on this subject. Every wind and wave of the ocean, every land, and every kindred and tribe under the whole heavens, are swift witnesses to reveal the truth. Every wind has borne the groans of the African, every wave has heard his cries, every land has drunk in his blood, and every kindred and tribe has oppressed him. Oh! with what a voice do his protracted, various, and aggravated injuries plead at the court of Heaven against the world! And yet it has not been enough that the world should league against him, but hell itself has seemed to open her widest gate against him also. Is it not she who has added to chains forged out by human hands, the not less enthralling spiritual bonds of the lowest superstition? No where does superstition of so deposing a character, prevail as in Africa: and the whole land mourns under its corrupting, horrid havoc. Such is the condition of the millions whose claims are embodied in that of Africa. And, assuredly, if the neediest may make the

most imperative demands upon Christian charity, hers shall not be all in vain. Oh! she seems to bow herself low in the dust of her humiliation, and pointing to her millions, in body lacerated, chained and worn out with toil, in spirit enshrouded, corrupt, and miserable, the most wretched of the human family, she presents the strongest plea which the world has ever heard. She calls on all Christian nations for Heaven's great remedy for human woes, the gospel. She calls on all; but when she turns to us, does not her plea grow peculiarly powerful? Does she not demand benevolence of the American Christian as tenfold her due? America has shared largely in the infliction of her wrongs, and ought she not, therefore, to be foremost and most diligent in stretching out the hand of mercy? But many will be ready to admit all we say in regard to the great necessity which exists, that Africa should feel the redeeming agency of the gospel, but, still cherishing the belief that there is not much hope of her redemption, may suppose that other lands may, on this score, have prior and greater claims. The husbandman will turn away from the barren land, he will not plough or sow in the thankless desert; in such places he will not expend his labor; at least, until all his productive fields have been cultivated. So, if any part of the great missionary field be, evidently, and hopelessly, a waste which will yield to no cultivation, it may properly be

left untouched until other and more promising parts are filled with the good seed. But is such the case in Africa? Is there indeed but little hope of the redemption of her millions?

On the contrary, there is much hope, and we behold in her a field of rich promise. If we had no other reason for so thinking, we have, at least, the sure word of prophecy. True, indeed, there is a curse recorded: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." But who has ascertained that this curse is to cover the whole space from the deluge to the conflagration? Is there no millennial time, when even the seed of Ham shall commute a protracted curse for the blessings of the Messiah? Ah, yes, the prophets declare: "In him shall all the families of the earth be blessed;" and, as if to make assurance doubly sure, it is also written: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God;" and again: "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my distressed, shall bring mine offering." The time, then, certainly hastens on when the day of Africa's redemption shall brightly dawn.

But, apart from prophecy, there are other considerations which peculiarly encourage the hope of benefiting Africa through missionary labors. And here we shall adopt the words of the Christian Advocate. The editor, in speaking on this subject, uses the following language:

Africa, where the success which has already crowned our efforts, is beyond any thing which our fondest anticipations had reached ; and when this success, great as it has been, has only afforded a glimpse of that which lies before us if we faithfully improve our advantages. Here, God has placed tribes and nations in our hands, who are calling us, instead of waiting to be called. Away in the interior, the savage heathen people have heard of the white man's God, who is proclaimed on the sea coast—and already they ask to be taught the message of mercy and love which came down from heaven. We repeat it, that nothing but men and means are wanting to bring all the tribes of Africa, south of the great desert of Sahara, into the obedience of the Gospel within a very few years. Even the present generation may be converted ; but if not, the rising generation are ready to be trained in schools, and to be made Christians, so far as they can be made so, by a Christian education. Consider for a moment the circumstances in which the people of whom we speak differ from other heathen nations, and which favor their conversion by the agency of missionaries. First, then, they have no national religion, or religious establishment. Where this exists, it opposes a formidable obstacle to the Gospel, however absurd may be the superstition so established ; for the secular interests of the priesthood urge them to resist any change of the national religion, and they necessarily possess great influence with the people. The missionary must, under such circumstances, expect to encounter hate and persecution proportioned to the danger with which the religion he teaches threatens the priests.

Secondly. In Africa, the kings, and their official functionaries, lose no secular advantages by embracing Christianity. On the contrary, they are even raised by it in the estimation of their heathen countrymen. In many, and, perhaps, in nearly all other heathen countries, to embrace Christianity is to become obnoxious to priestly revenge, to popular hate, and civil oppression.

Thirdly. The Africans already look upon the white man as their superior, and hence desire to imitate him. The very ability to read and write gives dignity and importance to a colored man among them, and they express their admiration by calling him a white man. It would follow, of course, that they embrace every opportunity to place their children in the schools where it is proposed to teach them to read and write. We might point out many other circumstances which place the people of Africa in a most favorable state for the success of Christian efforts to civilize and Christianize them ; but those we have

mentioned offer encouragements too strong to be resisted by those whose hearts are in the work.

But we must not omit to mention that God, in his providence, has established Christian colonies along the western coast of Africa, composed of emigrants from our own country, and in which we have churches, whose piety and Christian deportment are spoken of throughout the world.

In the last paragraph, allusion is made to the beginning of the evangelization of Africa through the means of colonies. On this point, did time and space permit, we should like to enlarge. The colonization scheme removes the chief and peculiar difficulties which seemed to oppose the entrance of the gospel into Africa. Missionary operations there have apparently, heretofore, been almost precluded, because the savageness of the people has led them to destroy the unprotected missionaries, and because the climate is destructive to the life of white men. But a colony of colored people are secure against both of these evils, and presents itself as an army of effective missionaries. The door is now, therefore, open. The field is now prepared for Christian beneficence ; and Africa, by the claims of a whole race, by the wrongs, injuries, and degradation of that race, beyond all others, and by the peculiar facilities thus afforded for the introduction of the gospel, is proven to be a most important portion of the field of Christian missions.

One word in conclusion, every argument which can be used for the evangelization of this country, speaks strongly for the colonization scheme. For it is through it alone,

that Africa can be reached by the white race. Under the shadow of its wing alone, can the missionary live and labor; or rather, to it must the land look for those who are to live and labor for it. All, therefore, of Africa's claims for the gospel, are embodied in those which are urged by the Colonization Society; and where the latter pleads, it only ut-

ters the voice of that dark land suing for redemption. Let the Christian listen and respond to these pleadings. They are the cry of one, not from Macedonia, but from Africa, saying, "come over and help us." May we not assuredly gather that the *Lord* hath *thus* called us to preach the gospel unto Africa.

An Objection Examined.

THE friends of colonization are sometimes told, "Your object may be good enough, but you never can accomplish it. The whole commercial marine of the United States is not sufficient to take away even the annual increase of the colored population." And this is asserted by intelligent men, with perfect confidence, as the result of arithmetical calculation.

To such an objection, we might answer: "What of that? We have never undertaken nor expected to remove the annual increase of the colored population. It is enough for us if we remove so many as to confer invaluable benefits on two continents, and prepare the way for immensely greater emigration than any society can conduct."

But it may be well to look for a moment at the objector's arithmetic. Perhaps there is some mistake in it. The numbers are as follows:

Slaves in the U. S. in 1840,	2,487,355
" " 1830,	2,010,436
Increase in 10 years,	- 476,919
" 1 year, nearly,	47,692

Free colored persons in '40,	386,235
" " " 1830,	319,599

Increase in 10 years,	- 66,636
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" 1 year, nearly,	6,664
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Add ann. increase of slaves,	47,692
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Annual increase of colored people,	- - - 54,356
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By law, a vessel is allowed to take three passengers for every five tons of her measurement. The same vessel might make three trips to Africa annually; and, carrying three persons to every five tons at each trip, would carry nine persons to every five tons in a year. At this rate, the tonnage necessary to remove the annual increase of the colored population would be nearly 30,197 tons.

The actual tonnage of the United States, in 1843, was 2,158,602 tons.

One seventieth of this, is 36,837 tons.

One *seventieth part* of "the whole commercial marine of the United States," therefore, is more than sufficient for the removal of the annual increase.

But again: The colored population in 1840, was—

Slaves	-	-	-	2,487,355
Free	-	-	-	386,235
Total	-	-	-	2,873,590

The commercial marine of the United States, at three passengers for five tons, might carry—

At a single trip - - 1,295,162

At two trips	-	-	2,590,324
At two trips & a quarter	-	-	3,237,905

So it appears that "the whole commercial marine of the United States" is more than sufficient to carry away the *whole colored* population of the United States in a single year.

Honorable Roger Minott Sherman.

SINCE our last number was issued, we have come into the possession of a fact relative to the interest which the late lamented ROGER M. SHERMAN felt in colonization, which we cannot withhold from our readers. We stated then that Mr. Sherman had left a bequest to this Society of \$4,000. Of this sum, \$2,000 is bequeathed in the body of the will, and \$2,000 in a *codicil*. We have since learned, from an intimate friend of his who is acquainted with the facts, that "*the last time Mr. Sherman ever wrote his name was in his signature to that codicil.*"

What a sublime testimony is this of the high estimation in which he held this great benevolent enterprise! He had been its firm friend and able advocate through its whole existence, and during his active life. Now, when he is sinking under a disease, which, while it *rapidly* destroyed, inflicted not one pang on his physical frame, and left his mind clear and strong, and bright as at its noon-day splendors—in the bosom of his family, surrounded by the friends of

his youth and the companions of his age, he remembers this cause in the most substantial manner.

Our correspondent says: "There is also another fact attesting his fervent attachment to the colonization cause, which I will add:

"A few weeks ago, the consociation of the western district of Fairfield county held a called meeting at Southport, a village in the county of Fairfield, for the purpose of ordaining and installing the Rev. Mr. Merwine over the church and congregation in that beautiful village. Mr. Sherman was very anxious to attend that meeting for the purpose of urging the colonization cause upon the attention, the prayers, the sympathies, and the liberality of the ministers and churches of this consociation. Although very weak, he ordered his horse and gig; but when it was brought to the door, he found himself unable to make the attempt, and was compelled, though reluctantly, to relinquish it. This was the last time he gave such an order to his coachman, or attempted to go out."

To this interesting fact, it is not necessary for us to add a single word. It will cause us, if possible, to cherish the memory of his name and invaluable worth with more intense plea-

sure. MR. Sherman's whole character was one of remarkable loveliness; and his life one of enlarged usefulness; and his death one of glorious triumph.

Items of Intelligence.

DESPATCHES FROM LIBERIA.—In another column will be found extracts from letters of Gov. Roberts and Dr. Lugenbeel. They contain the latest intelligence that we have received from the colony. Some extracts from these letters were given in the Annual Report; but they are of such importance that we insert them again in this place, hoping that our friends will see the necessity of immediate and efficient action in regard to the purchase of some of the remaining points of territory.

OPINION IN THE SOUTH.—We have lately received a letter from Professor H. Tutwiler, of La Grange College, in Alabama, of which the following are extracts:

"From an occasional perusal of the Repository, I have been brought to feel a considerable degree of interest in the affairs of this Society. I wish the paper sent to my address; and I have this morning enclosed to the Treasurer, through the postmaster of this place, ten dollars, as the first payment of my annual subscription. It is my firm conviction that there is no benevolent enterprise of the day which more strongly recommends itself to the consideration of every lover of his race. If the success of any measure be any criterion of its deserts, surely the colonization scheme occupies high vantage ground in this respect. Con-

sidering its very limited means, and the amount of obloquy, opposition, and slander it has had to encounter, it has certainly achieved wonders. I cannot but think that if the objects of this Society were better understood, so far from encountering opposition, a host of zealous friends would rise up in its support, particularly in the South. The people of the South are a benevolent and magnanimous people, and nothing is wanting to enlist their sympathies and aid in this cause but to bring the subject properly before them. I think I can see, in the signs of the times, a return of those better feelings which prevailed on this subject before the Abolitionists commenced their officious intermeddling."

ON the 3d of January, a society was formed at Springfield, styled the Illinois State Colonization Society, and appointed the Rev. R. S. Finley their agent. They authorized him to form auxiliary societies in different parts of the State, and adopted some efficient measures by which the Repository is to be sent gratuitously to every clergyman in the State who is willing to receive it the present year.

They adopted the following constitution:

ART. 1. This Society shall be called the Illinois State Colonization Society.

ART. 2. Its object shall be the diffusion of information, and the

collection of funds to aid in the benevolent enterprise undertaken by the American Colonization Society, (to which this Society shall be auxiliary,) to wit, of establishing upon the western coast of Africa a colony, peopled by volunteer emigrants from the free colored population of the United States.

ART. 3. All persons contributing one dollar, annually, shall be members of this Society.

ART. 4. Its officers shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, and twelve Managers, who, with the President, Secretary, and Managers, shall constitute a

Board (any five of whom shall constitute a quorum to transact business) to carry into effect the objects of this Society; said officers shall remain in office until their successors are duly appointed.

ART. 5. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society, in the city of Springfield, on the evening of the 2d Monday of December, or at such other time and place as the Society may order and appoint for the election of officers, and for the transaction of such business as may come before it, and for the reception of the annual report of the Treasurer, and also of the Board of Managers.

**Receipts of the American Colonization Society,
From the 1st February, to the 26th February, 1845.**

RHODE ISLAND.		ALABAMA.	
<i>Slaterville</i> —Mrs. Ruth Slater, W. S. Slater, and Amos D. Lockwood, each \$10, H. S. Mansfield, S. R. Beals, and G. Johnson, each \$1, Rev. T. A. Taylor, \$2—\$35, of which \$30 is to constitute Rev. T. A. Taylor a life member of the American Colonization Society.....	35 00	<i>La Grange</i> —Prof. H. Tutwiler, annual subscription.....	10 00
CONNECTICUT.		KENTUCKY.	
<i>New London</i> —Jona. Coit, Esq., last payment on his \$1,000 subscription.....	100 00	<i>Covington</i> —Balance of subscriptions, per W. Ernst.....	23 00
VIRGINIA.		<i>Louisville</i> —Ladies' Col. Society, per Miss M. McNutt, Tr.....	55 00
<i>King George</i> —Dr. Benj. F. Slooe, \$3 50, a little boy, 6 cts.....	3 56		78 00
<i>Amelia</i> —J. G. Jefferson, \$2 50, Miss Matilda Booker, \$2 50, W. J. Barksdale, \$5, Mrs. M. E. Barksdale, \$5, Wm. H. Harrison, (for the purchase of territory,) \$5, Dr. Bonister, \$2 50, E. G. Leigh, \$5, Mrs. S. Bonister, \$2 50, Thomas Meaux, \$1 12, cash, 50 cts., J. E. Liegh, \$5.....	36 62	OHIO.	
<i>Powhattan</i> —Miss L. A. Donne, \$1, Philip St. George Cock, \$5, <i>Cumberland</i> —Cash, \$5, do, \$1, by Edgar Janvier, Esq.....	6 00	<i>Urbana</i> —Miss Sophia E. Zwisler,	4 00
<i>Halifax C. H.</i> —Miss Sarah Bruce, \$50, Rev. J. Grammar, \$20, per Rev. J. Grammar.....	70 00	<i>Columbus</i> —Ladies' Col. Society,	47 00
		<i>Cincinnati</i> —Judge McLean.....	25 00
		By H. L. Hosmer, Esq., as follows:	
		<i>Norwalk</i> —C. S. Latimer, \$5, J. M. Root, \$1, C. S. Boalt, \$1 50.	7 50
		<i>Mansfield</i> —R. Rowland, \$2, J. Purdy, J. Eminger, R. McComb, B. P. Mercer, F. Cook, H. McFall, W. S. Frost, M. R. Teegarden, Andrew Conn, each \$1, J. W. Abernethy, Geo. W. Waring, J. Hammer, W. B. Bowman, cash, cash, each 50cts.	14 00
		<i>Newark</i> —Collection in church of Rev. Wm. Wylie.....	9 25
		<i>Columbus</i> —J. Ridgway, jr., \$10, A. J. Bennett, J. N. Whiting, L. Goodale, each \$5, S. Clark, \$3, A. M. Button, J. Greenwood, J. Whitehill, & S. Quimby, each \$2, A. H. Pinney, W. Amos, F. A. Thompson, M. Bartley, ea. \$1.	40 00
	122 18	<i>Steubenville</i> —Rev. C. C. Beatty,	

Hans Wilson, each \$10, Hon. H. H. Leavitt, \$2, John Abraham, cash, Wm. McLaughlin, ea. \$1, V. Owsney, cash, ea. 50c.	26 00
Plain—Collection in Rev. B. Woodberry's church.....	2 00
	<u>174 75</u>

INDIANA.

Rising Sun—"A friend".....	20 00
New Albany—Collections by Rev. J. B. Pinney, in the first Presby. church, Rev. Mr. Stewart's, \$41, in the Meth. Epis. church, Rev. Mr. Culbertson's, \$1.....	42 00
Lawrenceburg—Hon. G. H. Dunn,	1 65
	<u>63 5</u>

ILLINOIS.

Lewistown—Collection by Rev. J. B. Crist.....	10 00
For freight in the Virginia, per Jas. Hall, M. D.....	200 00
Proceeds from sale of the Society's reversionary interest, in bequest of mill and land attached, by the late Jas. Madison...	700 00
Total Contributions.....	<u>\$1,493 58</u>

FOR REPOSITORY.

VERMONT.—Bennington—Lyman Patchin, for 1845, \$1 50.	
Weathersfield—W. Jarvis, for 1844, \$2.....	3 50
MASSACHUSETTS.—Ware Village—Pepper and Wetherell, Francis De Witt, and George H. Hudson, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Belchertown—Cordial Crane, and Rev. G. A. Oviatt, for 1845, each \$1 50, Dwight Graves, balance, 50 cts., C. H. Dwight, balance, \$3 50.	
Hadley—Dr. Wm. Porter, to Jan., '45, \$3 50.	
Springfield—R. A. Chapman, for 1844, \$1 50, John Hooker, balance, \$2, Henry Adams, for 1845, \$1 50, Simon Sanborn, to 1846, \$3.	
Palmer—Rev. M. K. Cross, for 1845, \$1 50.	
Warren—John Patrick, for 1845, \$1 50.	
Sutton—S. J. Woodbury, and Maj. Dan. Tenney, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Wilkinsonville—Maj. John McClellan, Leonard Woodbury, Erastus Walcott, and John W. Gamble, for 1845, each \$1 50, Harvey Dodge, for 6 months, 75 cts.	
West Milbury—A. Wood, and Simon Waters, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
East Douglass—Dea. Warren Hunt, for	

1845, \$1 50.	Westborough—Rev. A. Harvey, Chas. E. Kimball, George N. Sibley, S. M. Griggs, and Jabez G. Fisher, for 1845, each \$1 50, Rev. Chas. B. Kittredge, to 1845, \$3, M. Chapin, C. P. Green, and Chas. Morse, for 6 months, each 75cts.	53 00
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PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia—Benj. Naglee, to '45, \$4, A. B. Rockey, Wm. Parker, Isaac C. Jones, Dr. J. W. Paul, B. W. Richards, Mrs. Spohn, A. M. Buckley, J. Strawbridge, John Hackley, J. M. Sellars, G. Sharswood, J. S. Pringle, Michael Reed, John Elliott, Dr. Geo. B. Wood, Josiah White, and S. H. Perkins, for 1844, each \$2, John Vaughn, Esq., for 3 copies, for 1844, \$6.....	44 00
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Arlington House—Mrs. Custis, for 1845.....	1 50
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VIRGINIA.—Battletown—Mrs. S. E. T. Stribling, to Feb., 1847, \$3.	
Amelia co., Tavern P. O.—Rev. Benj. M. Hobson, for 1845, \$1 50.	
Lodore P. O.—Wm. M. Harrison, for 1845, \$1 50.....	6 00

TENNESSEE.—Blountsville—Sam. Rhea, for 1845.....	1 50
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KENTUCKY.—Danville—Mrs. Judith Fry, Mrs. Rhodes & Carpenter, Mrs. Welch, Mrs. Henderson & Deer, Mrs. Rachel Craig and Mrs. Batterton, Mrs. Virginia Shelby, Dr. John Todd, and J. A. Jacobs, Esq., for 1845, each \$1 50.....	12 00
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OHIO.—Uniontown—John Lyle, to May, 1845, \$2.	
Norwalk—John R. Osborn, Charles L. Boalt, and C. L. Latimer, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Chillicothe—Rev. Wm. T. Findley and J. S. Atwood, Esq., for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Xenia—Jas. Galloway, Sam. Galloway, Jas. Gowdy, Dr. Banks, Jas. McMillan, and John Vaneton, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Circleville—J. Hemp-hille, and John Nisbit, for 1845, each \$1 50.	
Steubenville—Hon. H. H. Leavitt, for '43 & '44, \$3.	24 50

INDIANA.—Lawrenceburg—Hon. Geo. H. Dunn, to 1845.....	3 00
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Total Repository..... 149 00.

Total Contributions..... 1,493 58

Aggregate Amount..... \$1,642 58

NOTE.—In the Receipts for last month, the following names were accidentally omitted in the Kentucky list, viz: John C. Brown, Stephen Moses, Philemon Bird, and William C. Hanna, each \$5.

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY, AND COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, APRIL, 1845.

[No. 4.

Sovereignty of Liberia.

THIS is a subject on which confused and erroneous ideas prevail in various quarters, and, in some cases, threaten to work mischief. It should be universally known and admitted that the Commonwealth of Liberia is a sovereign State, having its own constitution, government, and laws, and rightfully claiming all the powers, prerogatives, and privileges essential to sovereignty. The principles and facts by which this claim is vindicated may be stated in a few words.

The duty of sustaining civil government, and obeying its righteous demands, is imposed upon all men by their Creator. Whatever authority may of right belong to the individuals of the human race, or to any of them, in respect to the form in which, or the persons by whom, civil government shall be administered, the question of its existence is not submitted to their discretion. Nor is it possible for men to place

themselves, or be placed by others, in such circumstances that no rightful authority shall exist to prohibit and punish crimes, and to enjoin and enforce the practice of justice.

If, therefore, any find themselves placed where no existing government has jurisdiction, it is their duty, and, therefore, their right, to make the necessary arrangements for administering justice and restraining crime by adequate penalty. And the community, thus organized, may rightfully proceed to establish laws, enforce their observance, and do all other acts essential to its own well-being. Such a community is a sovereign State, is authorized to perform all acts essential to sovereignty, and has a right to be recognized accordingly by all men and nations with whom it has to do.

But no acknowledgment by other nations is necessary to *confer* the rights of sovereignty. On the contrary, sovereignty must exist, and

manifest itself, before it can be acknowledged. These United States have been sovereign since their assumption of sovereignty in 1776, and not merely since the acknowledgment of their sovereignty by Great Britain at the end of the war of independence. Nor has it ever been usual for one State to acknowledge the sovereignty of another until it becomes expedient to establish diplomatic relations between them, or otherwise than by establishing such relations; and their establishment, when it takes place, is an implied acknowledgment of a sovereignty already existing.

On these principles, independently of which no nation on earth can show its right to sovereignty, Liberia claims to be a sovereign State. Here is a territory over which no other government has or claims jurisdiction, and where there is no power but that of this commonwealth to punish any crime which may be committed. Here are men who owe no allegiance to any other government. Allegiance to the United States, from which some of them emigrated, is neither claimed by the United States nor acknowledged by them. The African governments, to which others of them once owed allegiance, are annihilated. Thus situated, owing no allegiance to others, under no jurisdiction of others, they have organized the Commonwealth of Liberia; and that commonwealth is the only power on earth to which their allegiance can

possibly be due. As certain as it is that human beings must, from the necessity of their nature, owe allegiance to some sovereign power, so certain it is that the said commonwealth is a sovereign power to which allegiance may be due.

Nor is its sovereignty at all impaired by the fact that, according to the constitution of that commonwealth, certain persons, who are citizens of the United States, have a voice in some of its governmental acts. The kingdom of Hanover was a sovereign State during the reigns of George IV. and William IV. of England; and yet its supreme ruler was a person residing in England, and wearing the crown of the British empire. Such was the constitution of the kingdom of Hanover that no treaty with any foreign power could be made, nor any law enacted, repealed, or amended, without the assent of a certain man who was king of England. Yet Hanover was, in no sense, a part of the British empire. No British law had any force there. No British magistrate had any authority there. In all the concerns of war and peace, the nations were as independent of each other as they are now, when Hanover has her own king residing within her own territory. In like manner, the commonwealth of Liberia is a sovereign State, though a part of its rulers are citizens and residents of the United States.

It is, therefore, wholly unnecessary to sunder the relation of the

commonwealth to the Colonization Society, as some have proposed, for the purpose of establishing or perfecting its sovereignty. Such a measure may be, and doubtless, sooner or later, will be, advisable for other reasons; but the sovereignty of the commonwealth is already perfect, and no additional perfection can be conferred upon it by a change of its constitution.

On the same principles, the rights of sovereignty have been claimed for "Maryland in Liberia," otherwise known as the colony at Cape Palmas. The claim is set forth in the following ordinance, which is published in the Appendix to Kennedy's Report on Colonization to the 27th Congress, page 107:

"A declaratory ordinance touching the sovereignty of Maryland in Liberia.

"Whereas the Maryland State Colonization Society was formed for the purpose of founding upon the west coast of Africa a free, independent, and sovereign republic, to be inhabited by persons of color emigrating from the United States of America, who, from their peculiar condition and circumstances, cannot be considered as owing to the American governments any other than a local allegiance, determined upon their withdrawing from the territory of the said governments: And whereas, in pursuance of the said purpose, the said society has purchased of the native kings and proprietors as well the sovereignty as the property of the territory now known by the name of Maryland in Liberia, and has settled therein a body of persons of the description aforesaid, who are now living there under a regular and well-organized government, the principles of which are set out in a constitution enacted on the 22d day of November, 1833; which said constitution has been adopted by the emigrants of the said territory, by going into the said territory to live under its provisions, and signing a declaration to support the same: And whereas the said constitution, for the present, vests in the said society certain legislative powers: And

whereas the said society have proceeded, under those powers, to organize the government which now exists for the said territory, and which has been acknowledged and submitted to by all the residents in the said territory: And whereas it appears, from the foregoing facts, that the said government is as legitimate, sovereign, and independent as any in the world, neither the United States nor any one of them claiming or exercising any authority within the said territory: And whereas it is proper that all persons visiting or settling in the said territory should understand distinctly the position in which they stand with relation to the said government: Therefore—

"Be it enacted and ordained, and it is hereby declared, by the Maryland State Colonization Society, That the government now subsisting in the territory of Maryland in Liberia, agreeably to the constitution of 1833, is, and of right ought to be, sovereign and independent of all authority not provided for in that instrument; and the said constitution, and the laws, ordinances, and treaties, made under its authority, are the supreme law of the land; and that it is the duty of all persons who now are, or hereafter may be, within the said territory, to obey and conform to the same; and of all persons holding offices under the said constitution or laws to enforce obedience thereto from all persons whatsoever who may be within the said territory for any purpose or upon any pretext whatever, without any respect of persons.

"And be it enacted, ordained, and declared, That all free colored emigrants from the United States who now are or hereafter may be settled in the territory called Maryland in Liberia, and all persons whatsoever born in the said territory, owe allegiance to the government of Maryland in Liberia, and to no other government whatsoever.

"And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared, That all other persons who now are, or hereafter may be, within the said territory, on any pretext or for any purpose whatsoever, owe, during their residence within the said territory, a local and temporary allegiance to the said government, by which is to be understood obedience to the laws during their residence.

"And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared, That in case any enlargement or addition shall at any time hereafter be made of or to the territory of Maryland in Liberia, this and all the other laws of the said government shall immediately, by their own proper vigor, be extended to and apply within such enlargement or addition.

"And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared, That nothing in this ordinance

shall be construed to affect, alter, or extend the relations which practically exist between the government aforesaid and the native Africans not of American descent resident within the said territory, or to curtail the authority practically exercised over said Africans by their own kings and other authorities, leaving the question of right as to such authority entirely open and unaffected by the provisions of this ordinance; so that the relations of said Africans to each other, and to the government and citizens of Maryland in Liberia, shall remain, in all respects, the same as they were before the passage of this ordinance, both in right and in fact, (*de jure et de facto*.)

"And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared, That all free colored persons, emigrants from the United States of America, who shall have subscribed the aforesaid declaration to support the aforesaid constitution, and all natives of Africa who shall be permitted by the governor and council to subscribe the said declaration, and shall actually subscribe the same, and all descendants of either of the said classes born in the territory aforesaid, shall be deemed citizens of Maryland in Liberia.

"And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared, That the Maryland State Colonization Society hold all their rights, both of government and property, in Africa, in trust, to be administered according to the best judgment of said society, for the benefit of those persons who now are, or hereafter may be, citizens of Maryland in Liberia, in their collective capacity, and will so continue to hold and administer the same until they shall withdraw their agents, and yield the government wholly into the hands of the people of the said territory.

"And be it further declared, That no person or persons in America has or have, or ought to have, any beneficial interest in the government or property aforesaid; but that the same is, and of right ought to be, held and administered exclusively for the purposes aforesaid."

It is known that this ordinance was drawn up by some of the most eminent jurists in the United States. Its principles are as applicable to the commonwealth of Liberia, as to the younger republic to which it directly refers. The older republic has also some additional claims to

recognition, which it is most convenient to state historically.

The first emigrants to Liberia went out from this country with the avowed intention of founding a free, sovereign, and independent State. Most modern colonists have commenced their new settlements with the intention of forming an appendage to some parent State, under whose authority they acted. This enterprise was undertaken on different principles, and for a different purpose. It was rather like the founding of Carthage, which was a Tyrian colony, but never, that we know, subject to Tyre. Those men left our shores for that purpose, with the perfect knowledge and express approbation of the government of the United States. That government even facilitated their emigration by paying in advance for work to be done by them after their arrival. The sanction of the United States to Liberian sovereignty, therefore, was given in advance, and needs not to be repeated. The approbation of the United States government was also expressed, from time to time, by placing in Liberia Africans whom it had rescued from the hands of slave traders, or who had been landed unlawfully upon our coasts; and also by instructing its naval officers on the coast of Africa to afford aid and protection to the settlement.

The emigrants, before embarking, freely gave their express assent to the government under which they

were about to place themselves ; but reports which reached the United States soon appeared to indicate that a change was desirable ; and, in June, 1824, the Rev. R. R. Gurley was sent out, "duly commissioned," both by the government of the United States and the Colonization Society, to examine the condition of the settlement, and "empowered to make such temporary arrangements for the security of the public interests and the government of the establishment as circumstances might, in his judgment, require."* After arriving at Monrovia, and after full consultations with Mr. Ashmun, agent of the Society, and with the emigrants themselves, a change in the form of government was thought advisable. A new constitution was, therefore, drawn up, read, and explained to the assembled people, and received their unanimous assent and oaths of fidelity. That constitution provided that, in order to its permanent validity, it should receive the assent of the Colonization Society ; and that assent was, in due time, formally given. Here was every thing that can be supposed to be necessary to the validity of such a transaction. Here was a people freely and intelligently adopting a constitution for their own government. Here was whatever authority the United States could have in such a case present to sanction the deed. And, finally, here is the ratification which had

been provided for by that part of the government of the commonwealth residing in the United States.

That constitution has since been amended ; but the amendments were not considered as binding till they had received the deliberate assent of the people of Liberia. And it still rests on their assent. Whenever the people of that commonwealth shall see fit to adopt another amendment, and deprive the Colonization Society of all share in its government, it is in their power to do it, and the Society has no power to prevent them.

The government of the United States has officially declared that it regards the sovereignty of Liberia, thus originating, as legitimate, and as rightfully entitled to the respect of civilized nations ; that it approves of the course of that commonwealth in exercising "all the powers of an independent community ;" and that the treaties of the commonwealth with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise, ought to be respected ; that the tacit assent of all nations for twenty-two years, in its acquisitions of territory by treaty and exercise of other sovereign powers, should be conclusive in its favor ;† that Liberia is not "a private enterprise, like that of an individual trader," but is entitled to acquire jurisdiction over territory by treaty ; "to act as an independent political community ; and, as such, to en-

* Life of Ashmun, pp. 207, 215, 246.

† Mr. Upshur to Mr. Fox, Sept. 25, 1843.

force the laws necessary to its existence and prosperity."* Such are the views which the government of the United States has officially published to the world.

The sovereignty of the native governments of Africa is unquestioned and unquestionable. They are justly regarded as having authority, not only to make laws and enforce them, but to make war and peace, and to acquire and cede territory. The British government has negotiated treaties with many of them; and, by some of these treaties, both the soil and sovereignty of certain portions of territory are ceded to the British crown. It is an important fact that Great Britain now claims and holds the sovereignty of valuable tracts in Africa, in virtue of such treaties with the native powers. In some cases, these treaties make over the whole nation, soil, sovereignty, and people, to Great Britain, in return for the privileges of British government and protection. In some cases, if not in all, the proposal for the cession of sovereignty has come from the British negotiator.† The competency of the native governments, therefore, to convey sovereignty to others by treaty is placed beyond controversy.

It is well known that several of these sovereign States of Africa have made treaties with the commonwealth of Liberia; thereby acknow-

ledging that commonwealth as a sovereign State, competent to make valid treaties. Some of them have, by treaty, ceded to that commonwealth portions of their territory, both soil and sovereignty. In other cases, as in some of the British treaties just mentioned, whole nations have made themselves over, soil, sovereignty, and people, to that commonwealth; annihilating their own government; terminating their own individual existence as sovereign States, and rendering themselves thenceforth incapable of exercising or claiming jurisdiction over any person, place, or thing. The sovereignty of those States is either annihilated—which is impossible so long as the territory is there with the people living upon it—or it has passed over by treaty to the commonwealth of Liberia, just as the sovereignty of other tracts has passed over, by similar treaties, to the British crown.

Liberia, then, having acquired, by valid treaties, the sovereignty of the territory which she occupies, and the people who inhabit it, is a sovereign State.

Nor can this conclusion be avoided by alleging that a compact by which one community merges itself in another is improperly called a *treaty*. By whatever name it may be called, it is a valid compact, accomplishing its object, and placing

* Mr. Everett to Lord Aberdeen, Dec. 30, 1843.

† Appendix to Kennedy's Report, pp. 971, 972, 998.

both communities under a common sovereignty. By these compacts, those African States have not *destroyed* their sovereignty. They have, as they had a right to do, given it a new form, and placed it in new hands, for their own benefit, and it still remains perfect and entire. In virtue of this claim alone, if there were no other, Liberia would have a right to recognition as a sovereign State.

It by no means follows that all or any of the nations of the earth are bound to enter into diplomatic relations with the government of Liberia. That is a matter of expediency, and, in some cases, of national courtesy. It is enough if her sovereignty be respected on her own soil and waters. So much she has a right to claim, and all others are bound to concede.

[For the African Repository.]

Report of my Agency in Virginia, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, by J. B. Balch.

SEVERAL persons have expressed a wish that the writer should give some account of his agency in Virginia, performed in 1839, at the request of the Managers of the American Colonization Society. This he is willing to undertake, provided the reader bear in mind that his narrative will be confined to the business in which he was engaged. It is nothing but justice to himself, to say, in the premises, that the impressions which he received of scenery and manners, during the time he was travelling over Virginia, have been given to the public in other forms than that which this brief journal will assume.

My appointment from the board was to take effect on the 1st day of September, 1838, and to continue a year. My duties were to illustrate and defend the scheme of African Colonization—to awaken interest in its behalf as widely as possible, to solicit subscriptions and receive whatever its friends were willing to contribute. Though several years have since elapsed, it is believed that an imperishable interest is felt by

thousands in Liberia, and that such will hear with pleasure of the reception given me in those portions of Virginia which were visited.

Warrenton, the Capitol of Fauquier, has about 1,400 inhabitants. The county was laid off in 1759, and the town was named after Gen. Warren, who fell in 1775. There are three places of worship in the village, in two of which, we officiated. Four gentlemen, without solicitation, combined and gave me \$20, and several handed me smaller sums, others had probably been reading Macbeth, for

"They gave the word of promise to the ear,
But broke it to the hope."

The weather, however, was warm, and quite a company were still at Lee's Springs, about seven miles to the south of Warrenton. We went thither to fish for an invitation to the low lands of the State. Upon becoming acquainted with my object, Warner Taliaferro, Esq., voluntarily tendered me \$50. He invited me at the same time, to his seat called Bellville, in Gloucester County.—Such actions are worthy of record,

because they reflect credit on the man, and evince the sincerity of the Christian.

A gentleman at the springs invited me to visit Salem, a small town of two or three hundred inhabitants, in the upper part of Fauquier. On my way to the place, we called at Clover Hill, the residence of John Baker, Esq., and he accompanied me to the town. He commended my object and gave me a donation of \$10. On Sabbath, after preaching to an attentive congregation, it gave me pleasure to explain the progress of our colonies in Africa, and church being over, I rode in company with Dr. Peyton, to Gordonsdale. Dr. Peyton has long been a tried friend of our cause. He has frequently contributed, and he told me that at no distant day he would send me a donation. We requested him to forward it to B. Brand, Esq., of Richmond. He was true to his word, and transmitted the sum of \$20, but it did not pass through my hands. This, however, was of no importance. From Gordonsdale, we returned home for a few days.

An appointment was made for me to preach at Greenwich, a village of Prince William County. It is seated on a hill, and has a neat church; but the soil round about has been smitten with inexpressible poverty. One person gave me twenty-five cents; but every little helps. If the place be named after Greenwich on the Thames, which was the birth place of Queen Elizabeth, we should suppose it to be a misnomer. The agent had some thought of visiting Dumfries, located on Quantico Creek, which empties into the Potomac, and from which large amounts of tobacco were formerly exported. But the place is lamentably decayed. We took off, therefore, to the romantic village of Buckland, containing about seventy-five inhabitants. There is

something Swiss about the look of this hamlet, and the good people gave me five or six dollars.

The time was now come at which our Presbytery was to meet in Winchester. On my way to Winchester, I passed a village called Paris, at the east foot of the ridge. It is a white, clean looking place, of three hundred inhabitants. In rising the mountain beyond it, we reached the apex of a gap from which enchanting views of the Shenandoah valley lay in the distance. Two miles from the apex, carried me to the ford of the Shenandoah river, the current of which is broken by islets overgrown with sycamores. Between the river and Winchester lies the village of Millwood. It has an Episcopal Church and a quiet rectory. A resident of the place on learning my business, volunteered a donation of five dollars, a circumstance that encouraged me in a moment when my feelings were quite despondent. Near Millwood, resided, before her decease, Mrs. Ann R. Page, a lady well known in the annals of colonization. If the scheme ever had an undeviating friend, that friend was the lady of Annfield. Nor could we help musing on her memory, as we advanced on my twilight way to Winchester. This town, the capitol of Frederick County, has a population of 4,000. If named after Winchester in the shire of Hants, it has not yet attained to the importance of that British town which was once the residence of Kings during the Saxon Heptarchy. It had a spacious cathedral and a college, founded in the fourteenth century. The greatest curiosity about our Winchester, is the remains of Fort Loudoun, supposed to have been built in 1755. Colonization has had active friends in the place; but the interest had somewhat subsided. The ladies of Winchester handed me some donations,

and Strother Jones, of Vaucuse, gave me one of twenty dollars, and the Rev. John Atkinson, ten, and two or three of the Presbytery paid over small collections which had been taken in their congregations. The agent offered to the Presbytery, a series of resolutions approving of African Colonization, which were passed without a dissenting voice.

The Rev. T. Simpson had invited me to visit Charlestown, in Jefferson County. This village has 1,000 inhabitants and is named after Charles Washington, brother to the General. About five miles from the village, are the Shanondale Springs, situated directly on the bank of the Shenandoah, where that river makes a horse-shoe bend. These springs first drew attention in 1819. They were analyzed in 1821, by Dr. De Butts, of Baltimore. An examination was made on a quantity of the solid contents of both the springs, obtained by evaporation. During his stay at Charlestown, the agent addressed the inhabitants on the object of his mission, and the collection amounted to quite as much as we anticipated, and the next day he went out to Blakely, the residence of Mrs. Jane Washington, a warm friend of our institution. The collections made thus far, had been transmitted to Joseph Gales, Esq., at the capitol of the United States; but we were ordered to pay over any future sums to the Treasurer of the Virginia Colonization Society, at Richmond.

In two hours after leaving Charlestown, my pony named Liberia, carried me to Harper's Ferry. Taking in Bolivar, we should suppose the settlement included 2,500 inhabitants. There is a United States Armory at this place. This town of gigantic hills was intended more for the residence of goats than of men, and yet we found in the place some highly agreeable people. After ad-

ressing them on my object, we crossed the ferry on my way to Lovetsville, a small town in Loudoun County. It contains a hundred inhabitants. Many Lutherans live in the neighborhood of the village, and we hope they preserve the spirit of their great Saxon leader, whose books and lute made up the schedule of his estate. Between this place and Leesburgh, is the town of Waterford. Its environs are settled by the followers of George Fox, who figured in the times of Oliver Cromwell. But my engagements required me to be in Leesburgh, a place of two thousand inhabitants; but it wore a declining aspect. A polite reception was given me by the various Christian denominations of the town, and several donations made to our infant colonies.

A ride of seven miles carried me by Oatlands, the magnificent seat of George Carter, Esq., and not far from it, is Oak Hill, where ex-president Monroe spent the evening of his life. The principal settlement of our colonies was named in honor of James Monroe, from services he rendered to the scheme, whilst filling the Executive chair of the United States. The day was cloudy and threatened rain, and we hurried on to Aldie, and remained over night with Col. Mercer, then a Representative in Congress. He is a scholar and a gentleman, and gave me a large amount of information about the incipient efforts to colonize the Mesurado coast. Leaving his residence with augmented respect for his character; the agent visited Middleburgh and Upperville, a pair of small towns eight miles apart. They are connected by a good turnpike, and the soil around them is well suited to grass and pasturage. The stone fence is partially used by the graziers. But it was time to call at my home for a few days to see how my

consort. Andromache, was coming on in feeding my sheep.

The autumn was now somewhat advanced, and after a few days, we set off for the tide water part of the State. Though much of lower Virginia be level and exposed to disease, as a winter residence, it is before the upper country. It is intersected with an ample bay, indented with creeks, and the soil is stocked with marl. I called at Eastern View, the residence of Robert Randolph, Esq. His farm is near to German Town, where Judge Story states in his Eulogium, that chief justice Marshall was born, and the chief justice was a friend to colonization. The road from German Town to Falmouth was intolerable, and the rain was falling in perfect torrents. The weather induced me to stop at an inn along the road, where we fell into conversation with two ladies, who had, like myself, taken shelter under the same roof. They gave me ten dollars, and wished me great success. Falmouth is named after a town in the shire of Cornwall, which is guarded by castles; but our Falmouth is not equal in shipping, to the English town. About five miles from the place, we met a gentleman in the road, who like myself, was drenched in rain; but he stopped long enough to give me five dollars.

Fredericksburgh in one thing resembles Epworth, in Lincolnshire, England, and that is, it consists principally of one long-drawn street. The place has elegant society. Since the discovery of the mines in its vicinity, the conversation of its inhabitants has been exceedingly rich, and so expanded as to resemble the operations of the Longacre gold beaters. It has an orphan house, a charity school, an unfinished monument to the mother of Washington, and five churches. It was the residence of

Gen. Mercer, who was in the battle of Culloden, in 1745, and who fell at Princeton, in 1775. The Episcopal church in Fredericksburgh, raises an annual collection for the colonization scheme; but we addressed the Presbyterian congregation on the subject, and a number next day gave me their offerings to the cause. Several of our friends convened during my stay in the town, to take leave of Mrs. Savage, who had just been united in marriage to Dr. Savage, missionary to Cape Palmas. The meeting was deeply interesting. The agent drew additional motives to his own feeble efforts from the self denial of Mrs. Savage, who, alas! now sleeps beneath the palm trees of a distant soil. Her attempt, however, was noble, to rear celestial fruits on the central line of the world, and to carry the lays inspired by our religion into the huts of benighted ignorance. The ocean chafes her eulogium, and the palm trees sound her requiem on that foreign coast where

"She sleeps well."

My road was now to bind on the Rappahannock, and we spent the first night at Mansfield, the residence of an intelligent family. The next morning the proprietor of that seat, handed me a donation, and upon leaving, the roads became capital. Rural abodes were strung along the banks of the river. Riding in to Port Royal, we met several carriages, to the proprietors of which we had letters of introduction. The town stands on the Rappahannock, and was laid off in 1744; but after the lapse of a century, it remains in *statu quo*. The Episcopal minister offered me his church and also his gown in which to officiate. The agent calculated on some success at Port Royal; but Sunday was excessively rainy, and his anticipations were disappointed. An of-

ficer of the United States Navy was resident at the time in the village. He had been along the classic shores of the Mediterranean, and also in Liberia. About the last, we held a long palaver, and should Lieutenant Robb ever see these notes, he will accept my thanks for his attentions.

We left Port Royal quite late in the evening, with a view to put in for the night, at a farm called Port Tobago, and the residence of John Waring, Esq. It was reached, but long after the ploughman had given his last whistle. The coldness of the weather compelled me to remain over the next day; but upon setting out, the proprietor of the farm handed me a donation. In a few miles, Loretto came in sight. Several gentlemen were peering about in the place; but my lady was not visible. We called at one or two dwellings along the road, and in the evening entered Tappahannock. This village was the native spot of Thomas Ritchie, Esq., the editor of the *Enquirer*.

It was a bleak morning on which Liberia and her rider left Tappahannock. The soil became increasingly alluvial. There was no succession of hill and dale, for it was all dale. The pine woods were interspersed with cedars, but they were occasionally enlivened by the horn of the huntsman. On the evening of this cold day we reached the house of Dr. Rowan, an Irish gentleman, who had emigrated many years since, to the United States. He has acquired an elegant sufficiency. We engaged in conversation about the distinguished men of his native island. He told me that the Middlesex Court would sit in a few days at Urbanna, the capitol of the county, and that he would get me an opportunity of addressing the people. We went accordingly on the day, and after making interest with the magistrates,

the herald was told to make proclamation that a stranger would address the crowd. The address took about three-fourths of an hour, when Dr. Rowan pulled off his hat and carried it around among the people and collected thirty or thirty-five dollars. I was much indebted to his generous Irish feelings for this act of kindness. Urbanna is not at present, a flourishing town. It was once a seat of gaiety, and at one time, the residence of John Mitchel, who was a botanist from England, and paid particular attention to the hybrid productions, and who also wrote on electrical cohesion.

The writer now made the best of his way into Gloucester County, and remained over night with a gentleman who gave me a map of my road for the next day. The map led me by the rectory of the Rev. Charles Mann, to the residence of Warner Taliaferro, who is a man of intelligence and influence. On the following Sunday, we officiated in Wate church, at the invitation of its rector, who at the close of the services, made an appeal to his people, which secured an excellent collection. The people of Gloucester are remarkably intelligent; though like its namesake in England, it has not produced so great an orator as Whitfield, or so great a judge as Sir Matthew Hale. It now became necessary for me to reach Richmond soon as convenient, but we left Bellville and the rectory not without regret.

Gloucester Court House has about three hundred inhabitants. It is pleasantly situated. In passing it, a gentleman informed me that he would transmit to the Treasurer at Richmond, the gleanings of the subscriptions. This he did, but they were not entered on my book. The winter had now set in with great severity. The birds had all escaped to some warmer latitude. Li-

beria trudged through the snow as well as she could, and carried me to a house formerly occupied by Speaker Robinson. The proprietor of the establishment informed me that King and Queen Court was to meet next day, and that he would introduce me to the magistrates. Accordingly we set out next morning and were overtaken by caravans. The Court soon got into session. The multitude below were shivering in a kind of polar latitude; but the magistrates were so intent on dispensing hot justice to them, that no one was disposed to hear me speak, though a respectable application to that purpose had been made by a barrister, who has since been our *Chargé* to Naples. Conjecture, however, was afloat as to who wished to address the people. Some few, perhaps, took me for an abolitionist, but abolitionists are not apt to get so far down to the South. But at length, their worships adjourned the Court, and the writer concluded to follow the people outside the building, where they were addressed from the porch of the hotel, and the collection amounted to perhaps forty dollars. Such was my interview with the sovereigns of King and Queen, in obtaining which, we were put to some trouble.

That same evening the writer went on to the neighborhood of Brington Church, and lodged with a gentleman who wished very much to converse about Liberia. We sat up quite late, interchanging views. The next morning he gave me ten dollars, and told me he would, in a short time, send twenty more to the Treasurer, a promise with which he strictly complied. He also gave me a sketch of the road, and we soon reached the Matapony river, which empties into the York. There was a gratis and a pay boat. An Episcopal clergyman, brother to Cooke, the artist, was along, who politely

invited me to his farm on the banks of the river. We fell into easy conversation, and the days were then at their shortest. After riding forward for an hour or two, we were overtaken by night, and the night was exceedingly cold. But after losing my way several times, it was my good fortune at last, to reach Cherri Coke, the seat of Gen. Corbin Braxton, not far from the celebrated Piping Tree. The next morning the rain prevented my going forward, and the day was divided between reading and the elegant conversation of Gen. Braxton's family.

Crossing the Pamunkey, a ride of several miles carried me to New Castle, a place mentioned by Chastellux, in his travels. It has but one house and that in ruins; but near to it is the farm of Carter Braxton, Esq., at which we called for a few hours. Its proprietor was from home; but just on leaving his house, we met him returning from Middlesex, and he handed me a gold piece which some friend to colonization had sent me from that county. My intention on leaving the hospitable abode of Carter Braxton, was to get within striking distance of Pole Green Church that night, as the next day was the Sabbath. We put up with an amiable family who were going to that church the next morning. The weather suddenly became warm and mild. Pole Green Church was formerly occupied by the Rev. Samuel Davies, whose reputation has given celebrity to the spot, and in making my appeal to the descendants of his congregation, it occurred to me that my object was one of which he would have approved and enforced by his eloquence, had he been living. The collection amounted to twenty-five or thirty dollars, and after service I accompanied the Rev. Henry Smith to his parsonage.

Going on to Richmond, the writer

crossed the Chickahominy, a stream edged with cypress tress, and rendered memorable by the capture of Smith, who came out with Newport, in 1607. On reaching the Capitol of Virginia, information was given me, that the Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society would not take place for several weeks. The writer was requested to draw the Annual Report, and with this view, we took the rail-car to Petersburg, where we found a retirement suited to the purpose, in the house of Mrs. Lucy Y. Gray. Petersburg was not named after the Capitol of the Russian Czar, but after Peter Jones, who sold out the lots. It stands on the south east bank of the Appomattox, and has a dingy look. The best part of the town is on the hills, where the dwellings are located on wide lots. Its inhabitants are from ten to twelve thousand. The people are highly genteel. There are many foreigners in Petersburg, particularly emigrants from Ireland. During my stay, the colonization cause was presented in three of the churches. One gentleman sought me out, and gave me fifty dollars, and others made liberal contributions. The Episcopal minister told me that his congregation were oppressed at the time, with a heavy debt; but that the object should certainly claim his attention, and it is my belief that he subsequently sent some funds to the Treasurer. Mrs. Minge was fitting out her servants for Liberia, and in a few weeks they set sail from Norfolk. Having prepared the report, it became my duty to return to Richmond, and I found the city enlivened by a visit from Dr. Bascom, of Kentucky. He was formerly a colonization agent. He does not conform to the severe models of Grecian eloquence, but he is, notwithstanding, an extraordinary man.

The Annual Meeting of the Virginia Colonization Society was rapidly approaching. The preparations, to the agent, were extremely irksome, because of the difficulty in procuring speakers. But the night arrived. At an early hour the prodigious flow of the people commenced. With difficulty we made our way to the hall. It was necessary, however, that the agent should be present, as it was his office to read the report. He rose on a chair, which threw his manuscript directly under a large chandelier, which reminded me of one in a chrystallized cave, called the Grotto of Paradise. The speaking was excellent, and the audience broke up in transport. Before leaving the city, several advised me to publish an appeal to the State, which was done in three religious papers. Nicholas Mills, Esq., who is every inch a gentleman, gave me a hundred dollars after a social evening, and stated that at no distant day, he would add to his contribution. He has always been the enlightened and generous friend of our cause.

It was my intention to have descended the James river to Norfolk, after the annual meeting, but learned that the Rev. John C. Smith, of Washington, was in that borough, on a temporary agency. After consultation, it was concluded not to go, and I turned Liberia's aquiline nose towards Hanover Court House. Not a great way from this settlement, is the spot which gave birth to Henry Clay, whose name is known among the orange groves of our African colonies. It gave me pleasure next morning in crossing the Pamunkey, to find that it was bridged, for there are bridges over the Chinese canal, and across the ravines of the Alps and Apennines. We had scarcely got over the Pamunkey, before there came on a driving snow. A gentle-

man seeing my distress, kindly invited me to his house, with a view to spending the night. On comparing views we found the family closely allied to my Bellville friends, who have been mentioned before, as living in Gloucester. My ride to Bowling Green, next morning, was over a sleety road. Bowling Green is on a level, and near it was the residence of Edmund Pendleton, who was a member of the first Congress. The agent delivered here an address on colonization at the inn, and obtained about twenty dollars. But at this time, like the Tyrollese peasants, the agent was taken with the home sickness.

After remaining at home a few days, it became my duty to leave for Martinsburgh, in Berkeley. This is a rocky place, of seventeen hundred inhabitants. Its Court House was built in the time of Lord Botetourt. The Rev. Peyton Harrison gave me all the aid in his power, and the funds collected amounted, probably, to twenty-five dollars. From Martinsburgh, the winter passed on to Gerardstown, and took my belongings with Dr. Coe, a man of moral worth, equalled only by his modesty. I spent with him several delightful days, and he gave me four hundred and seventy-five dollars, to promote the objects of colonization. We then passed on to Shepherdstown, on the Potomac, and the Presbyterian minister of that place, promised that he would collect and send the sum to the Treasurer, about the fourth of July. He did so accordingly. On my way, called at Wickliffe Church, and took a few small subscriptions, one or two of which were paid at Washington.

It was now the close of May, and it was time to go along the east of the ridge, with a view to spend the summer months. The agent stopped at the small town of Jefferson,

and officiated. He was accompanied to that place by Charles Kemper, jr., who has been a frequent contributor to colonization. Culpepper Court House has a thousand inhabitants. After addressing the people, the writer passed on and reached the Rapid Ann river. The fording was very dangerous in consequence of recent rains. We concluded, therefore, to remain all night on this side of the river. We presume this stream was named about 1701, when Anne ascended the English throne. If so, it has taken the Virginians one hundred and forty years to build a bridge. The next morning the kind family on the bank sent me over in a skiff, and half of the miles carried me to Orange Court House. The county was laid out in 1734, though the Prince of Orange became King of England in 1688. The agent officiated in the Episcopal church, and his minister assured me that the subject should challenge his attention, and during the summer, he transmitted the collection to Richmond. From the Court House we visited Montpelier, for its site had left to our cause a bequest of four thousand dollars. Reaching the road from which we had diverged, Gordonsville soon came into sight, located within full view of the southwest range. The place is small, but we occupied the church and appealed to the inhabitants for aid. They contributed according to their ability.

My ride to Charlottesville was truly charming from the rich scenery which the southwest range presents. Charlottesville, in my opinion, is not a handsome town, though the environs are picturesque, even to the production of enchantment. On Sunday morning, we officiated to a polite audience, and in the afternoon, for the Chaplain to the University, who was quite an interesting man. We mention, also, with particu-

lar regard, the Rev. Wm. S. White, who gave me important help in my object. A meeting was held, at which addresses were delivered by T. W. Gilmer, since come to an untimely end, and by Lucien Minor. Professor Harrison, of the University, is a decided advocate of colonization. Mrs. Minor was about sending to the colonies, two colored boys, of whom charge was taken by the Rev. W. McLain. She told me that she would pay their passage. We thought her a lady of surprising colloquial powers.

From Charlottesville, the agent struck off into a narrow valley created by spurs shot out from the larger mountains. Occasionally, indeed, the valley would open to a wider extent, and a farm house would diversify the prospect. Officiated at a church called the Love. It was in Nelson County, taken off from Amherst, about 1809, of which Lovings-ton is the capitol. Lovings-ton is an inland town of five hundred inhabitants. The Rock Fish and Tye are small rivers. The ford of the latter did not take Liberia more than a few inches above her shoes. New Glasgow is a town with a long street. It was probably founded by the Scotch; but falls far short of the city that stands on the Clyde. Amherst Court House looks sufficiently dreary, and the county, most probably, took its name from Lord Jeffrey Amherst, who commanded at the conquest of Canada, in 1760, and who was a native of Kentshire. Proceeding to Lynchburgh, the day became extremely hot. What would we not have given for one of the gales of Arabia Felix.

Lynchburgh, in Campbell County, is a flourishing town of about five thousand inhabitants. The James is quite shallow before the town, and is beautifully dotted with wooded islands above and below. Waited

immediately on my old preceptor, the Rev. Wm. S. Reid, a man of modesty, unaffected politeness and general benevolence. We talked a long time of days never to return. His influence led the way to my presenting our cause in four of the churches of the place, and the collections were sent forward by a safe conveyance to our Treasurer. The agent passed on to New London, and from thence to Liberty. At the last mentioned place, the Rev. J. D. Mitchell gave me all his influence to help forward our cause, and my collections were considerable. He also accompanied me to the top of the Otter Peaks. After descending, my way became exceedingly solitary. Liberia crossed the same creek thirty-two times, and then forded the James on my way to Patonsburgh and Buchannan. Fincastle is situated on two hills, with a part of the town running down into the valley, and has from eight to twelve hundred inhabitants. The county in which it stands, was named after Lord Botetourt, one of the last of our English Governors, who died at Williamsburgh. My efforts at the place were for the most part, fruitless; an agent of the missionary board being there at the time.

The agent on leaving Fincastle, partially retraced his steps, and went on to the house of the Rev. Henry Paine, near the Natural Bridge. We spent together the next day in viewing that astonishing object. My way was then direct to Lexington, the scenery around which is superb. Pastor Cunningham waited on me at the inn, and invited me to officiate on the following Sabbath. The collection amounted to forty dollars. The limestone water was injurious to me, and a speedy determination was made to move onward, and we reached the manse of the Rev. Wm. Morrison. He has an extensive li-

brary, and showed me a Juvenal which once belonged to Alexander Cruden. His name was written on the title page, with the annexation, *Ejus Liber, 1740*. The pastor of Bethel Church was there, and he gave me a check for twenty dollars, taken up for our cause in his congregation.

My next stage was at Staunton, which has two thousand inhabitants. It lies in a valley made by dragon-like hills. Circumstances made my visit to this town rather unpropitious for my object, and we went on to Augusta Church, of which the Rev. Wm. Brown is the pastor. The collection here was about twenty-one dollars. The agent then went on to Harrisonburgh, in Rockingham, where he met the Rev. Wm. McLain, and from thence to Woodstock, in Shenandoah. He officiated in two of its churches and several contributed. Being excessively fatigued, the writer was anxious to reach Vacluse, the seat of Strother Jones, Esq. He was there delightfully entertained for several days, and then left for Winchester, where he went to pay our Treasurer my collections through the Valley Bank. The writer reached his home; but afterwards spent a month over his stipulated time, in excursions, the details of which would not be interesting.

The writer is about to close his report of thirteen delightful months. He cannot speak in terms too high of the manners and society of Virginia. The State has many a lodge for the wayfaring man. To whichever of the cardinal points he went,

he was involved in the same balmy atmosphere, created by the genius of hospitality. He encountered no rudeness, and nothing that even approached to an assault on his feelings. The scheme he advocated, needed not a word to produce conviction of its benevolence or its practicability. The popular will, so far as Virginia may be concerned, goes for the enlargement of Liberia. He leaves domestic servitude in the hands of civilians and legislators, convinced that its cure never can be wrought by the fury of abolitionism. He cannot but record his gratitude to his Maker who protected the lonely pilgrim, who cheered him when desponding, who opened all the hands that gave, and all the hearts that yielded to the impulses of philanthropy. He regrets that his efforts were not more successful, but he feels consoled by the fact that much went into the treasury of colonization, from his efforts, which never reached his hands. Gratitude is also due to man; and the Rev. A. D. Pollok, of Richmond, and Mrs. Blackford, of Fredericksburgh, and R. R. Gurley, will accept my thanks for facilities rendered to the agent, in carrying forward his appeals. And finally, if the writer has planted but one germ in the only garden of letters and religion, which has ever been opened in Africa, or given expansion to but one flower at the vestibule of a haggard continent, he has not lived in vain, and that flower may, possibly, sweeten some of the evils of life, and even anoint, with its fragrance, his dying moments.

Despatches from Liberia.

By the arrival of the brig *Echo*, in our present number, extracts from at Philadelphia, on the 13th ult., we the letters of Dr. Lugenbeel and were put in possession of interesting Gov. Roberts, which, we trust, not despatches from Liberia. We give one of our readers will fail to peruse.

They are important in themselves, as they display the present state of affairs in our infant republic, and make strong appeals to the benevolent for the means of carrying on our operations.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,

December 29, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 13th November, was received yesterday. You have doubtless received my letter by the "Francis Lord," and I presume, that before the arrival of this, you will have received two letters from me, which I gave in charge of Capt. Abbott, of the U. S. ship "Decatur," which vessel sailed from our port about the last of October, for Port Praya, thence, as I have since been informed, for the United States. By the arrival of the "Chipola," from Baltimore, twenty-four emigrants, destined for the settlement of Bexley, are committed to my care. And in compliance with the request of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, and with the directions of Governor Roberts, as well as in the performance of my duty to new-comers especially, I shall go down with them and remain as long as it may be necessary. One of my students will accompany me—the other will remain in Monrovia, to render medical assistance to those who may require it, in this part of the colony. My students are progressing rapidly, in acquiring a practical, as well as a theoretical knowledge of the healing art. I have endeavored to instruct them practically, at the bedside of the sick, from the beginning; and I am happy in being able to say that the facility which they have exhibited in the acquisition of medical knowledge, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

A few days ago, I received a letter from Mr. Murray, in which he states that the people are all doing very well at Greenville. One little boy about ten years of age, died since I left that settlement, which makes four persons that have died of the company with whom I went down to that settlement in May last. Three of the deaths occurred in children, and one in a very aged woman. Of the company that arrived in August, (fifty-eight in number,) fifty-four are still living, and nearly all of them in very good health. Of those that died, two of them were old persons, and one of them a child about seven years of age—the fourth, a woman about forty years old.

As my time is very much occupied in writing letters, visiting the sick, and in preparing to leave this place for Bexley in the vessel, which will sail in a day or two, I cannot write you a long letter at present.

My health is tolerably good. My attacks of fever, although frequent, are generally slight, and with exception of two small ulcers on one of my ankles, which have been very troublesome, I have been getting along pretty fairly for some months past.

Yours, &c.,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society.

P. S.—I visited Grand Bassa about the middle of November, and the settlement of Marshall, about four weeks ago. A few days ago, I returned from a visit to Millsburg, Caldwell, and New Georgia.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Monrovia, Jan. 24, 1845.

SIR:—In a former letter by the U. S. ship "Saratoga," I gave you some account of the state of affairs in the colony, as I found them on

my return from the United States. Since which time, nothing of importance has occurred to disturb our friendly relations with foreigners or the natives around us.

The difficulties existing between this government and Bob Grey, and his son young Bob, chiefs of the Grand Bassa country, I hope to be able to settle amicably, in a few days. Bob Grey has become quite alarmed, in consequence of a threat thrown out by some individuals in the country of Grand Bassa, to petition the colonial legislature, to declare the connection existing between this government and the two Bobs, dissolved, thereby withdrawing our protection, and leaving them to the tender mercies of their enemies.

But for the protection of this government to Bob Grey and his people, in consequence of their connection with us by treaty—having adopted the constitution and laws of the colony, thereby becoming a part of this commonwealth—long since, in all probability, the whole tribe would have been annihilated, either murdered or sold into slavery.

I received a message from Bob Grey a few days ago, expressing many regrets that his conduct towards the colonists and others, had been such as to bring upon him the displeasure of this government, and requesting that I would meet him as early as possible, at Edina, to talk the "palaver," and have the matter settled, as he was anxious to be on good terms with the Americans.

As early after my arrival as practicable, I commenced preparations for the building ordered by the United States Government for the reception of recaptured Africans.

I have selected a beautiful site on a fertile spot, on the northwest bank of the St. Paul's river, opposite Caldwell, and about twelve miles in the interior from this place. The build-

ing will be of brick, and of sufficient size to accommodate from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons. The brick is now being made, and we hope to be ready to commence the building in a few weeks. We shall use all dispatch to have it completed the present dry season. The amount, however, appropriated by the government, I fear, will not be sufficient to have the house in many respects, as commodious and comfortable as I could wish. The strictest economy, however, will be observed, and every effort made to erect a good, substantial building.

Some two months since, I received information that the New Cess people had become divided in opinion respecting the propriety of continuing the slave trade, and of selling the country to the Americans. Several of the chiefs and a large majority of the people are opposed to the traffic in slaves, and in favor of selling the country. They insist that the slave trade is ruining their country, by so rapidly reducing their numerical strength, carrying off, annually, a large number of their effective force, and that soon they will find themselves so reduced as to be totally unable to protect their own territory from the ravages of hostile tribes. Thus it is, that sometimes good comes out of evil. The New Cess people have been brought to this reduction and conclusion, in consequence of the war that has existed for the last three or four years, between them and the Tradetown tribe. The New Cess people, at present, find that they are barely able to cope with their adversaries, when, a few years ago, they outnumbered them considerably; and attribute it all to the slave trade; as the Tradetown people have not renewed the traffic since Mr. Ashmun's attack and demolition of the slave barracks in that country, in 1826.

As soon as I received this information, I dispatched commissioners to New Cess, to effect, if possible, a purchase of the territory. Mr. Benson, the commissioner, as soon as practicable, commenced negotiations with the chiefs; but in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs in the country, and the opposition thrown in his way by the slaves established there, who are exerting themselves to the utmost, to prevent the sale, he has not been able to succeed. I expect to leave here in a few days, to visit the leeward settlements, and if nothing prevents, shall extend my visit to New Cess, and hope to be able to succeed in effecting a purchase of the territory, notwithstanding the opposition of the slavers. Should I succeed, the territory will be a great acquisition to the colony, and the means of effectually abolishing the slave trade from between the two extremes of the colonial jurisdiction.

On my way down, I expect to conclude a purchase of the remaining portion of the Little Bassa Country; but, sir, from what quarter may I look for funds to meet these engagements? Will you be able, soon, to send us any thing for this especial object? I do really hope that our friends in the United States are exerting themselves to aid us in this respect. The subject is an important one, and deserves immediate attention. No time should be lost in acquiring a title to the remaining territory between the two extremes of the colonial jurisdiction. There are those on the coast who are doing all in their power to prejudice the minds of the natives against selling it to us; otherwise, I should not be so anxious—the fact is, if we suffer much delay, we shall find great difficulty in negotiating with the natives, except at very extravagant prices. I am, therefore, not disposed to allow

any opportunity to slip. I am happy to be able to inform you that the emigrants by the “Lime Rock,” have suffered but little from sickness, none have died of African fever, and are comfortably located on their farms, some six miles from the sea, on the north bank of the Sinou river, and generally in good health and spirits, and much pleased with their new home. Those by the Virginia, have also passed through the seasoning well, and are located at Caldwell, except three or four mechanics that preferred to remain here.

Dr. Lugenbeel left here a week or two ago, in pretty good health, to accompany the emigrants by the “Chipola;”—the Wilson family to Bexley, where they have been located, at the desire of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.—Those emigrants from Virginia, by the same vessel, were much disappointed when they learned, on their arrival, they were destined for Cape Palmas; they had gotten the impression somewhere. The headman told me from his master, or the executor of his former master’s estate, who had given him a letter to that effect, which letter, unfortunately, he had lost overboard on the passage out. The captain was of the same impression, and insisted, at one time, upon landing them here. I, however, refused to receive them, feeling confident from the remark in your letter, 13th November, respecting them, and further, that I have received no instructions from Mr. Pinney, in regard to receiving them, that there must be some mistake; therefore, I insisted that the captain take them to Palmas.

Bob Cane, one of the Grand Cape Mount chiefs, and from what I can understand, rightful sovereign of that country, came to the colony a few weeks ago, to obtain information respecting Mr. Canot’s claim to Grand

baptized the king of Sierra Leone, his family, and several others. He adds, about the 1670. "the king still receives baptism, but practices idolatry to please his subjects." According to Bareira's own account, king Philip, whom he baptized, was a hundred years old, and was one of the Cumbas. He professes to have made a more favorable impression on the natives, because he did not engage in the slave trade and other branches of commerce, as all former priests there had done. Labat informs us, that in 1666, Don Philip, a Christian, reigned at Burré, on the south side of the Sierra Leone river, and kept a Jesuit and a Portuguese Capuchin, who preached Christianity, but without effect. Villault, however, says, the same year, that "the Portuguese settled here have made many converts." Barbot asserts that the Portuguese had converted many in Bulm: that is, many of the Bulloms, on the north of the river. The truth seems to be, that they persuaded a considerable number of individuals to receive baptism, but made no general impression upon the people: so that Labat, himself a missionary, considered their attempt a failure. As to the character of their converts, his Don Philip, keeping a Jesuit and a Capuchin to preach Christianity, and yet practising idolatry to please his subjects, is doubtless a fair sample. In 1721, one native of some consequence, nine miles up the river, is mentioned as a Romanist. He had been baptized in Portugal. The expedition for the conversion of the Jaloofs, we have seen, was defeated by the assassination of Bemoi. Still, they made some converts in that quarter. But every where north of Congo, their converts seem to have been confined almost wholly to the dependents on their trading houses: and when these were given up, their religion soon disappeared.

The French missions, so far as we have been able to discover, commenced in 1635, when five Capuchins were sent to the mouth of the Assinée. In a short time, and before they accomplished any thing, three of them died, and the other two retired to Axim. In 1636, several Capuchins of Normandy were sent as missionaries to Cape Verde, one of whom had the title of prefect; "but they left the country, because they could not live in it." In 1674, another company of Capuchins attempted a mission, probably somewhere on the Ivory or Gold Coast; but nothing is known of its results. In 1687, father Gonsalvez, a Dominican, on his way to India, stopped at Assinee, and left father Henry Cerizier, with a house and six slaves, to commence a mission. Cerizier died in a few months. In 1700, father Loyer, who had been sometime in the West Indies, was nominated by the Propaganda and appointed by the Pope, as apostolic prefect of missions in Guinea. He embarked at Rochelle, April 18, 1701, having with him father Jaques Villard as a missionary, and Aniaba, who, he says, had been given to Gonsalvez by Zenan, king of Assinee, and educated and baptized in France. The *European Mercury* announced his baptism in the following paragraph:

"Here is another pagan prince brought over to the Christian faith: namely, Lewis Hannibal, king of Syria, on the Gold Coast of Africa; who, after being a long time instructed in the Christian principles, and baptized by the bishop of Meaux, the king being his godfather, received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at the same a picture of the Blessed Virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territory; having made a vow, at his return thither, to use his

deaths occurred in both those settlements. The sickness and deaths, however, at the former place, cannot be attributed to any local causes, for we consider Millsburg one of our healthiest settlements. I hope in a few weeks, when I have visited the leeward settlements, to be able to give you some more definite information respecting the state of affairs in that quarter.

Accompanying, you will receive the minutes of the legislative council, forwarded by the colonial secretary. You will observe that no material change or alterations have been made, except to give to the court of quarter sessions and common pleas, jurisdiction in commercial cases, in the laws and regulations of the commonwealth.

I beg to call your attention to the claim, some five hundred dollars, a

balance due the Sinou chiefs on the purchase of that territory. They are earnestly demanding it, and it is important that it be attended to as early as possible; if not paid soon, it will be the means of weakening very much the confidence of the natives in the faith of the Society; already some of our enemies have been making a handle of it, and I fear it will operate against us in acquiring other territory. Will not the Mississippi Colonization Society make arrangements to have this claim settled?

I am, sir,

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

To

REV. WM. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society,

Washington City, D. C.

(Continued from page 83.)

Colonization and Missions.

PART III.

Missionary Labors in Western Africa, and their Results.

PERHAPS a clearer light may be thrown upon the subject, by a connected view of the various attempts that have been made to introduce civilization and Christianity into Guinea. It need occupy but little space, as the history of far the greater part of them records only the attempts and their failure.

The Portuguese, we have seen, commenced and prosecuted their discoveries under authority from the Pope, to conquer and convert all unbelievers from Cape Bojador to India. We have seen, too, what a pompous commencement they made at Elmina. Their establishments were at one time numerous along the whole

coast of Upper Guinea, and as far north as Arguin. It is said that they every where had chapels, and made efforts at proselytism. The language of historians seems to imply that even the Portuguese mulattoes, when driven inland from the Grain Coast in 1604, built chapels in the interior, and strove to make proselytes. In Congo, they put their candidate on the throne by force of arms, and thus converted the nation. In Upper Guinea, they converted a few, and but a few; as the negroes generally would neither give up polygamy, nor submit to auricular confession. In 1607, Dapper states that the Jesuits found some on the Rio Grande who were willing to receive baptism, but not being prepared for it, it was deferred. The same year, he tells us, the Jesuit Bareira,

utmost endeavors towards the conversion of his subjects."

On arriving at Grand Sesters, Aniaba went on shore, and, Loyer says, "lived eight days among the negresses, in a way which edified nobody." They touched on the Quaqua coast, and found the people to be cannibals, eating negroes frequently, and all the white men they could get into their possession. June 25, they reached the Assinee. After a short negotiation for the ground, a fort was built near the eastern shore of the river, at its mouth, and a garrison left for its defence. Aniaba proved worthless. The mission accomplished nothing. Loyer left in 1703. The garrison found it difficult to maintain itself against repeated attacks, and in 1705, the whole establishment was given up.

Who this Aniaba really was, is a matter of some uncertainty. In France, he was certainly represented as the son of Zenan, king of the Assinees, sent thither for education; and in this character, he served for a while as a Captain in the French cavalry. Loyer, writing after his disappointment, and with evident mortification, merely represents him as one whom Zenan had given to Gonsalvez. Bosman, to whom we are indebted for the extract from the *Mercury*, says that he was originally a slave among the Assinees; that a Frenchman obtained possession of him and carried him home, intending to keep him for a valet; that he had shrewdness enough to gull French bishops and cardinals into the belief of his royal descent; and that on his return, he was forced back into the service of his old Assinee master.

Loyer, while there, made some missionary efforts. On one occasion, in the presence of the natives, he broke a fetish into a thousand pieces, trod it under his feet, and then cast it into the fire. They all

fled, saying that the lightning would blast him, or the earth swallow him up. Seeing that he remained unharmed, they said it was because he did not believe; on which he exhorted them to be unbelievers too. But his exhortations were in vain. His English editor asks,—“How would he have liked to have had one of his own fetishes so treated? A negro, or a Protestant, would be put to death for such an offence in most popish countries.” Villault, in 1667, had used the same argument on the Gold Coast, and as he thought, with more success. He broke the negroes’ fetishes, and told them to sign themselves with the cross, and the fetishes could not hurt them: Many came to him and exchanged their fetishes for crucifixes, which they evidently regarded as only stronger fetishes.

Loyer represents the negroes as trickish and subtle, great liars and thieves, “the most deceitful and ungrateful people in the universe.”

The first Spanish mission to this part of the world, so far as we can learn, was commenced in 1652, when fifteen Capuchins were sent to Sierra Leone. Twelve of them were taken prisoners by the Portuguese, who were then at war with Spain. The other three are said to have converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and built churches in some of their chief towns. They were reinforced in 1657, and again in 1664. In 1723, the Pope’s nuncio in Spain announced that the mission was extinct. In 1659, certain Capuchins of Castile attempted a mission at Ardra, on the Slave Coast; but they soon gave it up, on finding that the king only pretended to turn Christian, for the sake of encouraging trade with Spain.

We find no mention of any other Roman Catholic mission in Upper Guinea, till the late attempt at Cape Palmas. From the formal com-

commencement of the mission at Elmina, in 1482, eleven years after the complete discovery of the coast, to the abandonment of Sierra Leone, in 1723, was 241 years of Roman Catholic missionary effort. After so long a trial, and for the greater part of the time in most favorable circumstances for the missionaries, the religion of *Guinea* proved too strong an antagonist for the religion of *Rome*. What little impression they made on a few of their dependents, was soon effaced, and Romanism in Guinea has long since ceased to exist. A boastful view of Romanism and its missions, in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* for June, 1839, claims no mission in all Western Africa, nor any Catholics, except in the French settlements on the Senegal, any where between Congo and Morocco. Probably, however, they might claim the inmates of a small Portuguese trading house or two, somewhere about the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Of the Dutch, we only find reason to believe that they made some slight attempts to proselyte the negroes immediately around their castles and trading houses. The Portuguese say that the negroes "being barbarians, readily enough swallowed Calvin's poison;" the meaning of which doubtless is, that the Dutch taught them to despise popery. Artus mentions attempts of Dutch residents to instruct them, and speaks of one who had been so instructed, by a monk at Elmina, that he was able to quote Scripture in reply. Bosman, a sturdy Dutch Protestant, says that if it were possible to convert them, the Romanists would stand the best chance for success; because they already agree with them in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies, their abstinence from certain kinds of food at certain times, their reliance on antiquity, and the like. The negroes seemed to have

reasoned differently, and to have thought so small a change not worth the making. Bosman's remark, however, shows that the Dutch accomplished but little among them.

The Moravians were the first Protestants who seriously undertook the work of missions in Guinea. In 1733, they sent out two missionaries, one of whom was a mulatto, born in that country. His colleague soon died, and he returned. Their efforts were resumed from time to time, till 1770. In all, five distinct efforts were made, and eleven missionaries sent out. The mulatto accompanied several of the expeditions, and died in 1769. The other ten all died in Guinea, before they had been there long enough to be useful. Probably, all these attempts were on the Gold Coast.

Of English efforts to civilize or evangelize Western Africa, we find no notice till 1787, when a colony of free blacks from America was commenced at Sierra Leone. The land on which they settled was purchased of the natives, who soon after attempted to drive them off or exterminate them. When visited in 1789, half their number had perished by violence or disease, and the remainder had taken refuge on Bance Island. In 1791 and 1792, the colony was reinforced by 1,200 blacks from Jamaica, who had at first settled in Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. The history of this colony is marked by an almost uninterrupted series of gross blunders and mismanagement; but being a well-meant enterprise, mainly on right principles, and sustained with true English pertinacity, it has continued to grow, and has been of immense value to Africa. For twenty years it watched the operations of the British slave trade, and furnished much of the information which induced the British Parliament to abol-

ish it in 1807. And when that act had been passed, it could have been little else than a dead letter, had there not been a rendezvous for the squadron, a seat for Courts of Admiralty, and a receptacle for recaptured Africans, at Sierra Leone. But for this colonization of Africa with the civilized descendants of Africans, that act might never have been passed, and if passed, must have been nearly inoperative.

In 1792, an attempt was made to promote civilization in Africa by a colony of whites, of which Capt. Beaver, an officer in the expedition, afterwards published an account, which we have not been able to obtain. We only learn that the attempt was made by a "philanthropic association" in England; that they sent out three ships, with 275 colonists; that they commenced a settlement on Bulama Island, near the mouth of the Rio Grande; that they employed only the free labor of colonists and hired negroes; that they suffered much from the African fever, many died, others returned, and in two years the colony was extinct.

In 1795, several English families went to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Foulahs; but after arriving in Africa and considering the obstacles, they returned without commencing their labors.

In 1797, the Edinburgh Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, who commenced a mission among the Soosoos, on the Rio Pongas; the Glasgow Society sent out two, who commenced on the Island of Bananas; and the London Society two, who began among the Bulloms. In 1800, one of them, Mr. Brunton, returned, enfeebled by disease; but afterwards engaged in a mission at Karass near the Caspian Sea. Mr. Greig, his colleague, had been murdered by a party of Foulahs. The

other four had fallen victims to the climate.

The Church Missionary Society, then called the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East," sent out its first missionaries in 1804. They were Germans; for, after several years of effort, no English missionaries could be procured. Two years before, the Sierra Leone Company had been seeking five years in vain for a chaplain. The missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, April 14. A subsequent report states, that they would have been instructed to commence their labors in the colony, had there not have been obstacles to their usefulness there, of the nature of which we are not informed. As it was, they resided in the colony, and sought for stations beyond its borders. In 1806, two others were sent out, one of whom, Mr. Nylander, was induced to serve as chaplain of the colony, which he continued to do till 1812. These two last were accompanied by William Fantimani, the son of a chief at Rio Pongas, educated at Clapham. The report for 1808, informs us, that the missionaries had continued their search for stations out of the colony, but had every where been met by insurmountable obstacles. That year, however, in March, they were able to commence two stations on the Rio Pongas, Fantimania and Bashia. Fantimania in a short time was found impracticable. It was abandoned, and a new station commenced at Cãnoffee. In 1809, two others were sent out, one of whom soon died. One of the older brethren also died. In 1811, two more were sent out. In 1812, three mechanics were sent out. Mr. Nylander resigned his chaplaincy, and commenced a new station among the Bulloms. In the autumn, the chiefs on the Rio Pongas, held a palaver, in relation to sending the missionaries out of the

country, on the pretence that their presence injured the trade, that is, the slave trade. In 1813, two of the mechanics and the wife of one of them died. Troubles with the natives continued. In 1814, they suffered much from sickness. The other mechanic and the widow of another died. The opposition of the natives increased. A new station was commenced on the Rio Demola, and called Gambir. Mr. Kohn, the missionary, finding no prospect of usefulness, removed to the Isles de Los, staid there half a year, and meeting insurmountable opposition, removed to Kapuri, on the continent, among the Bagoes. These events may have extended into the next year. Their attention was now turning to the colony. In 1815, seven male and female missionaries and two educated natives were sent out. Four of the seven, two of their children, and two of the older members of the mission died. In January, the three principal buildings at Baschia, with the libraries, were burned by the natives. Mr. Hughes and his wife, one of the seven above-mentioned, set out for home to save her life; but stopped at Goree, as she was unable to proceed. Here her health improved, and they opened a school. In 1816, four teachers with their wives, were sent out. The Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Assistant Secretary, visited the mission. He thought the colony, which now contained 9,000 or 10,000 inhabitants, most of whom were recaptured Africans, the most promising field of usefulness. The "Christian Institution" had already a goodly number of pupils, and they were erecting extensive buildings for its permanent accommodation. Governor Mac Carthy wrote:—"I conceive that the first effectual step towards the establishment of Christianity, will be found in the division of this

peninsula into parishes, appointing to each a clergyman to instruct his flock in Christianity, enlightening their minds to the various duties and advantages inherent to civilization; thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa." The division into parishes was in progress. Basalia was given up. Preaching was commenced at Lissa and Jesulu, near Cavalla. A chapel was built at Lissa. In 1817, the troubles from the natives continued to increase. The Society announced its expectation of being compelled to abandon all its stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1818, February 16, the missionaries, in a general meeting at Freetown, decided to withdraw from the Rio Porgas. Those stations were accordingly abandoned. It was also found necessary to retire from Yongroo, among the Bulloms, though only seven miles from Freetown, the capital of the colony. Goree was restored to the French, and the station abandoned. July 14, a proclamation in the *Sierra Leone Gazette* announced the occupation of the Isles de Los, as British territory. Mr. Kohn was appointed pastor there, and entered upon the duties of his office. The Society had now no station beyond the limits of the colony. It was intimated, that their establishment might be only temporary; but it has never yet been found advisable to renew them.

According to the latest accounts, this mission now has 14 stations, 62 laborers, 1,275 communicants, 6,086 attendants on public worship, and 5,175 pupils in its schools. One of these stations is at Port Lokkoh, in the Timmanee country; but whether in that part of the country which has been fully ceded to the colony, or that which is merely in a state of

dependent alliance, we have not been able to ascertain.

The English Wesleyan mission in the colony, which was commenced about the year 1817, reports 2,371 members, 23 paid teachers, and 1,462 pupils. The Wesleyans have also stations at the British posts on the Gambia and Gold and Slave Coasts. Supported by the latter, they are attempting an inland station among the Ashantees; but the result is yet very doubtful.

Some passages in the works from which these facts have been gathered, seem to refer to still other attempts to enlighten Western Africa; but if there were others, they came to an

end so soon and so fruitlessly, as to leave no record that has reached us.

American attempts—with the exception of one or two private efforts, which led to no results—commenced with the planting of Liberia, in 1822. Their history is before the public in various forms, and need not be repeated here. They have led to the establishment of two civilized republics, the planting of nearly thirty Christian churches, and the conversion and civilization of hundreds of the natives; besides all that they have done for the suppression of piracy and the slave trade, and the general improvement of that part of the world.

[From the Boston Daily Advertiser.]

Colonization and the Slave Trade.

THE remarks of our correspondent and the extract from a London paper to which he refers, are deserving attention. The facts here presented exhibit in a very strong light, the value of the efforts of the colonizationists merely as a mode of suppressing the slave trade, in comparison with the other costly, and, in a great measure, unavailing efforts for the same object. They present a motive for perseverance in the cause of colonization, in addition to the powerful reasons that these colonies are planting civilization along the coast of Africa, in the form which affords the best assurance of its spread into the interior, at the same time that they afford an asylum, with the privileges of comparative independence, to colored emigrants from this country.

These emigrants, consisting partly of emancipated slaves, who can enjoy their freedom only on the condition of leaving the States in which they were born, and partly of such

of the colored population of the free States as have the good sense to believe that the happiness and improvement of their race will be best promoted by preserving them from intermixture with the white race, are laying the foundation of a new State. It is new not only in the ordinary sense of a combination of disjointed elements from old States, forming a political association under which they hope to enjoy political and social rights; but it is new in the purpose of introducing the arts of civilized life, and the truths of Christianity, into a part of the globe which has been always the abode of the grossest barbarism, through the agency of the same race of which these barbarians consist. It is a process of evangelizing, not like that which has changed the face of this continent, of sending a race of men who shall root out the original inhabitants, but of establishing in the neighborhood of those barbarians, enlightened and instructed men of

their own race, with whom in process of time they may become incorporated.

It is of course very uncertain how far the enterprise may succeed for these prospective and remote objects, and some persons may regard it as visionary, so far as these objects are concerned, but so long as its immediate objects—that of affording a desirable asylum for large numbers of our colored population, whose condition is greatly improved by their emigration, and many of whom obtain their release from perpetual slavery only on the condition of thus emigrating, and of affording the best and cheapest security against the prosecution of the slave trade—so long as these objects are manifestly attainable, and are already attained to a considerable extent, there is surely good reason for perseverance in the benevolent designs of the Society which has been thus far so successful.

To the Editor of the Daily Messenger.

SIR:—The following article, from the London Morning Herald, contains statements which some of your readers will peruse with deep interest. Without vouching for every opinion in it, I may express by the writer, we may well thus rely upon his statements taken from parliamentary documents. From them it will appear, that the suppression of the slave trade by the colonization of Africa, is immensely easier, as well as more efficient, than by the present system of blockading the coast. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is estimated at 4,000 miles. This, however, includes more than 1,000 miles on which the trade has been suppressed. The last purchase of coast by the American Colonization Society, was made at the rate of thirty dollars a mile; an uncommonly low price. It is estimated that the whole coast which that Society wishes to possess, may be purchased at a rate not ex-

ceeding one hundred dollars a mile. But the annual expenditure of Great Britain is sufficient to pay a *thousand* dollars a mile for the whole four thousand miles, and leave nearly two millions of dollars for colonizing and other purposes. Again, Liberia, it is well known, exerts nearly, if not quite, as much influence against the slave trade and in favor of civilization and Christianity, as Sierra Leone; and yet it has not cost one-twentieth part of the amount which the British government has expended on that colony. Some of the Herald's remarks refer to the work in which the British government is engaged, of transporting negroes from Africa to the West Indies, under the name of "free laborers;" a work which some British philanthropists consider as little else than a revival of the slave trade under a disguise.

[From the London Morning Herald.]

The slave trade papers of last session of Parliament are of more than usual importance. They are, at the same time, very voluminous, consisting of four folio volumes, classed A B C D. While these papers show us the very great sacrifices and exertions which the British government and the British authorities are every where making to suppress the slave trade, they disclose at the same time the distressing, and almost incredible fact, that even as connected with the western world only, the traffic is increased instead of being diminished; while an unbounded slave traffic in the eastern world has yet scarcely been touched—nay, it may be said, only yesterday discovered, yet equal in amount to that from Africa across the Atlantic. The labors of government increase with every succeeding day, while the very expense of printing the papers alluded to—perhaps 1,500 folio pages—exhausts a sum that properly employed would cultivate and instruct a district of Africa.

We have more than once drawn the attention of the public to this very important subject, but the papers before us induce us—compel us, in fact—to bring the matter strongly before the country. It is now sixty years since Englishmen directed their attention to the suppression of this destructive traffic, and forty-four years since England employed her great naval power to crush this scourge of Africa, this disgrace to Christian nations, and indelible blot on the civilized world. All her exertions have, however, been fruitless, tending even to increase the horrors of the trade, and this after the most profuse expenditure. We lately added above one-half more to the sailing ships of war employed in that service, and also eight steamers, together, 2,000 horse power. According to Parliamentary Return, No. 363, of 1843, the yearly expense of the sailing vessels employed in 1842 was £575,000. Down to the beginning of 1839, the total expense of every thing connected with the suppression of this trade, including the settlements on the African coast, established for that purpose, drawn up with great care from official documents, amounted to £22,429,271. Exclusive of the naval force, the expense of maintaining the establishments ashore, the bounties paid for negroes captured, the salaries to slave commissioners in various places, and the support of negroes captured and liberated, certainly exceed £150,000 per annum. Let us bring the whole into a short compass:

Expenditure to end of 1838,	£ 22,429,271
Naval expenditure, 1839—	
1843,	2,375,000
Ditto, 1844, sailing vessels,	} 1,062,500
862,500 <i>l.</i> Eight steamers, at least, 200,000 <i>l.</i>	
Sundry expenses, five years, at 150,000 <i>l.</i>	750,000
Total,	£ 27,116,771

Exclusive of bounties not yet paid.

While we have captured and paid for 150,000, more than 100,000 have perished between capture and liberation, and at least 4,000,000 have been carried off; amongst which number the mortality has been fearfully great. Our present yearly expenditure is £1,220,000, and for, say 8,000, surviving of those captured, about £70,000 more is expended in carrying them to and locating them in the British West Indies, being at the rate of £160, for every laborer, even in this way obtained. About 100,000 more are carried across the Atlantic to foreign possessions, accompanied by a distressing mortality, to say nothing of the still more terrible havoc which the war, desolation, and robberies, by which they are obtained, occasion in Africa; while, at the same time, the measures taken to destroy the trade have more than once endangered the peace of the world, and nearly plunged the civilized nations of Europe and America into hostilities with each other, the cost of which would have been enormous, the extent dreadful, and the progress attended with changes and miseries sufficient to make the most reckless hesitate and the most undaunted tremble.

Will not all these facts—will not the experience of half a century taken up in unsuccessful efforts, show us that we take and have taken a wrong course? After expending in one colony, Sierra Leone, about £4,000,000, the spot which was to exterminate slavery and the slave trade, we are proceeding to desert and to depopulate it; thus blazoning our failure and our ignorance in all things to the whole world. It is only necessary, in order to render such proceedings consistent and complete, to re-establish the slave trade.

We have stated that 100,000 Africans, as slaves, are yet yearly carried across the Atlantic, and that in order to procure these, at least 150,000

more are destroyed. To carry the first number, about 28,000 tons of shipping may be engaged. The living cargo costs at the rate of about 8*l.* per ton. It is sold at 70*l.* or a profit of 62*l.* The same number of people that are carried away, and those cut off in obtaining them, if employed to cultivate the soil from which they are torn, would, and without the advance of 7,000,000*l.* capital to the cultivator, judiciously and justly directed, raise exportable tropical productions to the extent of 10,000,000*l.*, and give profitable employment to more than 800,000 tons of shipping in honest and legitimate commerce. This is the way to exterminate the slave trade, to improve Africa, and to such extent, at least, enrich any civilized nation which shall adopt the obvious, honorable and rational course; while, if effected by England, to this extent would she be benefited, the distress of her people relieved, and 1,200,000*l.*,

at present expended yearly in fruitless efforts to suppress the slave trade, be saved, and so much annual taxation be rendered unnecessary.

These facts are indisputable. They stand before us on undeniable proofs. Since the proper settlement of Natal, the barbarous Zoolos, the Tartars and Huns of Southern Africa, who spread ruin and a desert wherever they marched, have, seeing the effects of good government, and feeling the advantages of security and industry, turned their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and now sell their produce instead of butchering and selling their captives. At the date of the last accounts they were commencing to extend cultivation by raising both sugars and cotton, for which their fine soil and climate are well adapted. In the American settlement in Liberia, unsupported as it has been, affairs are marching in the same train.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 28th February, to the 24th March, 1845.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	
<i>Portsmouth</i> —Miss Rebecca Kittredge, balance of life-membership.....	12 00
<i>Chester</i> —Mrs. Persis Bell, 2d payment towards a life-membership.....	10 00
	22 00

MASSACHUSETTS.	
<i>Haverhill</i> —David Marsh, 2d payment on life-membership, \$5. Hon. John S. Duncan, ditto, \$5, C. B. Lebosquet, 1st ditto, \$5, Mrs. Mary W. Duncan, ditto, \$2, Miss Lydia White, ditto, \$5.....	22 00
<i>Bradford</i> —Samuel Lovejoy, 1st payment on life-membership, \$5, Miss A. Hesseltime, \$1 75, Miss Mary Hesseltime, \$1 75, Mr. Alfred Kittredge, \$2 50, Sarah Kittredge, 10 cts.....	11 10
<i>Cambridge</i> —Prof. Jared Sparks, to constitute himself a life-member of the A. C. S.....	30 00
<i>Worcester</i> —Hon. Daniel Waldo, \$1,000, and the Misses Waldo.	

\$1,000, toward the purchase of territory, through the Massachusetts Col. Society.....	2,000 00
	2,062 10

RHODE ISLAND.

By Rev. S. Corliss:	
<i>Pawtucket</i> —W. Field, Barney Murry, J. Durrill, Mrs. Esther Slater, each \$5, Elijah Ingraham, Spire French, J. C. Stockweather, N. A. Potter, Ellis B. Pitcher, G. L. Spenser, John Kenneday, each \$3, Joseph Smith, Henry Jerauld, A. Thayer, Rev. C. Blodget, Joseph Watts, each \$2, N. B. Dexter, J. H. Weedlin, J. Wilbour, J. B. Read, A. C. Jenks, A. A. Tillinghast, William McReady, J. B. Wilhan, Chas. Pratt, J. D. Ellis, N. Bates, A. M. Read, D. Robinson, A. Almey, M. Conway, C. W. Stone, H. Weedon, F. A. Sumner, J. Weedon, Ann B. Rawson, Treasurer Pawtucket Society, each \$1, Enoch Adams, 50 cts.....	72 50

<i>Newport</i> —Geo. Engs, Elizabeth Hazard, Mrs. N. W. Jones, on account an. subscription, each \$10, Mary P. Hazard, W. A. Taylor, S. J. Gardner, N. S. Ruggles, Charles Devens, George Bowen, Samuel Allen, David Bufford, Benjamin Finch, Wm. T. Potter, cash, each \$5, B. H. Tisdale, Wm. Vernon, W. A. Clarke, each \$3, Eden Clarke, cash, cash, M. Hall, Mrs. Geo. Jones, Sam. Brown, cash, each \$2, Joshua Sayres, C. Sherman, Richard Swan, cash, each \$1.....	
112 00	
<i>Bristol</i> —Rev. J. Bristed, Robert Rogers, each \$10, Mrs. R. Rogers, C. D. Wolf, J. Babbitt, each \$5, Moses B. Wood, Thos. Church, John Norris, Miss Alden, Wm. B. Spooner, each \$3, M. Bennett, L. C. Richmond, L. W. Briggs, F. Lincoln, John Wardwell, A. T. Barnes, Rev. Mr. Shepherd, cash, each \$1, In small sums, \$1.	
59 00	
<i>Warren</i> —Joseph Smith.....	10 00
253 50	

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. S. Cornelius :	
<i>Hartford</i> —(In addition to former amount) \$5. <i>Norwich</i> —Mrs. N. C. Reynold, a gold watch valued at \$30, From various persons, \$73. <i>New London</i> —\$98. <i>Stonington Borough</i> —\$20.	
226 00	

NEW YORK.

<i>Owego</i> —Wm. Platt, Wm. Pumpelley, Alanson Dean, James Wright, each \$10, and J. M. Parker, \$5, towards constituting themselves life-members, other friends of the cause, \$42 30...	87 30
<i>New York City</i> —Messrs. Hale & Hallock.....	25 00
112 30	

VIRGINIA.

<i>Charlotte Co.</i> —Mrs. Paulina Le Grand, \$20, Miss Susanna Hoge, \$5.....	25 00
<i>Fredericksburg</i> —R. C. L. Moncure, Esq.....	3 50
By Edgar Janvier, Esq.:	
<i>Prince Edward C. H.</i> —Rev. E. Ballentine, \$1, Rev. S. B. Wilson, D. D., \$5.....	6 00
<i>Nottoway Co.</i> —Rev. Theo. Pryor, \$8.....	8 50
<i>Lunenburg Co.</i> —Rev. Thomas Adams, \$3, Rev. Thomas E. Locke, \$2, a friend, \$5, Charles Smith, \$5, Mrs. Ann C. Perry, \$2 50, Capt. D. Street, \$1, cash \$2 50, Miss Jones, 50 cts., H. and Mrs. May, \$1.....	22 50

<i>Halifax Co.</i> —Miss Priscilla Clark, \$10, Mrs. M. E. Grammar, annual subscription, \$2 50.....	12 50
<i>Mecklenburg Co.</i> —John Nelson, \$5, Rev. D. G. Doak, \$1, Henry Wood, A. C. Finley, each \$2, cash, 25 cts., Rev. Lewis Dupee, N. Talley, each \$1, C. Royster, 50 cts.....	12 75
	90 75

KENTUCKY.

By the Rev. Alex. M. Cowan :	
<i>Shelby Co.</i> —James P. Boyd, Wm. M. King, Dr. R. B. Winlock, D. O. Brown, Wm. Cardwell, Hugh M. Glass, each \$5, Mrs. Cynthia Hornesby, Mrs. Ann Bird, each \$3, W. A. Bradshaw, Lindsay Thomas, each \$2, Dr. James Clayton, Robert Cooper, J. H. Stone, George Myles, Louis Beatty, Joseph L. Ray, Thomas Caplinger, J. C. Ross, T. Wilson, Samuel Britain, each \$1, three children of A. R. Scott, each 25 cts., five children of Rev. J. D. Paxton, each 10 cts., Mary J. Myles, 10 cts.....	51 35
<i>Franklin Co.</i> —A. G. Hodges, Jacob Swigart, each \$20, Edmund H. Taylor, H. Wingate, Col. James Davidson, Rev. A. Goodell, Capt. Wm. S. Harris, James F. Bell, J. B. Barbridge, each \$5.	75 00
<i>Woodford Co.</i> —Collection in Rev. J. F. Price's church, \$21 50, James Stevenson, Samuel M. Wallace, each \$10, James Cox, Rev. Wm. Graham, Rev. E. Forman, D. W. Robertson, Dr. Thomas J. Iles, Mrs. Mary Alexander, each \$5, Richard G. Jackson, \$3, Dr. C. J. Blackburn, \$2 50, Rev. J. F. Price, Wm. Allen, J. M. Furguson, James H. Elliott, John Kinkead, each \$2, Samuel D. Fishback, Thomas L. Lee, John G. Shipp, Robert Sargeant, Pearson Follinsbee, each \$1.....	92 00
<i>Fayette Co.</i> —J. M. C. Irwin, \$20, James Wardlaw, \$10.....	30 00
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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, MAY, 1845.

[No. 5.]

Governor Roberts' Annual Message.

WE have the pleasure of laying before our readers the Annual Message of Governor Roberts to the Colonial Council, which assembled in Monrovia on the 6th of January, and closed its sessions on the 18th. It is an exceedingly interesting document, giving, as it does, a clear and full exhibition of the present internal and external condition of the colony, and making known several facts in connection with the operations of the British government in relation to the authority of the colony to exercise jurisdiction over its own territory, of which our readers have not yet been put in possession. After giving this message a careful perusal, we hope they will take up our last number and read again the article on the "Sovereignty of Liberia," as it contains some reasoning which is important in its bearing on this question.

To the Honorable, the Legislative Council:

GENTLEMEN:—In meeting you again, at the commencement of an-

other session of the Legislature, it affords me great pleasure to congratulate you, that the affairs of the commonwealth are, in all important respects, in a prosperous condition, and the most devout acknowledgments are due to our Divine Benefactor, for the bounties of Providence, and the general health and tranquility which at present prevail throughout the commonwealth. It is also a subject for grateful remark, that through the interposition of this government, the cruel and inhuman wars that have existed for the last five years, and furnished so many cargoes of human beings to be transported across the Atlantic into perpetual slavery, and which have almost annihilated the trade of these colonies with the northeast section of the interior, have happily been brought to a close—and we are permitted to rejoice in the prospect of returning intercourse with the tribes of that section of country.

Whilst we have abundant reason to rejoice and return thanks to the great Governor of the Universe, for the general prosperity that seems to pervade every department of the government, we have cause to regret

that our position as a people, struggling to establish for ourselves and our children, on this secluded and sickly coast, an asylum that is denied us elsewhere, cannot be properly defined or understood. The time has arrived for the people of these colonies to give this subject their serious consideration: it should be no longer a matter of indifference: questions are daily arising that should cause us to reflect, and if possible understand our present, and what is likely to be our future position.

It is no doubt fresh in your memory, gentlemen, that the seizure of certain property, alledged to be owned by Captain Dring, of the British brig "Ranger," landed in Grand Bassa county, contrary to the maritime regulations of these colonies, gave rise to a correspondence between the Colonial authorities and British naval officers on this coast, involving questions of considerable importance, relative to the right of jurisdiction over certain territory in the county of Grand Bassa, commonly known as Grand Bassa Point. Captain Denman, in a correspondence on the subject, in 1841, controverts the right of the colony to extend its jurisdiction and laws over the country on which the seizure was made, and assumes two positions as the basis of opposition to the validity of the law of the commonwealth under which the seizure was justifiable. The first is, that "Factories have been maintained by British subjects at various periods, and, for a long series of years, British vessels have been in the constant habit of prosecuting a free and uninterrupted commerce with the natives of Bassa Cove, subject only to the customary presents to the native chiefs." Secondly, "That more recently a purchase of the country for the purposes of trade and of forming factories, was effected by a British subject." Captain Oake, of H. M.

sloop "Ferret," in July, 1842, in reply to a communication in which the colonial authorities endeavored to establish, in the clearest possible manner, the right of this government to exercise jurisdiction over the territory of Grand Bassa, remarks—"I beg to state that, as the matter will have to be submitted to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, it is desirable that the most satisfactory proof of the territorial right acquired by the Liberia settlers over the country of Bassa Cove should be shown, and as it appears to me by your Excellency's letter of the 7th inst., that it was not until 1839 that the kings and chiefs of the Grand Bassa territory, including Black Will and Grando, Fishmen, resident at the Cove, concluded a treaty with the settlers, ceding to them the right to exercise political power and control over the persons and property within the territorial limits of Grand Bassa; for, of course, the transactions of Prince John and Yellow Will, in 1836, relinquishing their right and title to the country of Bassa Cove, could give the settlers no claims over the country of the prince of Grand Bassa,"—I would remark here, that Captain Oake does not appear to be aware that Prince John, mentioned above, is the identical prince of Grand Bassa spoken of above:—"where our merchants had for a long time been in the habit of trading with the natives, and it appears that they had been doing so for some time prior to the natives formally granting to the late Captain Spence, on the 18th September, 1836, permission to establish a Palm-Oil Factory at Grand Bassa Point."—More recently, September 9th, 1844, Commodore Jones, of H. M. ship "Penelope," in a communication addressed to the Governor of Liberia on the same subject, assumes a position more complicated, involving

questions of the greatest importance, in respect to the future hope and welfare of the people of these colonies.

Captain Jones says, "The complaints of certain British subjects who had, under agreements and according to the customs on the coast, formed settlements and acquired property, have brought to the knowledge of the British government the unpleasant fact that the Liberia settlers have asserted rights over the British subjects alluded to, which appear to be unjust, as relating to prior rights of others, and inadmissible on the grounds on which the Liberia settlers endeavor to found them: For the rights in question, those of imposing custom duties, and limiting the trade of foreigners by restrictions, are sovereign rights, which can only be lawfully exercised by sovereign and independent states, within their own recognized borders and dominions. I need not remind your Excellency that this description does not yet apply to 'Liberia,' which is not recognized as a subsisting state, even by the government of the country from which its settlers have emigrated; still less is it necessary to remind you that no associations of private individuals, however respectable, in any country, can delegate an authority which they do not possess themselves, or depute their agents to exercise power affecting the rights of persons not their subjects, and established in prior possession of property to which they can have no claim. The rights of property on this coast, as they may appear to be acquired by purchase, will be fully recognized by us; but we cannot admit that property so acquired can confer sovereign rights upon private associations, or justify the imposition of state duties, or the exclusion of British commerce from its accustomed resorts. These observations have a particular reference

to the dispute at Grand Bassa, which your Excellency will now be pleased to receive as well-considered and final."

I propose, gentlemen, to examine one or two of the most prominent points connected with this subject, and feel that I shall be able to establish, in the clearest light, the right of this government to exercise jurisdiction over the territory of Grand Bassa, and that the position assumed by British officers, in regard to this question, is untenable. Before I proceed, I wish it distinctly understood that the position assumed—"That British subjects have, for a long series of years, been in the habit of prosecuting a trade with the natives of Bassa Cove"—is not questioned, but that Captain Dring, or any other British subject, has, at any time, purchased the territory, or any part of it, in the Bassa country, we do question; having repeatedly asked for documents to establish the fact, which have not been furnished, and, according to the testimony of the natives, cannot be produced.

But conceding all that has been asserted, can the length of time during which British traders may have prosecuted a free and uninterrupted commerce with the natives of Bassa Cove, "subject only to the customary presents to the native chiefs," by any construction, operate in behalf of Captain Dring, or any other British subject landing goods in the territory of Bassa Cove, after its cession to this government, in violation of its laws? It is known that the natives along this coast, have long tolerated the subjects of civilized nations to carry on a free trade with them. But I presume it cannot be maintained that they can never alter the existing state of things without the consent of those with whom they have carried on, "for a long series of years," a free trade and uninterrupted inter-

course. It is admitted that the trade has been carried on by making the "customary presents to the native chiefs." If those chiefs had a right to exact such presents, as a condition upon which trade was allowed, why may they not transfer their power over trade to us, and allow this government to commute presents into a well-regulated system of import duties? This, to my mind, is as clear as a demonstration; and secondly, all that is asserted, in regard to the purchase made by an individual British subject, would not justify the introduction of goods into the territory of Bassa Cove, in violation of the express laws of this commonwealth;—all that can be inferred from the statements, in relation to the individual purchase, is, that a personal privilege was granted by the natives for the purposes of trade and forming factories; nor does it appear that the personal privilege was perpetual, or that it was to extend to all British subjects in common:—a joint, or common privilege is altogether inconsistent with the notions of gain, which must have influenced the purchase. It cannot be supposed that an individual would have purchased, when such a course, by inviting competition, would have greatly lessened the profits of the trade he had in view in entering into the contract. But admit that the purchase was of the fee simple in the land, or any portion of it, the title vested may yet abide in the purchaser, notwithstanding the transfer of the civil and political jurisdiction to this government. No principle, I believe, is better understood or more pertinaciously adhered to than this. The right to the soil which may have been acquired by an individual, is a distinct thing from the right to prescribe laws for the good government of a country; and I presume it will not be insisted upon that any British subject has

purchased from the natives of the Bassa country the right to legislate and govern the country. The purchase made by this government, in August, 1836, prior even to any contract with Captain Spence, of Prince John and Yellow Will, heirs and successors to old King Ben, the rightful sovereign of the Bassa Cove territory, and confirmed by a treaty concluded in April, 1839, between the kings and chiefs of the entire Grand Bassa country, including Black Will and Grando, Fishmen, residents at the Cove, is of supreme jurisdiction over the country, in a civil and political respect, without reservation. And I am informed by persons who were present at the convention, that no mention was made of any contract existing between them and British subjects.

Commodore Jones assumes the ground that the colony of Liberia is nothing more than a private enterprise, not possessing sovereign and independent rights; consequently not entitled to the privilege of a political community—that of imposing duties and limiting the trade of foreigners by restrictions, even within the purchased territory of the colony. To some extent this may be true. The peculiar circumstances that surrounded the enterprize of African colonization, at the time this colony was formed, made it imperative on the Society to assume the management of the political affairs of the colony—promising, as is well understood, that just as soon as the colonists feel themselves able to assume the responsibilities of the government, to withdraw their control, leaving them a sovereign and independent people.

This change has been gradually going on as the colony has increased in population and intelligence. In the same ratio, the Society have granted to the people independent rights.

Among the most prominent—"To make treaties with the several African tribes, and to prescribe rules for regulating the commerce between the commonwealth of Liberia and such tribes." I think, gentlemen, I need not detain you longer. For when it is remembered that the colony of Liberia has been established upon principles recognized by the whole civilized world—viz: The suppression of the African slave trade; the civilization and Christianization of Africa; and the establishment of a sovereign and independent government, composed of people of color from the United States, and elsewhere. And when it is remembered that, in view of this, thousands of our brethren, now fellow-citizens, bade adieu to all that was dear to them in America, left their native land, determined to brave the dangers of an African climate, endure the hardships consequent upon settling any new and unbroken country—to build up a government here that will some day bring them into respectable connection with the nations of the earth. And now that we have overcome most of the difficulties and dangers that have arisen in our way, and beginning to realize, fully, the practicability of the plan of colonization, is the door of our hope to be closed? God forbid! I feel, gentlemen, that the position assumed by British officers, denying the right of this government to exercise political power, and to maintain jurisdiction over the territory of Bassa Cove, will not be sanctioned by the British government. In the meantime, I would advise a statement, setting forth the facts in relation to the misunderstanding that has arisen between the colonial authorities and British subjects trading at Bassa Cove, be furnished the British government by the people of Liberia. That we have been misrepresented in this whole affair, by

British traders, there can be no question. For, I am persuaded, no one acquainted with this colony, and the facts connected with the dispute at Bassa Cove, would accuse this government, as does Mr. Fox, British minister at Washington, United States, of "Assuming, to all appearances quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free; and thus injuriously interfering with the commerce, interests, and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter." To us, this is certainly unjust, and had Mr. Fox been familiar with the facts in the case, I am persuaded, he would not have used such language in respect to the people of these colonies. For no people under the sun have suffered more from the improper interference of foreign traders than we have. They have defied the authority of the colony—offered insult to our citizens, when found trading along the coast—destroyed their property—threatening their persons with violence if they attempted to trade at certain points along the coast:—and those very men are loudest in their complaints against the Liberian settlers; and I defy them to name a single instance in which this government has, in any way whatever, directly or indirectly, interfered with British commerce along this coast, except requiring British, on equal footing with the traders of all other nations, to conform to the maritime regulations of ports within the *purchased* territory of the colony.

I would call your attention, gentlemen, to another subject that is entitled to your consideration: the citizens of Grand Bassa, particularly of the village of Edina, have suffered much for some time past, by the frequent robberies committed by natives living in towns adjacent to our set-

tlements in that county ; in some instances they have been guilty of depredations of the most aggravated character—entering the houses of defenceless widows, robbing them of every article of value, leaving whole families in a miserable state of destitution and want ; more than once they have entered the settlement of Edina, and killed or driven off numbers of cattle and other live stock, belonging to the colonists, depriving them, almost, of their entire stock. For some time those midnight incursions were arranged and conducted with so much artifice and cunning as to elude detection. After long watching, it was ascertained that the marauders belonged to the towns of Bob Gray and his son Young Bob. Application for redress was promptly made to those chiefs, who expressed great concern and sympathy for the sufferers, promising to deliver over to the colonial authorities the offenders, and make immediate reparation for the wrong committed. These promises, though made again and again, have never been complied with. The colonists, however, continued to suffer until Bob Gray was himself actually detected in a certain robbery, and, in the examination, it was proven to a demonstration, that Bob, and his son Young Bob, had from the commencement given their sanction to many, if not all, the robberies that had been committed by the country people. Upon this proof, before the Grand Jury in Bassa county, Bob Gray was indicted for grand larceny. But, in consideration of important services rendered the early inhabitants of these settlements, particularly those of Grand Bassa, by giving timely information—at the risk of the peace of his own tribe—of the movements of hostile tribes ; and on two occasions, at the head of a considerable force, joined the Americans in arms, to repel the attacks of

an invading tribe, and to punish King Joe Harris for the cold-blooded massacre of our defenceless countrymen at Bassa Cove,—the government felt considerable reluctance, too, in bringing Bob Gray to a public trial, and the consequent result, imprisonment in the public jail, thus degrading him before his people, which, in all probability, might have led to consequences of a more serious nature—but hoped, by the adoption of other measures, to obtain reparation for the wrong, and at the same time maintain the majesty of the laws. I say, for these considerations, Bob Gray was not brought to a public trial before the courts of this commonwealth. For this clemency, Bob appeared very grateful, expressing many thanks, promising never to be guilty of such outrages again. I fear, however, that this clemency has had the effect, in some degree, to weaken the influence of the colony upon the natives, and, perhaps, has emboldened them to commit other and more dangerous acts of violence and insubordination. They have mistaken the leniency for weakness, and the desire to secure Bob Gray from public disgrace, the want of ability to maintain the laws of this commonwealth.

In September last, a band of desperadoes entered the school-house in Factory Island, and shamefully beat and otherwise ill-used the man, a reputable colonist, left in charge of the premises, robbing him of his entire stock of clothing, and making off with many articles of value belonging to the school. The particulars of this outrage were communicated to Judge Dry, superintendent in that county, who, with his accustomed zeal, traced the aggressors to Young Bob's town ; but no sooner was it known that the authorities intended to demand them at the hands of their chiefs, than the whole tribe was in arms ; and a number of armed men

actually appeared before the settlement of Bexley, and threatened the inhabitants with immediate war if any further attempts were made to apprehend the persons engaged in the robbery on Factory Island. It is generally believed that Young Bob was himself engaged in this outrage. Judge Day, however, was prepared for this emergency, and with great firmness persisted in his demand.

Bob finally became intimidated, particularly after the tender of assistance to the Americans—should it be required—by King Soldier, Peak, and Faw, and yielded, begging to be allowed a few days to deliver up the offenders; this of course was granted; but up to the present time he has neither given up the offenders nor made any other reparation for the wrong committed, but, as I am informed, defies any attempt on the part of the colonial authorities to bring him or any of his people to justice. Nor is he disposed to remain quiet, content with the depredations he has already committed upon the persons and property of colonists, but continues his predatory incursions about the settlements.

Only a few weeks ago, near the village of Edina, he seized two men belonging to New Cess, and, so far as has come to the knowledge of this government, without any just provocation, murdered one of them on the spot, and still detains the other in custody.

On the grounds of Bob's connection with the colony, having, as you are aware, several years ago, by treaty, identified himself and people with this commonwealth, the New Cess chiefs have made application to this government for redress.

Barguay, chief of the Little Bassa country, and with whom we have treaties of alliance, amity, and trade, also complains that Bob Grey, in November last, seized one of his men,

and still detains him without giving any just reason for so doing. Immediately on these facts coming to my knowledge, I endeavored to procure the release of those persons, and used every means in my power to effect it, but without success. It therefore remains for you, gentlemen, now to determine what course is to be pursued in regard to those difficulties. That those chiefs should be punished for the crimes they have been guilty of, and compelled to make reparation for the wrong they have committed, I presume no one will question; and that prompt and decisive measures should be taken to teach them obedience to the constituted authorities and submission to the laws of the commonwealth, is equally evident.

The chiefs of New Cess and Little Bassa, are now anxiously awaiting the result of your deliberations on this subject. I have, up to this time, and not without some difficulty, too, restrained them from making reprisals, and commencing hostilities against Bob Grey and his son Young Bob. The correspondence of Judge Day, detailing many of the particulars respecting the conduct of those chiefs, will be laid before you.

A few weeks ago, I received information that the slavers at New Cess, through the agency of Kroomen employed for the purpose, had established factories at Digbey, and were there purchasing slaves. This being an open violation of certain treaty stipulations between this government and the Dey tribe—by which the Deys, in consideration of certain privileges granted to them by this government, solemnly pledged themselves to abolish, forever, from their territory, the abominable slave trade—I dispatched A. W. Anderson, Esq., marshal, with a suitable force to apprehend said Kroomen, and others, if any there should be en-

gaged in the slave trade, with instructions to liberate such slaves as he might find, and to seize all merchandize, &c., employed in the slave trade, and landed contrary to the laws and regulations of this colony. The Kroomen, it appears, having received intelligence of the intention of this government to break up their establishment, were on the alert, and assisted by some of the country people, their accomplices of course, managed to evade the vigilance of the officer and get beyond his reach. The marshal, on his return, succeeded in capturing a large canoe belonging to the fugitives, fitted for the purpose of transporting slaves from one part of the coast to another:—there being no question as to the ownership of this canoe, and her confiscation, I, to avoid additional expense to the commonwealth—which, to have brought her formally before the Admiralty court for adjudication, would have cost the commonwealth an amount about equal to the value of the canoe—directed the marshal to have her sold for the benefit of all concerned; in the meantime, to avoid any difficulty that might subsequently arise in consequence of this summary course, notices were issued by the officer, and sufficient time given, requiring any person or persons claiming said canoe, to make a demand before the day of sale; no claimants appearing, the marshal closed the sale as directed.

Receiving information that agents from New Cess were still in the Dey country purchasing slaves, and were actually receiving the protection of one of the chiefs—contrary, however, to the wishes of the king and other chiefs—justice and humanity demanded that this government should interpose, and exact a fulfilment of the contract existing between us and the chiefs of the Dey tribe,

and at once put a stop to that nefarious traffic in that quarter. It was, therefore, thought advisable that a formal demand should be made by this government on the king and chiefs, for the delivery of the slaves, and persons and property of all Kroomen or others in their territory, engaged in the slave trade, contrary to certain treaty stipulations which make the offenders amenable to the laws of this commonwealth. Consequently, on the 11th December, I dispatched Messrs. Barbour, Bratcher, and Howard, with a letter addressed to the king and chiefs of the country, reminding them of the solemn obligations they were under to this government to abolish forever from their territory the slave trade, stipulating to deliver over to the colonial authorities any person or persons in their territory engaged, either directly or indirectly, in the trade; and that unless the slaves and slaver in question, were delivered to the commissioners authorized to receive them, they would be held responsible to this government for the violation of their contract. The king and chiefs very readily acknowledged the engagements they were under to this government, and made many apologies for permitting slaves to be bought and sold in their dominions, disclaiming, however, any farther participation than merely permitting persons to reside among them to purchase slaves when brought from the interior by individuals of other tribes. The slaver, finding how matters were going, managed to escape into the Cape Mount country, leaving behind him four slaves, who were promptly delivered over to our messengers, with a present from the king and chiefs, and a promise never again to allow the slave trade to be revived in their territory, either directly or indirectly, by their own people or by foreigners.

I am happy to be able to inform you, gentlemen, that during the past year we have succeeded in establishing a primary school in each of the settlements of Marshall, Edina, and Bassa Cove. These schools, according to reports of committees, are well attended, and in a prosperous condition; they are, nevertheless, far from being adequate to the wants of the people; the limited means of the government will not allow, notwithstanding the legislature have done all in their power to meet the wants and wishes of the people in this respect, to employ such teachers as the advancement of many of the children require; of this embarrassment, however, the people of Grand Bassa will no doubt soon be relieved. During my late visit to the United States, I had the pleasure of meeting the Ladies' Liberia School Association, in Philadelphia, and of conversing personally with many of its members, particularly the Directress, Mrs. Blanding, and was happy to find that, notwithstanding so little had been effected by Dr. Johnson during his residence at Factory Island—owing, of course, to his feeble health; for no man is better adapted than was Dr. Johnson to take charge of a school in Liberia—and the difficulty they find in procuring a suitable teacher that will come to the coast; I say notwithstanding these discouragements, they are not willing to abandon the cause of education in the colony; they are making renewed and vigorous efforts to sustain the High School on Factory Island. This they will do; and very soon we shall have a suitable person to take charge of that establishment;—and may we not hope, gentlemen, that other benevolent individuals in the United States will assist the people of Montserrado county to put in operation, for the education of their youth, such an in-

stitution as the Ladies' Liberia School Association have in Factory Island? I am truly happy to find, gentlemen, that the subject of education is claiming the attention of the citizens, in general; they are becoming more and more awake to its importance, and beginning to feel that on the right education of our children, depend the future happiness and prosperity of these colonies.

I have, at the commencement of former sessions, recommended to your serious consideration the revision and amendment of the Militia Law, and the law relative to the maintenance of prisoners, which, I believe, experience has taught us is defective in many important respects. The propriety of erecting, in some suitable place in each county, an arsenal or magazine, where merchants shall be required to deposit powder, when imported in large quantities; and of erecting in the town of Monrovia, a market-house for the convenience of farmers, and others, from the frontier settlements and the interior. These, gentlemen, are still objects worthy of your attention. There are other matters which might be proposed for the public service, but I am fully persuaded that your own zeal for the interests of the community will suggest to you such improvements as may be more immediately necessary.

Whilst I recommend to your consideration, gentlemen, the propriety of making certain public improvements, I am not insensible to the embarrassments that surround you, particularly the want of funds to accomplish what in your judgment you believe almost absolutely necessary for the public value. Nothing but the want of funds has delayed the opening of the contemplated canal, near the base of the Cape, to connect the Mesurado river with the

sea. The commissioners have surveyed the ground, and consider the plan perfectly feasible; their reports will be laid before you.

The revenue for the past year, though it exceeds that of any former year, is found to be barely adequate to the indispensable expenses of the government. The following is a statement, as collected from the reports of public officers, of the fiscal concerns of the commonwealth the past year, viz: Receipts—Duties on Imports, 6,383; Anchorage and Light duty, 519; Court and Military fines, 110; Auction fees, 18; Sale of public lands, 96; Amount from Luckey's estate, 114; Licenses, 919; Duty on Colonial vessels, 46;—making a total of \$8,175. Disbursements—Public buildings, 2,940; Judiciary, 690; Legislature, 578; Support of prisoners, 640; Pensions, 54; Printing, 41; Election, 60; Public defence, 250; Light House, 269; Collectors, Wharfmasters, and Treasurers, 925; Schools, &c., 500;—making \$6,947, and leaving a balance in hands of the Treasurers of \$1,228. From which deduct the following amounts due this day: Estates of Johnstone and Savage, 614; Bal-

ance Col. Warehouse, 163; Sheriff Brown, 250;—will leave a balance in favor of the commonwealth of \$201. I would remind you here, gentlemen, that the Court House and Jail for Montserrado county, and which required the largest amount of funds the past year, are completed. Distinguished, as you are, gentlemen, for integrity and ability, I have every reason to expect that your deliberations will be conducted with zeal for the public service, and with that temper and unanimity which genuine patriotism inspires, and that you will exhibit to your constituents the brightest examples of a disinterested love for the public value. Let us, by precept and practice, encourage a spirit of economy, industry, and patriotism, and that public integrity which cannot fail to exalt a nation.

May that benignant Being, who rules the destinies of men and nations, preside over your deliberations and preserve to us and our children the inestimable blessings of liberty.

J. J. ROBERTS.

GOVT. HOUSE, MONROVIA,
January 6th, 1845.

Liberia.

Our readers must have observed that we watch with great and untiring interest the progress of that little colony, on the western coast of Africa, which seems at present to contain within itself the only hope for the effectual regeneration and rescue of the colored race in this country, as well as for the ultimate elevation of the native Africans, and the possible redemption of our country itself from the blight and shame of slavery. It reminds us always of the figure made use of by the Saviour to illustrate

the future greatness of his kingdom—when he likened it to a grain of mustard seed, which was but a little thing, but should increase and become a great tree, in whose branches the birds of the air should find a refuge. And surely we may find, in the present condition of the African colony, remembering what it was in its origin, warrant for believing that a time will yet come when its influence upon the destinies of the colored race shall give it, in the estimation of the Christian philanthropist, an

importance which can scarcely be overrated.

These reflections have been induced by a letter from Governor Roberts, dated Monrovia, January 18, from which we give some extracts.

It may be generally known that during his visit to this country, one year ago, Governor Roberts made earnest endeavors to procure a competent female teacher to accompany him on his return and establish a female seminary in Monrovia, to elevate the standard of that department of education in the colony. At one time it was believed that he would succeed, but he eventually failed in the attempt. The people of Liberia, it seems, before his arrival out, had heard of the probability of his success and were expecting to find him accompanied by a competent female teacher to instruct their daughters in the higher branches of education. In reference to this the governor remarks:

"I can give you no idea of the disappointment manifested when it was announced that such a one had not been obtained. Is it possible that nothing can be done to relieve us in this respect? Can no competent female teacher be induced to come to Liberia? If you can do anything for us in this respect you will be conferring a great blessing on the people of these colonies."

We leave the touching questions which the governor has asked, in this paragraph, to be answered by those whose apathy and those whose opposition have denied the means of establishing and sustaining a female academy in Liberia.

The corresponding secretary of the New York State Colonization Society had written to Governor Roberts, inquiring whether he was a member of a Christian church, and informing him that he (the secretary) had received from a gentleman

in Canandaigua a silver cup, to be presented as part of a communion service to the church of Monrovia, where the governor worshiped. To this the governor returns the following reply:

"I am happy to be able to inform you that I have long been a member of the M. E. Church, [upwards of sixteen years] and have not failed to find support and consolation in the religion of Christ and the promises of the gospel. I beg that you will present my acknowledgments to the donor of the cup to be presented to the church in Liberia in which I worship. It will, no doubt, be gratefully accepted by the church; and will be to me a remembrance of my friends in the United States, and will remind me of the obligations I am under to God and to my fellow men, and that I will have to give an account to the great Governor of the Universe for my stewardship here."

During the past year, it will be remembered, appeals have been made to the American public to contribute liberally for the purchase of additional territory in Liberia. Those who have responded to these appeals will be gratified by the following announcement of Governor Roberts' movement in reference to this subject:

"I expect to leave here in a few days for the leeward to make an effort to purchase the New Cess country. The chiefs are getting tired of the slave trade. They find it is depopulating their country and depriving them of the means of protecting themselves from the aggressions of hostile tribes; and have therefore expressed a wish that the Americans would purchase the country. I sent a commissioner down some six weeks ago to effect a purchase, but the slavers established there managed to prevent the sale. I think, however, that notwithstanding

ing the opposition of these abominable creatures, if I can meet the chiefs in person I shall succeed; and if so it will be the means of *effectually abolishing the slave trade between the two extremes of colonial jurisdiction*. The chiefs also of Little Bassa have agreed to sell the residue of their territory to the Society. Should I succeed in these purchases it will be quite an acquisition to the colony."

The friends of humanity and of liberty cannot but be deeply interested in the following announcement, and will have their convictions of the beneficent influence of the colony on the coast confirmed by the fact which it discloses. Governor Roberts remarks:—

"Nothing particularly interesting has occurred since my return, except that a few weeks ago I succeeded in breaking up a slave establish-

ment near Little Cape Mount, and liberated four slaves—lads from twelve to fifteen years of age—who have been placed in the families of the colonists."

Did not its length prevent, the whole letter should be published. We quote the closing paragraph:

"The colony is steadily improving. We only want men and means, particularly the latter, to make Liberia in a few years what you would like to see her."

Will these means be liberally furnished by the patriots, philanthropists and Christians of this nation? Or will they risk the odium, the stern and sorrowful indignation of posterity, for having failed to secure the noblest triumph to be won in modern times—that of civilization and Christianity over the barbarism, slave trade and degrading paganism of Africa!

[From the New York Observer.]

Western Africa as it is.

LAST week we gave a fearful picture of the *past* condition of the inhabitants on the Western coast of Africa, where cannibalism, man-stealing and every abomination have so long reigned. Now let us look at the *present* state of that dark land.

On that coast has been established a community that has "expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast with the exception of a single point," and substituted instead of their rapine and murders the peaceful and prosperous pursuits of commerce and agriculture. The imports of the colony for the last two years amounted to \$157,829, and their exports during the same period to \$123,694. Real estate of merchants, \$39,550. Stock in trade, \$58,750.

Commission business annually, \$50,500. The colonists have also about 1,000 acres of land under cultivation. What a contrast to the style of trading carried on there not more than twenty-five years ago by King Boatswain! Besides, there are fifteen thousand of the native tribes already brought, intelligently and by their own consent, under the laws of a civilized republican government that does not tolerate slavery nor the aiding or abetting that abominable and inhuman traffic so long the curse of Africa and the shame of human nature! The colonial authority has also entered into treaty with a hundred thousand or more of the natives who have solemnly bound themselves to

renounce the slave trade and to abandon some of their barbarous and pagan usages. Contrast further the description of the morals of these tribes—that “selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another’s good,” that “unlimited indulgence of the appetites,”—and the labored excitement and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly,—all of which “give a hellish consummation to the frightful deformity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of those tribes”—contrast this with the morals and the moral influence of the colonists, more than one-half of whom are reputable professors of religion, a temperate, church-going, Sabbath-keeping population, with but two dram-shops in their territory—two jails, at the latest account having but *one* tenant—with 23 Christian churches at which from ten to fifteen thousand of the natives occasionally attend worship on the Lord’s day, and one hundred thousand more under solemn compact to abandon the most flagrant vices of their paganism and superstition, and to abstain from that which is the fruitful source of all the intense corruption and demoralization that have cursed Western Africa for centuries—the *slave trade*.

In closing, let the reader advert again to the revolting and terrific funeral rite, and contrast that with a *Christian burial now* in Liberia. Compare the “favorite wife” of the deceased native husband, destined to be bound hand and foot, stamped half to death and buried half alive with her deceased partner, with the wife of the deceased husband of those native tribes now incorporated with the colony. The sorrows of the latter are mitigated by every appliance which Christian sympathy can bring to bear upon her. A friendly arm supports her to the grave, and the *Christian Minister*, instead

of the *Pagan Marbut*, officiates there, pouring the consolation of the gospel into her wounded heart, and pointing to a blessed immortality beyond the tomb. She is *bound*, too, but it is only by the cords of Christian sympathy, more closely to the hearts of surviving friends and relatives. Compare the howling of savage furies in the former case, with the chastened, subdued grief of spectators in the latter—the horrid orgies of feasting over the grave with the widowed victim to be immediately immolated by them, and their returning as callous as if nothing had happened, with the silence, decorum and respect now manifested by those at the tomb, and “the mourners that go about the streets” after they return from a Christian burial in Liberia!

What a contrast! What an almost incredible revolution in a quarter of a century! And what has wrought this surprising change? and, in connection with the settlement of Sierra Leone, and on the Gambia, has introduced amongst those intensely vicious, degraded tribes “more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent and some of them native African, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa?” “The fruits of their labors” already are “more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian Churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many, tens of thousands of natives perfectly accessible to missionary labors.” What hath wrought this? and in what time? It has all been done “since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and *nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822!* And it has been done, under God, *by the enterprise of African Colonization.* Shall we any longer hear the preposterous objection that co-

lonization has effected nothing? What shall we think of the *information, the intelligence*, of those who gravely refuse to patronize this cause on the plea that colonization is *unfriendly to Christian missions*? Shall we be told in the face of these facts, as we have been, that "the policy of the colonists towards the natives is just like that of the early settlers of this country towards the Indians," demoralizing and exterminative?

In view of the contrast here presented and of the undeniable facts of history in the case, may we not confidently ask when and where in the worlds annals have so many, so great and permanent interests of civilization, liberty, humanity and religion, been secured by so restricted means

and in so short a duration? And does the cause, which in the divine purpose has already achieved all this, and is yet in its mere infancy, just beginning to exert its legitimate influence and promising a thousand-fold more of beneficent results in a short time to come—does this cause deserve nothing better than the culpable supineness and apathy of its professed friends, and the blind and reckless hostility of its ignorant opposers? Can Christians and philanthropists, contemplating the contrast here present, and with the means of ascertaining the authenticity of the historical facts in the case, justify themselves before God or their fellow men in continued neglect or indifference to this enterprize?

[From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.]

Who reads the Annual Report of a Benevolent Society?

THIS question is often asked as though the answer anticipated were—"no one." And yet this answer is not strictly true. For while it is a lamentable fact that very many of the reading community, who can patiently wade through two or three hundred pages of a novel, cannot endure "the insupportable fatigue of thought" necessary to peruse a serious pamphlet of thirty-two pages, still some do read carefully the annual reports of benevolent societies. The writer has just finished the perusal of the twenty-eighth annual report of the American Colonization Society, with an interest and a pleasure not easily described. He has seldom read thirty-two pages of any work furnishing more materials for profound thought, making stronger appeals to philanthropy, humanity and benevolence, and awakening loftier hopes for the advancement of a wronged and long-neglected portion of the human race, than this report contains.

In this document there is irrefragable proof that the great enterprize of colonization is in the ascendent. Notwithstanding the maddening political excitement of the past year, and the vast sums of money contributed for electioneering purposes, the receipts of the American Colonization Society were greater than those of the year preceding. And although the popular mind has been wrought up well-nigh to frenzy by political agitation, a number of distinguished *new* patrons have been secured, who have become friends of the cause from a careful and calm examination of its merits during the past year.

Various items in the report present unequivocal evidence of returning public confidence, and form the foundation of a rational hope for increased liberality and ampler support to this cause in the future. The best refutation of many of the popular misapprehensions respecting colonization is to be found in the indisputable facts

contained in this report. Let those who think the policy of the colonists of Liberia toward the native Africans is like that of the original settlers of this country toward the Indians, read the following extract in this report from Gov. Roberts' last message to the Legislature:

"I have to report to you that during the past year I have concluded treaties of alliance, amity and trade with several of the native tribes, both in the interior and on the sea coast. And notwithstanding but little immediate advantage may be expected to result to the citizens of this commonwealth from these treaties, still they will have the effect of bringing the native tribes into a closer connexion with the colony—cause them to identify our interests with their own, and will no doubt ultimately have the happy effect of drawing them from their present condition of paganism and idolatry to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Tribes far beyond us are now making application for citizenship and to be indentified with us in laws and government."

Does this look like a "demoralizing and exterminating" policy on the part of the colonists toward the natives?

Another preposterous objection to colonization is that it is unfriendly to Christian Missions! Now a striking feature in some of these treaties is, that the natives are bound by them, as one specific condition, "to foster and protect American missions."

The writer was very much interest-

ed in that part of the report which gives the history of the various expeditions fitted out by the Society last year. There is almost a romantic interest attaching to the condition of the emigrants sent to Liberia within the last twelve months. Gen. Lewis, of Monrovia, gives a description of the meeting of some sent out by the "Lime Rock," of New Orleans, with their friends and relatives previously there, which is truly touching. The diminished mortality among them in the process of acclimation is very gratifying to the friends of the enterprise and highly encouraging to the future emigrant.

But the object of the writer is not to give an analysis of this report nor even a partial glance at its contents. It embraces too rich a variety of topics, and comprises too much valuable information, to be appreciated by a notice of this kind or by any other method except a careful perusal. The correspondence on the concluding pages, presenting the present sentiments and opinions of some of the most distinguished men in different parts of the nation respecting the enterprise of colonization, is well worthy a careful reading even by those who have not been in the habit of perusing "annual reports." And, it may be added, that the last page of the cover contains "twenty reasons for the success of Liberia," that ought to be read and "inwardly digested" by all those who justify their indifference or opposition to colonization by the plea of its inefficiency.

Report of the Committee on Emigrants and Emigration.

THE following paper was prepared and presented to the Board of Directors, at their late Annual Meeting, by a committee appointed on that

part of the Annual Report which relates to the emigration of the past year. It deserves the special consideration of all the friends of coloni-

zation, and especially of those who have the management of persons destined for Liberia.

Report of the Committee on Emigrants and Emigration.

The committee congratulate the Board and the friends of the cause that, though the number of emigrants sent the last year, as appears by the report, was small, many of them were of an excellent character, promising to make useful members of the colony. Regard is to be had rather to character and fitness than to number in estimating the value of our operations, and in this respect especially do they differ from former plans of colonization, and especially from any plan of colonization conducted by governmental aid.

In the latter case, the advantage of the company or State forming the colony is pursued, rather than the benefit of the colonist or of the tribes contiguous to the colony. Hence, numbers, and of all classes, without direct reference to fitness, are sent, without any violation of the purpose or plan originating the scheme.

On the contrary, colonization, conducted by a benevolent association, as in the case of the A. C. S., contemplates primarily the advantage of the emigrants; and the true policy is, not to send all who may offer, but only such as will be most orderly, industrious, and moral, thus securing the safety and welfare of the colony, and, at the same time, insuring a healthy and benign influence upon the neighboring communities.

This difference of policy is radical, and ought to obviate much of the obloquy which the opponents of the Society have attempted to heap upon it.

It is believed that a policy consistent with these views has, from the beginning, been prominent in the councils of this Society, and if, in

any instance, the unworthy and unfit have been sent, the circumstances were peculiar and seemingly imperative.

The question may indeed arise whether a change of terms offered to colonists might not be advantageously made with reference to this policy. If, instead of an entirely gratuitous passage and support indiscriminately offered, the Society were to require of the colonists some return as soon as able, and in money or labor it might relieve us from much expense, and, at the same time, deter none from going whose character for industry might not well be questioned on that very account. In case of free colored people, already possessing some means, this would surely be reasonable and just. In case of emancipated slaves, in the majority of cases, they might, by being hired one year, obtain the means to defray their own passage.

In recommending this course, the committee are not only affected by a consideration of the importance of endeavoring this year so to limit expense as to liquidate all outstanding debts of the Society, but also from a belief that, in the present crisis of its affairs, the Society ought to devote a large proportion of its income to the purchase of territory, so as to be prepared, at an early day, to accord to the colony entire independence, with control over three hundred miles of sea coast.

The disposition to emigrate will, without doubt, annually augment and spread as the numerous advantages and privileges offered by the colony become better known; and though the process of colonization may be slower than would satisfy the wishes of many, or even than the interests of our own country require, it will probably be fully equal to the welfare and wants and capacities of Liberia.

The committee would further recommend, that in all cases where masters offer slaves for emigration, they be urged to prepare them as far as practicable, by some especial training and education, in habits of self-reliance.

The examples of the lamented Fitzhugh, who leased land to his people, and thus accustomed them to self-support, and of the philanthropic McDonogh, whose people emigrated in 184 , so well prepared for usefulness, may be cited as worthy of commendation and imitation.

Finally, as a means of removing unfounded prejudice from the minds of intelligent free people of color, the committee would suggest that some of the pious and trustworthy citizens of Liberia should be encouraged to visit the United States and give their testimony on the subject in various portions of the country—a plan already tried with success, and calculated to promote emigrations of the proper class.

Respectfully

Submitted, &c.

To the Clergy of all Denominations.

No enterprise of good can be successfully prosecuted without the favor and advocacy of the ministers of the Gospel. From the very constitution of society, as well as by the appointment of Heaven, they exercise an immense sway over the opinions, and a powerfully controlling influence over the *charities* of their respective congregations. It is a fundamental truth, that the vigor and life of all benevolent efforts, lie in "the preaching of the Word." Whatever is good and great in its conception, and noble and benign in its influence, can be substantiated and enforced by arguments and appeals drawn from the Divine treasury. And whatever enterprise is *not*, or cannot be sustained in this way, must fail of general favor, and languish for the want of support.

One of the most important questions, therefore, which every clergyman has to decide, relates to the schemes of benevolence which he

shall make prominent in his administrations of truth, and obligatory upon the consciences of his people. Manifestly, as the field is broad, and the work to be accomplished is multifarious, it would be unjustifiable to make any *one single* scheme of operations conspicuous, and expend on it alone all the faith and prayers and energies of the church. A broader and more comprehensive philanthropy is inculcated in Scripture, and demanded by the exigencies of the church and condition of the world.

Every separate denomination of Christians has some particular charities, or private societies, which they have originated and which they support as a matter of course; and all their members are expected to feel in the success of these enterprises a sort of personal pride and an individual interest. Hence they are in duty bound to contribute to their support. It is a part of their religion. They feel for them some-

what of that tender affection and kindly care which a parent feels for his own children, in comparison with the children of strangers.

But there are other charities which belong to no one denomination of Christians; schemes of benevolence which originated in the broadest philanthropy, and appeal to the most enlarged principles of Christianity for support. Such is the enterprise of *African Colonization*. It belongs to no church, to no party. No sect of Christians, casting a complacent look upon it, calls it by the endearing name "*my child!*" No denomination feels bound to support it, at all hazards. It has the same claims upon one that it has upon another. And they all feel at liberty to support their own benevolent societies *first* and *chiefest*, and then, *if any thing is left*, it is appropriated to *colonization* as to an "orphan in need."

It is not wonderful, therefore, that the resources of this Society are far more limited than its demands. Though it be not very creditable to the Christians of the present age, yet it is nevertheless true, that the more part of them are less influenced by an appeal resting solely on the broad ground of benevolence, than when it is united with something which is *selfishly* their own, and tends to build up their party, or denomination. Hence it is all important that objects of pure and strict benevolence, should be kept prominently before the minds of men: their intimate connection with the

great principles of Christianity clearly exhibited, and their bearing upon the general welfare of society, and the amelioration of the condition of the whole human family constantly enforced!

In view of these considerations, it will not be thought out of place for us to present some reasons which will justify MINISTERS of all denominations in bringing the cause of **AFRICAN COLONIZATION** distinctly and prominently before their respective churches on or about the approaching 4th of July. If it can be shown that the cause is a great and a good one: that it is intimately connected with all the other blessed schemes of benevolence: that it embraces the welfare of the millions of Africa, and is intimately connected with some of the most important destinies of our own country: that it is accomplishing a train of good results, which no other plan of operations has ever yet been able to achieve: and that no evil follows in its footsteps, and no injury is done to any body or any other cause, then surely it ought to be considered worthy of all confidence and support: and if it ought to be sustained and carried vigorously forward, and there is *no one denomination*, or section of the country, which claims this honor and will perform this duty, then it is incumbent on us to appeal to every friend of humanity and lover of his race, in every section of the country!

We would, therefore, entreat the clergy to give the following con-

siderations that earnest attention which their importance demands :

1st. The colored people in our own country, whether bond or free, are in circumstances which challenge for them our sympathy.

They are degraded in the scale of human existence. They are in an inferior condition. The very frame work of the society around them tends to depress them still lower. In their present position it is impossible to give them that instruction in the arts and sciences, and that mental and moral improvement which can alone elevate them to that standard of dignity which properly belongs to man. In *this country* they never can rise above the very lowest grade of society. You may say that this state of society is all wrong ; may call it *prejudice* that keeps them down ; and all this may be admitted without improving their condition in the slightest degree. The facts remain the same. And if we are to wait till the whole constitution of society is remodeled—till every root of evil is eradicated, and every thing is managed exactly right, before we do anything for the elevation of the colored race, how many generations will die unblessed ? It may be *prejudice*, but who does not know that *prejudice* is the very last thing that can be destroyed ? Who has ever been able to reason it down ? The facts stare every body in the face. The colored people in this country are depressed, are lying under political and social disadvantages from

which there is no prospect of *their rising* ; no probability of others *raising* them. They can never enjoy here the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

If it is contended that all the descendants of the African race now found in this country ought to be elevated to equal privileges with the white population, yet the *facts* are not altered. There they are, still depressed, without one single ray of hope to cheer them in any endeavor to throw off the burden which rests upon them ; without one bare possibility that they will be ever admitted to the full enjoyment of all the rights and immunities of *citizens* of *this* free and happy country, unless the “leopard can change his spots and the Ethiopian his skin.”

This condition, therefore, of the colored man in this country demands our sympathy. It appeals to all the better feelings of our nature. It challenges us to devise some plan of relief, to undo the wrongs that we have done them, and to furnish them the facilities for advancement which their necessities demand. Help and protection they must have from some quarter. Whence shall it come ? where shall we plant the fulcrum of that mighty lever which shall *elevate* their race ?

2nd. No other scheme has yet been devised which promises as much for the colored people in this country as colonization.

It proposes to rescue them from

their civil, social and religious depression, and place them in a country where the influences which depress them here will be forever removed. Every other plan leaves them surrounded by the same circumstances which now hold them down. They *cannot* rise in the midst of the white race. European superiority interposes a fatal impediment to the improvement of the African race while they are in juxtaposition. Colonization removes this obstacle out of the way, and places them in a country where they can enjoy all the benefits of a free government; and where they are incited to improvement by every thing around them.

We do not propose here to discuss the various theories which have been broached, and the plans which have been adopted for elevating the race. We prefer rather to look at a single principle—to examine the philosophy of a single fact. The colored people have *never* risen to *equality* with the whites in any country where they have been thrown together. They have never been elevated essentially in character and condition on the same soil where they have been in bondage under the whites. Every plan for the improvement of the African which has had to conflict with the prejudices, tastes and selfishness of the more favored race, has been a failure. The two races seem entirely distinct, and the one holds acknowledged superiority over the other, and ne-

cessarily stands opposed to its highest interests. It is thus impossible to give the colored man a fair chance, unless you remove him from the contact and rivalry of the whites, where he will not have to encounter the checks and hindrances which have so long awed and kept him down.

Reasoning, therefore, from past experience, we are forced to the conclusion that there is an insuperable impediment in the way of elevating the colored people to the satisfaction of benevolence while they remain in this country. We do not speak of what *ought* to be, but of what *has been*, and is likely still to be the fact. A stifling, strangling incubus seems to rest upon all their faculties. They cannot be roused to that energy and determination indispensable to advancement. Hope, the great and vital element in elevating and ennobling a race, by a social regeneration, dawns not upon their prospects in this country.

In view of this *fact*, and the reasons of it, there cannot be a doubt that the scheme of COLONIZATION promises more for their good than any other which has ever yet been devised. It looks upon things as they actually exist, in stubborn, stern reality, and despairing of any adequate and effectual relief while the two races remain *together*, it proposes to remove the one to the land of their fathers' sepulchres, "where they shall be exempt from the rivalry of the other; to or-

ganize them into an independent empire of their own; to endow them with the blessings of civilization and of Christianity; to invite and call into action all their powers as men; to inspire them with all laudable motives of ambition; to incite in them personal aspiration, and the pride of national character; to rear them to the growth of national sovereignty; to make them men, to respect themselves and to be respected as peers among their fellow men; to secure to them all those rights which are claimed and enjoyed by the most civilized and free states; and finally, to convert, through them, the wide regions of African barbarism, heathenism, cruelty and desolation, into a garden of civilization, and to make it an eminent portion of Christendom; to substitute the songs of freedom and of true religion, for the groans of the slave and the despairing cries of the victims of superstition."

Such are some of the sublime and glorious purposes of good which COLONIZATION proposes to accomplish; and we challenge any other scheme to compare with it in the blessedness of its *promises* to the colored race! The following sentiment was entertained by men competent to judge correctly and to decide impartially: they had tried *both sides*: they had lived in the most favored parts of this country and seen and felt all that could be done for them here, and had done all that they could for themselves in the

circumstances; and, despairing of ever reaching the point of their ambition, resolved to make a change, and removed with their families to Liberia; and after several years residence there, at a public meeting they passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the Colonization Society has done for the people of color, and for us particularly; that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of color; and *that we believe it is the only institution that can, in existing circumstances, succeed in elevating the colored people.*"

Testimony similar to this has been borne by all persons who have visited Liberia and seen the actual working of colonization, and the vast promise which it holds out to the colored man here, and to the continent of Africa!

We, therefore, consider our second proposition established—and believe that very few, who look at the facts in the case, will doubt that *colonization* promises more of good to the colored people of this country than any other scheme which has ever yet been devised.

We proceed, therefore, to remark:

3rdly. Colonization promises more for Africa and her 150,000,000 of heathens than any other scheme of benevolence which has ever yet been devised.

What has ever been done for Africa apart from colonization? Nothing! The best planned missions have accomplished no permanent good. The missionaries have either

died in a short time, or been driven from the country by the severity of the climate, or the barbarity of its inhabitants. The climate is *fatal* to the white man. He cannot endure it. He therefore can never be depended upon to establish civilization and Christianity amid the mountains and in the vallies and all along the shores of that dark land; and every enterprise which depends upon him to carry it forward must fail. If, then, Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be done through the instrumentality of colored men. Where are they to come from? How can they operate in that country, when war, and plunder, and cannibalism, and the *slave trade*, combine and conspire to exclude every thing that will, in the slightest degree, interfere with their unlimited reign!

Manifestly they who would do good in Africa, must go together, and in such number as to afford assistance to each other, and to protect themselves. *Colonies* of colored people are the only means of putting down the slave trade and civilizing and Christianizing Africa. The history of all the efforts which have been made by armed men—by the navies of England and America combined, to arrest the slave trade, is full of defeat and discouragement. We need not here present the facts in proof of this. We have done it often. Our readers must be familiar with the truth, now generally admitted, that the *slave trade* never can be arrested and

abolished by the efforts of men-of-war: and that the only hope of ever doing this great work is by planting colonies along the coast, operating upon the minds of the natives themselves, inducing them to abandon the trade in *men*, in view of engaging in lawful commerce, and thus effectually cutting off the supply of slaves.

In proof of this, if proof is demanded, we appeal to the *facts*. It is then a fact that the slave trade has increased in extent and enormity during the time that the British government have been making the most vigorous efforts to put it down. On the contrary it is a *fact* that LIBERIA has suppressed the slave trade for about 700 miles along the seaboard, with the exception of two remaining factories, and that it would put these down if it could raise the means to purchase the territory on which they are situated. It is a fact that the whole region of Liberia was little else than a storehouse and an outlet for slaves before its settlement by the colony; so that it may be fairly estimated that at least 20,000 Africans have been kept back from slavery every year through the instrumentality of our colonists!

In this view of the subject, the colony of Liberia presents a cheering prospect in the midst of surrounding darkness; and shows itself to be of fairest promise to Africa and her children.

But let us look further and contemplate the *interior* of Africa, and as-

certain what can be done *there* apart from colonization and its influences.

Africa is the great market for human beings, and the chains of bondage at this moment bind at least 50,000,000 of her sons on her own soil! From the absence of all wholesome restraints of law, and civilization and religion, their servitude is the most abject, their degradation the most appalling; and their condition the most deplorable! How shall poor Africa be redeemed, that Ethiopia may be brought to stretch out her hands unto God? If you guard and blockade the whole coast by men-of-war, and overthrow the slave factories, the water transportation may *cease*; but the inland transportation still will remain; and domestic slavery, with all its ever accumulating horrors, will continue in its most awful forms, more aggravated than ever by the fact that the foreign demand has partially ceased. If you send missionaries whose lives shall be guaranteed to them, they may be instrumental in saving a few under their immediate observation and teaching; but so long as the population is cut up into small tribes, hostile to each other and perpetually engaged in war, there can be but little accomplished in that way. So long as selfishness, unrestrained by any subduing influences of education and religion, is the ruling passion in the heart of the African, so long will the lonely and unprotected missionary be subjected to the destructive intrigues of men who

are continually scouring the country and stirring up the jealousies of the natives.

It is true the gospel is the only hope for Africa; it is the only remedy for her multiform and multiplied maladies. And there must be men to preach the gospel—"for how shall they hear without a preacher?" But they must be protected from the hostile machinations of the slave dealers and slave holders, or the redemption of Africa can never be effected. The missionary enterprise, on the *colonial* plan, is the only hope for planting the gospel and the institutions of civilization in the centre of Africa. When we consider the almost unbounded extent of the country, the disorganized and savage state of its society, the universal prevalence of the slave trade, it will not be thought wonderful that the middle regions of 150,000,000 of people should be shut out from the knowledge of the rest of mankind, and be capable of being penetrated only in the most gradual way, and by means of colonies planted along the coast when and from whence the "leaven of Christianity shall leaven the lump," as it works onward. A colony of civilized men, controlled by law, and influenced by a sense of divine obligation on the shore of a barbarous continent, forms a bright and powerful centre of civilization and religion, whose elevating influence and redeeming power will be mighty and far extending amid the surrounding dark-

ness ! It will present a heaven-bound bulwark against the men of blood who forge and bind the chains of death. Coming in contact with the strongest powers of earth, and the fiercest machinations of hell, it will vanquish them both ! and carry the flag of liberty and the banner of the Cross and plant them in vallies and on promontories which all other arts and devices of men would forever fail to reach ! Whoever would operate successfully on Africa, must thus *enter into Africa*. Colonies of civilized and Christianized colored men must be formed on the coast first, and then in every accessible and eligible point in the interior, by which both the arts and sciences, and the religion of civilized men, shall be brought to bear effectually upon the natives. Thus, and thus alone, can we abolish the accursed slave trade, wake up new life in the suffering sons and daughters of Africa, and introduce the gospel, and the universal dominion of liberty and law, purity and happiness, into that vast continent which deep darkness has covered for uncounted ages.

Who, therefore, can doubt that *colonization promises* more for the millions in Africa than any and all other schemes which have been devised for her good ? By its very nature it is adapted to the performance of a work which nothing else can do. Facts have not yet shown the possibility of putting down the slave trade in any other way.

Facts have not yet shown that any missionary station can exist, or be sustained in Africa, unconnected with colonial influence, or without colonial protection.

But facts *have* shown that *colonization* can put an end to the slave trade ! Facts *have* shown that under colonial protection missionaries are perfectly safe. Facts have shown that for more than 150 miles around Liberia, the influence of the colony is so great and beneficial that missions can be established with the consent, or rather at the request, of the chiefs, head men and the common people, and with every prospect of safety and success !

COLONIZATION, therefore, is the only scheme which gives any fair promise and prospect of reaching, to bless and save, the millions of Africa.

We may therefore proceed to remark :

4thly. That these fair promises of colonization have been fulfilled, as far as the nature of the case would admit.

Thus far the enterprise has been successful. The expectations of its early and enthusiastic friends have been more than realized. It has been compelled to endure troubles and disasters, to meet persecution and unrelenting hostility, to encounter opposition and conflict, from the north and the south ; but it has triumphed over them all, and gone steadily onward in the achievement of the magnificent results which it originally contemplated. Already

we can announce an advanced stage in its progress, and point to labors actually done, and ends securely gained, on which the world may look with admiring approbation !

There is *that* in the very plan proposed by the American Colonization Society, which we believe ensures its success, and did from the very beginning. It was something altogether new in the history of human society and human operations. It was indeed a bold and daring experiment. We may search the history of all the colonies which have been planted since the infancy of the world, but we shall search in vain for any thing similar to the means employed to plant Liberia, and the machinery relied upon to conduct it to maturity. It was undertaken in a spirit of dependence on God, of faith and prayer, with reference to the extension of His kingdom and the salvation of men. The good of the persons planting the colony was not *alone* concerned. The enterprise respected also the country in which the colony was planted—the preservation, civilization, and the redemption of its inhabitants, numbering at least 150,000,000 then alive, and increasing with great rapidity. There was nothing grand or imposing, such as ordinarily attends upon a nation's movements. It was a *benevolent society*, numbering as its members a few unpretending individuals, who, looking abroad upon the face of our country, beheld upwards of 2,000,000 of persons laboring under hopeless

bondage, and sunk in the lowest degradation, against whose improvement law, and prejudice, and circumstances, had erected an insuperable barrier, and rendered *removal* absolutely necessary to their elevation. And when they cast their eyes abroad over the face of the earth, Africa was at once fixed upon as the place of their future homes, having been the land of their fathers, and being apparently incapable of redemption from its deep debasement by any instrumentality other than its own children. One of the first colonists remarked, in relation to the early history of the colony and the feelings with which the first colonists entered into the measure, “under a conviction that no possible change could make their condition worse, they eagerly embraced *Africa*, with all its proverbial horrors, as an anchor of hope. That the whole scheme was at first contrived by Providence, and that it has been thus far conducted by the same unfaltering hand, there will not remain the shadow of a doubt on the mind of any who will be at the pains to examine it.”

In the year 1822, the first emigrants arrived at Cape Mesurado. There was but one *white* man among them. He acted as agent of the Society. Small companies were sent out annually, and some supplies. But the growth of the colony was necessarily slow. There were but few persons among the colored people of this country who had the

energy and determination to be pioneers in such a work as this. And the funds had all to be raised by voluntary contributions, given by persons whose minds had first to be convinced of the propriety of aiding this new and unexampled enterprise. Yet the work went gradually forward. A sympathy was soon created for the colored man, and his elevation made an object of desire and effort. The minds of slave holders were turned to the improvement of their slaves ; and hundreds of masters have their slaves now in a course of preparation for freedom, as the direct consequence. Hundreds of slaves have already been set free in order that they might be removed to Liberia. Hundreds more are now offered to the Society, if it will assume the expense of sending them out. Among the colored people themselves a new impression has been produced. They now begin to inquire into the merits of colonization on their own account, not only, but also with reference to their race. An impression somewhat extensively prevails that "the night of their sorrows" is nearing its end, and that soon they are to be placed in better circumstances: that the slave trade is to be eradicated from the face of the earth, and their own land thereby made an asylum for the free and a home for the blessed. There are multitudes now awaiting an opportunity of being sent to Liberia. They are too poor usually to defray their own expenses and hence

are obliged to depend upon the Society, whose resources are entirely inadequate to meet the demands made upon it. The publications of the Society are taken and read by many others of them. They are anxious to know the facts relating to the commonwealth of Liberia. They cannot long fail to see that it offers them the best and only chance of rising to importance and equality in the social state, and of acquiring personal wealth and national distinction.

Here it may be proper to meet an objection sometimes urged against *colonization* in consequence of the very slow progress which is made in removing the colored people from this country. We readily grant that *nothing* has been done towards this, as far as *numbers* alone are concerned. But still we assert that *every* thing has been performed which was promised. We never expected to remove the whole colored population by *voluntary contributions* ! The plan was to remove those who were willing to go and could be taken by the means the Society could command, and to locate them in Liberia with reference to further results and ulterior ends. An experiment was to be made. It was to be shown that Liberia holds out brighter prospects to the colored man than are visible in any other quarter of the globe. It was to be shown that he was capable of self-government, and could rise to independent sovereignty and high rank among the nations of

the earth. And when this shall have been accomplished, we shall not have to urge the colored people to go to Liberia; so surely as men are governed by motives, and will go to the place where they can improve their condition, so surely will the Africans in this country go to Liberia at their own expense and for their own ends. "The same reasons which bring the depressed and oppressed Europeans to America; the same reasons which brought our fathers here, and made this country what it is; the same reasons which roll on our population towards the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, creating and adding new states to our union, extending our empire and augmenting our wealth and importance as a nation, *will* attract and impel the colored population of this country to Africa and lead to similar results."

It therefore is important for us to inquire what *colonization* has done in Africa? Whether it is thus opening the country, developing its resources, showing what can be done by the colored race, and preparing an asylum to which whosoever will, may flee and be safe from all the ills that here begirt his path! On this subject we can speak with confidence and with pleasure, for we can point to the *facts*, which all may see if they will, and whose bearing and importance none can fail to understand. *There stands the commonwealth of Liberia*, just of age, and capable of speaking for itself. *There*

it is, on the western coast of Africa, in the very central regions of barbarism and the slave trade. There are laid the foundations of a free and happy government, with all the appliances of education and religion. There is the germ of a rising, a prosperous and a mighty empire. *There* are some 3,000 persons removed from this country, organized into a regular republican government, on a model like our own, where all the offices are filled and all the power is held by colored men. *There* are laws and courts of justice, and civil institutions, and all the accompaniments of advanced civilization. *There* are churches, and schools, and Sabbaths remembered and hallowed, and sanctuaries well filled with devout worshippers. *There* is a public press and two newspapers regularly issued. There are towns and villages, agriculture and commerce, comfortable houses and all the accompaniments of industry and wealth! *There* the slave trade has been abolished. Wherever they could obtain the right to the soil, they beat down the barracoons, dispersed the wretches that kept them, knocked the chains from the slaves and set the captives free. The natives around, beginning to understand the nature of the colonial institutions, and regarding the colony as an asylum, have sought refuge within its borders by thousands. The colonists gladly hail them as an accession to their strength, and encourage them in all the pursuits of

an honorable life! In this way the minds of the natives have been changed in regard to the slave trade, and more has been done to remove this scourge of Africa by the little colony of Liberia than by the British nation, with her Spanish treaty, and all the world put together!

The colony has acquired a substantial character, and contains within itself the elements of a permanent existence. They were early warned against the delusive expectation of *being supported*; they were constantly reminded that they must rely on their own resources, and subsist by their own unaided energies. The plan of the government was committed, in all its details, almost entirely to them. They were thus thrown upon their own resources, and made to feel the responsibility of working out the redemption of their race, or of giving to the world confirmation of what had often been said of them and their race, that "they were incapable of any thing great, and designed only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water" to others all their days. They saw at once they must be the arbiters of their fortunes—that their destiny was in their own hand. They saw that every thing was staked on the success of their experiment. And it made them MEN! It inspired them with ardor, and called into active operation all their ingenuity and judgment. And their laws, and courts of justice, and legislative council, and their social, civil and

political order, and their domestic comforts and happiness, and all the result of early efforts at self-government, made by men whose last hope was involved in the experiment.

All this is an achievement which has no parallel in history. Not one of the early settlements made in our country, under auspices far more grand and favorable, and with many more facilities and means of success, ever accomplished so much in so short a period of time!

In brief, then, COLONIZATION has taken some of the free people of color from their depressed condition, and placed them in a country and in circumstances where they have arisen to a high state of respectability and national importance. COLONIZATION has been instrumental in causing many masters to liberate their slaves and has set them up in an independent government. It has presented to the free colored man, the strongest motives for rising in the world; has shown him where it can be done; and how he may reach the highest conditions of society. It has embraced Africa with her millions in its comprehensive benevolence, and has erected the standard of liberty, kindled the lights of civilization, and flung to the breeze the banner of the Cross, on her shores and back towards her mountains!

Surely an enterprise that *promises* so much as this, and that has actually *accomplished* so much, is worthy of all honor, and has a claim upon the sympathies and prayers,

the labors and the contributions of every friend of his country and lover of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

Whatever is great and noble in the various other benevolent enterprises of the age sheds a beauty and a lustre on *this*. In whatever they endeavor for the spread of liberal principles and the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom, this is indissolubly conjoined.

Does the *philanthropist* look abroad over the scathed and torn face of society, and feel a tender sympathy for the woes of his fellow men, and desire to extend them relief? *Here* is an opportunity for him to bless the neediest and most wretched portion of the human family!

Does the *patriot*, while reflecting on the rise and fall of empires, and surveying the elements of evil wrought into the texture of our own country, feel a trembling solicitude for the destiny of our republican institutions, and the hopes of the world, as hanging upon them? *Here*, he may give to his patriotism fullest scope. *Here*, he may lay his hand upon one of the most portentous evils which threaten our peace. *Here*, he may touch with his finger the gathering cloud and dissipate its darkness before its "seven thunders have uttered their voices," and before its lurid lightnings have darted upon their work of death!

Does the *friend of home missions* seek how he can most effectually bestow his charities, and best preach the gospel to the destitute in our own country? *Here* is a field which de-

mands his consideration. Who, in our highly favored land, more needs the spiritual teaching, the divine illumination, and the heavenly consolation of the gospel than the colored population. None surely have been less thought of and cared for! None have been more needy and helpless! And how can they be most successfully brought under the means of grace, and the redeeming influences of religion? Not surely by the ordinary process of missionary operations. Their condition is peculiar, and the manner of approaching them must be adapted to it. Present relief may doubtless be rendered them in their present circumstances. But when the next generation comes on the stage, they will be but little, if any, in advance of what the present is now. Unlike the settlement of whites in some part of the west, who need some assistance this year and the next; and very soon will be able to take care of themselves and extend assistance to others situated as they lately were, the colored people while in their present circumstances will need *perpetual* care and attention.

He, therefore, who would most effectually aid them, must first assist in placing them in circumstances where they will be relieved from the civil and social disadvantages under which they labor in this country. To all the friends of home missions we would most respectfully present COLONIZATION as deserving a share of their contributions for the advancement of their favorite object.

Does the advocate and patron of

foreign missions seek a field broad as his benevolence and ripe for the harvest? *Here* it is! Africa with her teeming millions! Every company of emigrants sent out by this Society may be regarded as a band of missionaries. They go to that country with some knowledge of the gospel; they are accompanied by intelligent ministers of Christ; they form there a Christian society where all the advantages of civilized and Christianized institutions are exemplified, and which becomes a bright and powerful centre of civilization and of religion. How mighty must be the influence of such a minister and such a congregation upon the surrounding nations and tribes of heathens! and how rapid will be the triumphs of the gospel in such circumstances!

Does the friend of *Sabbath schools* feel his benevolence stirred within him? *Here* are children to be educated: children whose parents never have known the way of life: children anxious to be taught, and in situations where the first teachings will be like laying the foundations of a new world.

Do the friends of *education*, of the Sabbath, the bible, the tracts and the temperance societies, seek to enlarge the influence and extend the usefulness of these noble and glorious institutions? With what feelings of gratification would their hearts swell to look through the vista of time and see this germ which benevolence has planted on the African shore grown into an extensive and powerful repub-

lic, imbued with the principles of liberty, sustaining American institutions, adorned with temples for the worship of Jehovah, keeping holy the Sabbath, gathering thousands of children into the fold, bringing millions of outcast heathens to a knowledge of the Saviour, and giving prosperity, happiness and salvation to hosts of human beings hitherto degraded in the scale of human existence! This may be seen! Such will be the result of untiring and liberal efforts in this enterprise of African Colonization! Nothing is wanting but fervent prayer, enlarged means, increased exertions and unflinching perseverance, to secure this "devoutly to be wished for consummation?"

Shall these be enjoyed? Ministers of Christ, and heralds of salvation to a perishing world, shall this great cause be longer suffered to languish for want of adequate support? have you given to it the thought, and the consideration which its merits demand? have you suitably commended it to the affections, the prayers, and the liberality of your respective churches? Has bleeding Africa had that large place in your efforts which its enormous size and urgent wants demand?

On the coast of that ill-fated continent from which their fathers were torn, has been planted an infant republic, composed of their free and civilized descendants; they have been restored to their own land, and they will be a blessing to that land; from their happy abodes, the light

will shine into its dreary wastes, and "its solitary places shall be glad," and its "deserts shall rejoice and blossom as the rose!" A country scourged and depopulated by the slave trade, will be brought to new life and fruitfulness, and filled with her long-lost children restored through the efforts of Christian benevolence.

But this work cannot go forward without *means*! and the means cannot in any way be so easily and properly obtained as by the clergy, of the various denominations, laying the subject before their people and interesting themselves to have a handsome contribution made to the Society, on or about the 4th of July. Oh what a joyful hour it would be for Africa, if every pulpit in this land were to speak out her wants, and every minister exert himself to arouse in the breasts of his people those feelings of benevolence that have too long lain dormant! Oh, then,

"Do something! Do it soon—with all thy might,"

for the hour of Heaven's mercy is rapidly drawing to a close; and we are all hastening to the land of silence and of death, and the retributions of eternity. What we do, therefore, for the perishing, "must be done quickly."

Could we approach every minister in the land, we would affectionately say to him,

"Go Shepherd, tend thy flock; it is the flock
For which thy Master shed his precious blood,
Chiefly to it thy time and care devote;"

remembering all the while that "the field is the world," and that it is in the power of every minister to send forth from his own church an influence which shall extend all around the globe; to put into action a train of moral causes which shall operate to the end of time; to touch the springs of life in other men, and give direction to their opinions and conduct, and control, in a great measure, their *charities*. And we would then earnestly entreat him to think of this great cause; to bring it before his people; to plead for it eloquently; the more eloquently, if possible, to make some amends for having in past years perhaps forgotten it; and thus send forth streams of mercy and salvation which should make glad the whole garden of the Lord.

"Rouse to this work of high and holy love,
And thou an Angel's happiness shalt know,—
Shalt bless the earth while in the world above,
The good begun by thee shall onward flow
In many a branching stream, and wider grow;
The seed that in these few and fleeting hours,
Thy hands unsparing and unwearied sow
Shall deck thy grave with Amaranthine flowers,
And yield thee fruits divine in Heaven's immortal
bowers."

Items of Intelligence.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE PURCHASE OF TERRITORY.—We have the pleasure of stating that since our last number was issued several additional subscribers of \$1,000 each, have been added

to the number previously obtained. We are convinced that it now only requires a little perseverance among our friends, and continued liberality among our patrons, to secure this most desirable object. It is

very important that the subscription should be filled up as soon as possible, that we may be able to complete our arrangements and make remittances to the colony by the next vessel.

We learn from the New Orleans *Picayune* of the 13th ult., that the Rev. J. B. Pinney, our indefatigable agent, has returned to that city after a very successful tour through a portion of Mississippi. When in New

Orleans some weeks before, he had held some public meetings and excited much interest in the cause. Now he is making arrangements to deliver a course of lectures on Colonial Missions in Africa, and the state and wants of the colonies in that country.

We learn that the Rev. John Seyes, Methodist Episcopal Missionary in Liberia has returned to the United States.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 24th March, to the 23rd April, 1845.

VERMONT.			
<i>Brattleborough</i> —Anthony Van Doren.....	5 00	Kerr, F. Montmollin, Mrs. Sarah Atchison, ea. \$5, A. Inskeep, \$1, <i>Campbell Co.</i> —Rev. J. C. Bayles, \$2.....	226 00 2 00 289 00
MASSACHUSETTS.			
<i>Hampshire Co.</i> —Oliver Smith, Esq., being his subscription towards the purchase of territory, thro' the Massachusetts Colonization Society.....	500 00	OHIO.	
NEW YORK.		<i>Logan Co.</i> —J. M. Glover, \$5, Rev. John L. Belville, John Enoch, each \$3, J. J. Gardner, \$2, O. S. Knapp, Rev. T. B. Clark, James Walker, N. Z. McCulloch, Rev. J. Stevenson, sen., Richard S. Canby, Thos. Marquis, each \$1, Individuals, \$8.....	28 00
<i>Trumansburg</i> —Herman Camp, Esq.....	100 00		317 00
<i>Clifton Park, Saratoga Co.</i> —From the Estate of the late Nathan Garnsey, deceased, per Levi Garnsey, Esq.....	500 00	Total Contributions.....	\$1,454 00
	600 00	FOR REPOSITORY.	
VIRGINIA.		VERMONT. — <i>Brattleborough</i> —Anthony Van Doren, to Jan., '46.....	5 00
<i>Norfolk</i> —James D. Johnson, Esq., annual donation.....	12 00	NEW YORK. — <i>Syracuse</i> —Thomas Bennet, Esq., to 1 May, '46....	1 00
SOUTH CAROLINA.		VIRGINIA. — <i>Gerardstown</i> —Mrs. Nancy Sanks, for 1845.....	1 50
<i>Lewisville</i> —Wm. Moffatt, Esq....	20 00	SOUTH CAROLINA. — <i>Lewisville</i> —Wm. Moffatt, to Jan., 1847....	5 00
KENTUCKY.		KENTUCKY. — <i>Oak Grove</i> —Garret Meriweather, \$5. <i>Augusta</i> —Col. James Fee, to 1 May, '46, \$2.....	7 00
By the Rev. Alex. M. Cowan: <i>Scott Co.</i> —Mrs. Mary Offiet, \$20, Dr. D. G. Hatch, \$10, Rev. J. H. Logan, Jos. Coulter, Prof. J. E. Farnam, Charles Eckles, each \$5, Mrs. Mary V. Logan, \$2, Thos. Clements, \$1.....	53 00	OHIO. — <i>Amherst</i> —E. Redington, to 1 Sept., 1846.....	2 00
<i>Harrison Co.</i> —Daniel Tibbs, \$5, William Lowery, \$2, W. H. McClintock, \$1.....	8 00	MISSOURI. — <i>St. Louis</i> —Wm. G. Peters, in full, \$3. <i>Palmyra</i> —W. Carson, to Jan., 1844, \$8..	11 00
<i>Fayette Co.</i> —Abraham Vanmeter, Col. R. Quarles, Cassius M. Clay, M. T. Scott, David A. Sayre, B. W. Dudley, D. M., each \$30, to constitute themselves life-members, Robert P. Kenney, \$10, Mrs. Eliz. Marshall, Isaac C. Vanmeter, Pres. H. B. Bascom, Isaac Sparke, John		Total Repository.....	32 50
		Total Contributions.....	1,454 00
		Aggregate Amount.....	\$1,486 50

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, JUNE, 1845.

[No. 6.]

Considerations relative to the Fourth of July.

"UNION is strength." Many things which could never be effected by *individual* agency, are of the most easy accomplishment by *combined* action. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so does the countenance of man his friend." While we labor at some *herculean* task, it is a real comfort to know that others are engaged with like motives and efforts with ourselves. In companionship there is not only real comfort, but also substantial assistance. Many a time our hearts tremble and we are ready to fall back in despair, in view of some vast work to be done. But only let us know that ten thousand others are contemplating the same work, that they are individually certified of the fact that the others are uniting with them, and what new life it would instil in our bosoms, and how would it nerve our arms with a ten-fold power! The very enthusiasm that stirs in the breast of every true American citizen on the glorious

Fourth of July, depends very much upon the fact that all over the land there are multitudes feeling the same sensations of joy and gladness, in view of the splendid political fabric which our fathers reared when they joined heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder, and marched forth through danger and death to victory and independence!

Now we need the benefit of this same sympathetic feeling to carry forward the work of colonization.

There are, for example, about *fifteen hundred Clergymen* who read our publications, and are, more or less, well informed as to the merits and achievements of the scheme of colonization; and most of whom would be willing, at some time in the course of the year, to take up a collection in aid of its funds. But the months roll by very rapidly. There are many other things claiming his attention, and nothing impresses upon him the indispensable necessity of

devoting the very next Sabbath to colonization. Very soon the year is gone, and the work is undone. Now suppose that he had read carefully the address "*To the Clergy of all Denominations*," in our last number, and on rising from the perusal of it, had by some means been convinced that every other clergyman would, on or about the Fourth of July, take up a collection for the Society, could he have resisted the influence? would it not have been morally certain that he would have gone straight out and made the necessary arrangements, and joined with the vast multitude?

Now suppose these fifteen hundred clergymen each prepare and preach a sermon on colonization, and make a collection. Each one might think that his people would give but very little. Perhaps some of them would do but little. But others would do very much. Suppose the contributions averaged only TEN DOLLARS to each church (which is undoubtedly much below the truth) and we have the handsome aggregate of \$15,000! And yet no body has felt it. The minister is not wearied with his unusual labors. The people have not given money that they could not spare. No other department of benevolence is made the poorer. But we would have raised, *without one dollar's expense*, money enough to complete the purchase of territory between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas! or to send some five or six hundred emigrants to Liberia!

In addition to these fifteen hundred clergymen, there are some twelve hundred more, who have, at one time or another, contributed to the cause by taking up collections in their churches. To many of these we have sent the *Address* above alluded to. Could they all be roused to repeat, on the approaching Fourth, their labor of love and work of benevolence, and were their collections to average only \$10 each, it would yield us \$12,000!

And if, in addition to these, the various auxiliary societies—or even a part of them, say 200—were to make an effort to collect subscriptions already due, and to interest others in the cause, and send in each a contribution to our treasury, averaging \$20, it would give us the clear gain of \$4,000!

Now look at the result. Without any excitement—without any extra exertions—without any expense—we should receive the handsome sum of THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS! What an impulse this would give to the cause! How would it animate and cheer its friends and supporters! What an incalculable amount of good it would accomplish!

We have received assurances from some of our friends that they will preach on the subject and endeavor to excite a general interest among their people. We have also been informed that large meetings are to be held in several places on the Fourth, and the exercises are all to have reference to this cause. Nothing

could be more appropriate! The objects this Society aims to accomplish, harmonize perfectly with all those great considerations which induce us as American patriots to celebrate that day which fast anchored us as a people to our free institutions! Around that day cluster associations peculiarly grand and sublime, recollections which can never be effaced from the memory: then was unfurled to the breeze, the flag of the free—the “Star spangled Banner;”—then the American Eagle expanded his pinions and winged his flight over a thousand hills, and amidst the dwellers in a thousand flowery plains! But the great work then so splendidly begun, is not yet fully accomplished. The tree of liberty is yet to be pruned of many hurtful branches. The soil of freedom has yet to be cleared of many noxious weeds. The civil institutions of republicanism are yet to be perfected! And would it be evil or extravagant in us to exclaim with the poet,

“Hope waits the morning of Celestial light;
Time plumes his wings for everlasting flight!”

We have planted on the shores of Africa a young republic, after the model of our own. They who are moulding and guiding its tender years, were taught under our own institutions, and now move and act under the impulses which here they received, and in the light we shed upon them! They have to struggle with many obstacles, and they appeal in their weakness to us for assistance.

Thousands of their race, yet in our land, taste not, and never can taste among us, the blessings of civil and political liberty. This Society proposes to remove them to a land over which freedom’s banner shall wave for them, and where the highest gifts of civilization and republicanism shall be within their reach.

Now there would seem to be something in the spirit of this enterprise which should commend it to special consideration on the anniversary of our nation’s independence. And while we rejoice in the rich gifts which Heaven has bestowed upon us as a people, it is incumbent upon us to open our hand bountifully to those deprived of these blessings.

Let us reflect for a moment how much we are indebted to the colored race. How much have they toiled for us? How many of our blessings have come to us through their daily labors? How much of our wealth have they poured into our coffers? How many of our children have been nursed by them? How much of our present prosperity is the result of their joyless and untiring industry!

And are we not a great and a happy people? Are we not an honorable nation? And do we not intend to “do justice,” if not to “love mercy!” Then are we bound to think of the colored race; of those of them who are now among us; of their country from which their ancestors were torn for our gratification! We cannot shake off this responsibility! They have a claim

upon us from which we never can shrink, without violating some of our most solemn and imperative obligations ! Where then is the patriot who can properly celebrate the "*glorious Fourth*," and not think of the less-favored among us, and of the land from which they came, and can resist the appeal made to him by the young commonwealth of Liberia to contribute something to aid her in her noble struggle for national existence and the redemption of Africa ! Better that we should be found overzealous in a cause of such vast magnitude ; better that we embrace in our benevolent contemplations not only our own country and Africa, but the whole world of mankind, and exclaim, with the intention that the streams of our benevolence shall flow as far and as wide :—

"Take, freedom, take thy radiant round,
When dimm'd, revive ; when lost, return,
'Till not a shrine through earth be found
On which thy glories shall not burn !"

May we not, therefore, fondly hope that the exertions of the *Clergy*, and of others interested in this cause, will be more general and zealous than heretofore, and that they will be attended by correspondent success ? We are greatly indebted to the *Clergy* for their past voluntary and unrequited labors, and their prompt and liberal aid. With no class of the American people has African colonization been a subject of more anxious solicitude, and none have rendered it more liberal or cordial support. It forms a theme peculiarly worthy of a Christian's clo-

quence ;—it vibrates in harmony with the best and noblest feelings of the human heart ; and the mind itself expands and glows while contemplating its claims and its accomplishments ! In the language of the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, "There is a moral sublimity and beauty in this enterprise that deserve the favorable consideration of every patriot and statesman. It is not only a fountain of light, that will shed its healthful beams over the degraded African tribes, but it will reflect a moral influence upon ourselves, propitious to the best hopes of freedom. It is a living monument of philanthropy that we have elevated to the vision of an admiring world, that will most happily nourish the principles and cherish the spirit of enlightened liberty ! Where, in all the earth, can there be found a nobler, grander spectacle, than that of a *benevolent society* planting on the shores of a distant continent, the germs of a future empire of redeemed, liberated captives, and directing its councils and cares to establish a government upon kindred principles with our own !"

We, therefore, are convinced that no minister who prepares and delivers a discourse on this great subject, will ever regret it, but will find it one of his most pleasant as well as useful sermons. His own mind will be excited, the treasure of his thoughts enriched, and his benevolent emotions enlarged ; his people will be made acquainted with the principles and proceedings of the

Society ; and the most satisfactory and substantial aid will be obtained !

We would, therefore, ask every clergyman in the land, if we had the opportunity, this question—"Can you, in any other way, do as much good with as little labor and expense?"—and we would be willing to rest our claims on the answer which he would make, after having given the subject a fair and candid consideration !

If we dwell much and long on this subject, it is because we feel most deeply interested in it. It may be considered vital to the execution of our plans for the present year. In no other way can so much good be done as by inducing the Clergy, generally, to deliver discourses and take up contributions on or about the approaching Fourth of July.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the New York State Colonization Society.

THE lapse of another year in the history of colonization imposes on us the duty of noticing the prominent events that have occurred during that period, and of recognizing in them the hand and counsel of Him whose universal providence controls alike the mightiest and the most minute affairs of His vast empire.

In presenting this their annual report, while the board of managers deeply feel their obligations of gratitude to God for his favors to them and his blessing on the enterprise in which they are engaged, they would also record, with humility and becoming submission to the divine will, the bereavement they have suffered in the death of one of their number, Col. Wm. L. Stone, of this city. It is only by his removal to another and a higher sphere, that we have become really sensible of how large a space he occupied in those judicious counsels and efficient efforts by which the great enterprises of popular education, of philanthropy and Christian benevolence are promoted.

We do not hope in a passing sentence to pay any adequate tribute to his worth, or to portray the many and various excellencies of his character. The following sketch from the pen of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, we record as embodying our sentiments on this subject:

"Of the general character and influence of Col. Stone, it is not in our power adequately to speak. All, however, who have been familiar with the columns of the 'Commercial Advertiser,' know how continued and ardent was his attachment to this scheme of benevolence ; how powerful were his appeals in its behalf ; and how cutting were the rebukes, and convincing the arguments which he dealt out to those who were disposed to decry its pretensions, or oppose its progress. He had a large and benevolent heart, a vigorous and well-disciplined mind, and he was frank and fearless in the avowal of his opinions. To the enlarged views of a philanthropist, he added the expansive benevolence and fervent hope of a Christian. The combination of all these noble traits of character, gave to his advocacy of this cause, a consideration and an influence which few men are so fortunate as to acquire. He considered it as pre-eminently a scheme of philanthropy, designed to carry civilization and es.

tablish Christianity in a land all lost and ruined, and irredeemable by any other process of benevolence. Hence, while he explained its principles, demonstrated its practicability, and enforced its importance, he drew from the great treasury of Christian love, motives broad and deep as the woes of man, and vast as eternity, to excite the careless and selfish to give it their support.

"But he has been called, in the vigor of his intellect and the strength of his faculties, to a higher sphere! While we weep over his tomb, may we emulate his virtues and sacredly cherish the memory of his worth!"

Ere the profound emotions of grief and regret at the decease of Col. Stone had become assuaged, we were called to mourn the sudden departure of one of our vice presidents, dear to the whole Christian community, and especially prized and beloved by us for his efficient services as a presiding officer in our board in former years, and his unabated zeal and attachment to our cause until the close of his useful life. We allude to the Rev. Dr. Milnor, late of this city. A man whose memory as a gentleman, a philanthropist, a devout Christian and a zealous, faithful minister of the gospel, will be cherished by this and succeeding generations with an affectionate reverence, so profound as to preclude all attempts at successful eulogium.

Nor are these the only bereavements which the cause of colonization has suffered during the past year. Death seems to have selected as its victims some of the most distinguished patrons of this enterprise! The Hon. Alexander Porter, of Louisiana, the Hon. Abel P. Upshur, of Vir-

ginia, vice presidents of the American Colonization Society, and the Hon. Roger Minott Sherman, president of the Connecticut State Colonization Society, have all, within a little more than the last twelve months, closed their public career and made their final exit from earth. This has occasioned a large blank in the catalogue of distinguished names enrolled on the lists of our patrons. Nor would we omit an obituary notice of the young and enterprising, the noble and self-sacrificing Dr. Wesley Johnson, the patron of learning in Liberia, who fell a victim to his prolonged residence and arduous labors in this cause, in Africa.

We may, however, deduce from the removal of these efficient and illustrious patrons the salutary moral, that we are not to trust in an arm of flesh, nor make man our confidence, but look up to that God who of "the stones can raise up children unto Abraham," and confide in him for the reinforcement of that human instrumentality and for all those appliances by which our enterprise is to be carried forward and consummated.

In the labors of the past year, and in their results, the board have gratifying and encouraging evidence of a reviving interest and a returning confidence in the cause of colonization in this state. When the condition of the enterprise at the commencement of the year, and the peculiar political excitement of the year, are taken into consideration, it is not to be reasonably expected that any great success would signalize the labors of

that period. The fact that during most of the previous year there was no Corresponding Secretary, and no regular and well-qualified agents in the whole field, no information by lectures or publications diffused amongst the people, together with other causes previously operating against it, will readily account for an almost total annihilation of interest and sympathy in the cause of colonization. Nor was this the only disadvantage under which we began and prosecuted the labors of the past year. The lingering effects of the late prostration and pecuniary pressure of the country, were still felt. The year was one of intense, tumultuous, maddened political excitement, which so absorbed the majority of minds everywhere, as to leave them neither time nor inclination to listen or attend to the sober claims of philanthropy and Christian benevolence, whilst the prodigal and enormous expenditure of money on the presidential election, rendered it extremely difficult to procure liberal donations to our cause. To this state of things we may attribute another embarrassment with which we have had to contend, viz: that we have been unable to secure the services of even one efficient agent constantly during the year. But notwithstanding these obstacles the cause of colonization has been perceptibly advanced within the last twelve months, and is now looking up from its former depression with a commingling of smiles and tears on its face!

During the last summer and autumn, most of the towns and cities on the great line of travel from this place to Buffalo, have been visited by the Corresponding Secretary. Access has been gained to pulpits on the Sabbath, and an opportunity thus afforded of exhibiting to large congregations the great evangelic aspect and bearing of colonization on Africa, and of urging the claims of this enterprise, as a medium of sustaining Christian missions there, on the sympathies, the prayers and liberality of all those who CONSISTENTLY desire and labor for the conversion of the whole world. Numerous lectures were delivered during the week, adapted to correct misapprehensions on this subject, and intended to explain the nature and legitimate aims of the enterprise, and to diffuse information respecting the present condition of Liberia in its social, political and religious relations. Much interest appeared to be excited by a simple statement of the undeniable facts in the present prosperous and growing condition of the colonies, many doubts as to the practicability of the enterprise dissipated by the unparalleled success of the commonwealth of Liberia, as attested by credible witnesses on the spot, and many new friends and patrons gained to the cause.

That the amount of funds collected during the year has not been proportioned to the exertions made and to the intrinsic merits and pressing wants of the cause, is very true.

And yet, in view of the magnitude and number of the obstacles already noticed, it has, perhaps, been as large as might be reasonably expected. The Treasurer's report shows, exclusive of the balance in the treasury, an increase of \$2,707 27 over the preceding year. The entire receipts of the year just closing have been \$5,751 93: Sundry articles of merchandize and books to the amount of \$150.

In view of these facts we feel our zeal and our moral courage revived, and we humbly hope in God for greater things in behalf of our cause in the course of the year on which we are now entering.* The past year has furnished ample and gratifying evidence that the enterprise of colonization, throughout the whole country, has secured the returning confidence, the increasing interest and liberal patronage of many of the most substantial members of the great American community. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of collecting funds, to which we have adverted, the receipts of the American Colonization Society show an *increase* over those of the previous year. The Society has sent out three expeditions to Liberia during the past year. One in the brig "Lime Rock," from New Orleans, containing ninety-two emigrants; the next in the ship "VIRGINIA," from Norfolk, containing fifty-eight emigrants, and the third in the brig "Chipola," from Baltimore, contain-

ing twenty-one emigrants who had been liberated by Joseph H. Wilson, Esq., of Kentucky, and furnished by him with a liberal outfit. And such is now the increasing disposition on the part of masters to liberate, and on the part of slaves to emigrate, that many during the past year have been anxious to go but have been prevented, the resources of the Society being entirely inadequate to the demands of this kind made upon it. The Society has succeeded in securing a greater number of well-qualified agents to traverse different sections of the country this year than it has had in its employ for a considerable time past.

In some of the most unpromising fields, pulpits, which have been closed for years, are beginning *now* to be opened again for the presentation of this cause, under the conviction that the exclusion of colonization formerly was a mistaken and costly peace-offering to a spirit that has never been conciliated by it, and which would drive the stern ploughshare of ruin over the churches themselves, rather than fail to carry out its ultra principles. In Massachusetts, within the last twelve months, from twenty to fifty pulpits have welcomed back again the hitherto exiled cause of colonization! After all the abuse and misrepresentation it has encountered, pastors and people recognize in colonization a *healthy conservatism*, vitally impor-

* We have the prospect of securing the services of one or two efficient and energetic agents for the year to come, and the hope of gaining access to pulpits that have hitherto been closed against us.

tant to the integrity of the churches in these times of intense excitement.

In answer to a circular addressed by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Colonization Society to secretaries of state societies, and other distinguished friends of colonization, making various enquiries in regard to the present state of the cause in their different sections of the country, there is indisputable proof that the enterprise is decidedly prosperous and destined to triumphant success. This testimony comes from men of sound judgment, large experience and discriminating observation. From the Hon. Judge Burnet, of Cincinnati; the Hon. R. M. Sherman, of Connecticut; Richard Henry Lee, Professor in W. C., Pennsylvania; Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio; Professor Simon Greenleaf, of Cambridge, Massachusetts; Rev. Philip Linsley, D. D., of Nashville, Tennessee; besides other respectable individuals of various professions. In view of their answers the Secretary remarks:

"They furnish a mass of concurrent testimony in favor of this great cause which cannot be gainsayed, or resisted. In view of them, it is impossible to doubt that colonization has a deep seat in the affections, and a strong hold on the benevolence of the great body of our countrymen who have given to it the slightest attention. They also fully show that a cause so admirably designed to benefit our own country, and so adapted to dispense the richest blessings to the whole African race, can be sustained, and rendered effectual in accomplishing the great ends contemplated!"

The principal cause which has operated to produce this reaction in

favor of colonization, and to settle the confidence of the most intelligent portion of the community in it as a *practicable* scheme of lofty philanthropy and benevolence, is *its actual success* as exhibited in the present condition of the colonies of Liberia. Their peaceful and prosperous condition—their improvement in every thing that adds to their physical power and resources, and tends to their social, political, intellectual and moral elevation, has been amply proven by communications from disinterested witnesses on the spot, whose testimony none will have the temerity to dispute. Some of this testimony we shall present as briefly as possible:

Captain Wm. M. Hanbury, of New Orleans, says:

"That the present colonies of Liberia are destined to become a great, flourishing and powerful nation, I am fully convinced. I have dined frequently with the inhabitants in company with the officers of the American Navy, the Governor of the Colony, and other respectable citizens of Monrovia. They live well, and have plenty of every thing around them."

Commodore Perry, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Navy about a year since, says:

"It is gratifying to witness the comforts that most of these people have gathered about them; many of them are familiar with luxuries which were unknown to the early settlers of America. Want would seem to be a stranger among them. If any do suffer, it must be the consequence of their own idleness.

"At all the settlements the established laws are faithfully administered, the morals of the people are good, and the houses of religion are well attended; in truth, the

settlers, as a community, appear to be strongly imbued with religious feelings.

"On the whole, sir, I cannot but think most favorably of these settlements. The experiment of establishing the free colored people of the United States upon this coast has succeeded beyond the expectations of many of the warmest friends of colonization, and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the parent settlers are destined to become an intelligent and a thriving people."

"Increasing attention has been given to the education of the rising generation. The colonial council are concerting measures for establishing a general system of public schools, in which efficient and competent teachers shall be employed, and a thorough course of instruction be given.

"The spirit of improvement has been abroad in the colony. The *Liberia Herald* says: 'The number of buildings at present going up in the colony, as well as those undergoing repairs, is truly cheering.' A large stone jail has been erected in Monrovia. Also a most substantial, well-constructed and commodious Court House has been completed. This edifice is built of the stone with which Cape Mesurado abounds. It stands on a site which commands a beautiful view of the lower part of the town—overlooks the bay and anchoring ground, the bar and entrance into the river, Stockton creek, Mesurado river, and a vast extent of the interior country. It is thirty feet by forty in the clear. The first story, which is occupied as the court room, is twelve feet four inches high, from the floor, which is brick, to the ceiling.

"The second story is fitted up for a council chamber. It is a large airy room, reached by two flights of stairs of easy ascent and good workmanship. The legislature met there last March. The third story is divided into jury rooms, offices, &c. The windows of this substantial building are all arched, with shutters made of durable wood, and well painted. The building cost \$4,500, and has been paid for entirely by the commonwealth.

"The light house on the top of the Cape has also been completed. This is a substantial building, two stories high, with a cupola sufficiently elevated to be seen from any direction, and in any weather, at a distance of ten or twelve miles, unless when a thick fog covers the very Cape itself.

"The commerce and trade of the colony have been steadily on the increase. According to the official returns, the imports for a single quarter exceeded \$40,000, and the exports were about the same. The country has immense resources. It only requires industry and indomitable perseverance to develop them.

"It is worthy of remark in this connection, that the receipts into the colonial treasury, chiefly from import duties, were sufficient to meet the current expenses of the commonwealth. These receipts would be vastly increased if all the sea coast was under the jurisdiction of the colony, by which smuggling and the introduction of goods free of duty would be prevented."

The statistics of their agriculture for the last year, are as follows:

"Coffee trees, 21,197; Acres sugar cane, 54; Acres in rice, 62; Do. Indian corn, 105; Do. Ground nuts, 31; Do. Potatoes and Yams, 306; Do. Cassada, 326. Acres owned, 2,534; Under cultivation, 948. Cattle, 71; Sheep and Goats, 214; Swine 285; Ducks and Hens, 119 doz.; Total value owned by farmers, \$21,775."

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Governor Roberts, says:

"I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. Agriculture is in a steadily progressive state, and continues to be a subject of much interest to many of our citizens. It is calling up, in a greater degree than formerly, the attention of men of capital; and when such improvements have been introduced, as the present system requires, it will doubtless become a general source of affluence."

By the last advices from Liberia, it appears that Governor Roberts is likely to succeed in purchasing the territory of "New Sesters," thereby not only extending the jurisdiction and augmenting the physical resources of the colony, but annihilating a slave factory which has long been in operation there. He has already effected the purchase of the remainder of the Little Bassa country, and is communicating with the native chiefs along the coast with a view, as speedily as the means can be furnished, of purchasing the entire territory between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas.

The relations of the colony with the native tribes have been of the most friendly character, during the year. Peace has been steadily maintained. This has resulted, as Governor Roberts remarks :

"Generally from a conviction that we consider them almost a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests. The attachment of the natives is gaining strength daily, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practiced towards them. They continue to refer to the authorities of the colony, for the adjustment of all their important disputes ; and I believe in every instance, we have succeeded in settling them amicably ; thereby preventing wars, and the great calamities that would necessarily follow."

A very remarkable instance in proof of the powerful influence exerted over the most warlike tribes by the government of Liberia, is cited in the case of a dispute which threatened to involve the whole *Goulah* country in a cruel war with the *Condoes*. It was referred to the *Legislature* of

Liberia by *Ballasada*, a *Goulah* chief and was happily settled, and the two tribes have continued to live in peace and harmony ever since. That the influence of the colony is extending rapidly into the interior and along the coast, there cannot be a doubt.

We commend this fact especially to the notice of those who refuse to patronize colonization, on the plea that the policy of the colony of Liberia towards the natives is precisely like that of the original settlers of this country towards the Indians, *demoralizing* and *exterminative* !

While we are not willing to grant the truth of the objector's assumption, that such was, in all cases, the policy of the original settlers of this country towards the Indians, the above facts prove incontestibly that such is *not* the policy of the colony of Liberia towards the native Africans.

In estimating the present prosperity of the colonies, we must not overlook their moral and religious condition. They have but two dram-shops in their whole territory, and these are never permitted to be open on the Sabbath.

The following are the ecclesiastical statistics of Liberia :

"Churches, 23; Communicants, American, 1,014; Recaptured Africans, 116; Africans, 353; Total, 1,483."

A community like this, with a *Christian* governor at their head, are very likely not only to be in friendly relations with the native tribes, but to exert on them a most beneficent influence.

We have called Governor Roberts a *Christian* governor, for such in the judgment of charity it seems he is. The Corresponding Secretary of your Society wrote to Governor Roberts, inquiring whether he was a member of any Christian church, and stating that he, (the Secretary,) had received from a gentleman in Canandaigua, a silver cup, to be presented to the church in Liberia in which Governor Roberts worshiped. In answer to this, the governor replies as follows:

"I am happy to be able to inform you that I have long been a member of the M. E. Church, (upwards of 16 years,) and have not failed to find support and consolation in the religion of Christ, and the promises of the Gospel. I beg that you will present my acknowledgments to the donor of the cup to be presented to the church in Liberia in which I worship. It will no doubt be gratefully accepted by the church, and will be to me a remembrance of my friends in the United States, and remind me of the obligations I am under to God and my fellow men, and that I must give an account to the Great Governor of the universe for my stewardship here."

In his message to the colonial legislature, when referring to the treaties which he had made with the surrounding tribes during the year, he remarks:

"These treaties will have the effect of bringing the natives into a closer connexion with the colony—cause them to identify our interests with their own, and will no doubt ultimately have the happy effect of drawing them from their present condition of heathenism and idolatry to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Tribes far beyond us are now making

application for citizenship, and to be identified with us in laws and government."

"These facts, and this testimony of disinterested persons, which might be extended indefinitely, certainly show that Liberia is in a healthful and prosperous condition at present, and that it promises well for the future. We actually behold what Pitt thought would come to pass, when, thirty years ago, in his great speech in Parliament on the slave trade, he said: "

"We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupation of industry, in the pursuits of just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon that land, which at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent."

It is not wonderful that the actual results—the triumphant success of colonization, should now begin to react with power on the popular mind in this country, and secure the enlightened confidence and liberal patronage of the community.

Apart from this enterprise, have all the interest, excitement and efforts in this country in reference to the colored race effected any thing that will compare with the indisputable results of colonization?

"What, then, has colonization done? It has laid the foundation of an empire in the commonwealth of Liberia. *There it is*—on the coast of Africa, a little north of the equator, in the central regions of African barbarism, and of the slave trade. *There* are four colonies and twelve Christian settlements, dotting a coast of about 300 miles,

extending their domain, by fair negotiation, back into the interior and along the Atlantic shore, the whole incorporated into a federal republic, after the model of our own, with like institutions, civil, literary, and religious, and composed of Africans and descendants of Africans, most of whom were emancipated from bondage in this country for the purpose, some of whom were recaptured from slave ships, and a small part of whom are adopted natives that have come in to join them. *There* is Christian civilization and the government of law; *there* is a civil jurisprudence and polity; *there* are courts and magistrates, judges and lawyers; *there* are numerous Christian churches, well supplied with ministers of the gospel; *there* are schools, public libraries, and a respectable system of public education; *there* is a public press and two journals, one monthly, and one semi-monthly; *there* are rising towns and villages; *there* are the useful trades and mechanic arts, a productive agriculture and increasing commerce; in their harbors are to be found ships trading with Europe and America, and the exports are increasing from year to year; and all this the creation of somewhat less than twenty years—an achievement of which there is no parallel in history. Not one of the first settlements of our own country, at the north or south, ever accomplished so much in so short a time; not one of them that did not suffer more in its early history by sickness, and famine, and war, and other disasters incident to colonization. In a word, they constitute the germ of a rising and prosperous, and peradventure, of a mighty empire. And, though last, yet not least, they have done more for the suppression of the slave trade than Great Britain with her Spanish treaty, and all the world put together. They have done *much* in this cause; they began the right way; while all else that has been done, by all the world, is literally worse than nothing. And *these* deeds are the product—the work of the American Colonization Society.”

The bearing of colonization on the

extinction of the slave trade was never so apparent nor so promising as at the present time. In his last letter Gov. Roberts remarks:—“Nothing particularly interesting has occurred since my return from the U. S. excepting that a few weeks ago I succeeded in breaking up a slave establishment near little Cape Mount and liberated four slaves, lads from 12 to 15 years of age, who have been placed in the families of colonists.” And if he has succeeded, as we suppose he has, in purchasing the territory of New Sesters, then the slave trade is completely annihilated between the two extremes of colonial jurisdiction!

It is striking to observe how the popular mind both in this country and Great Britain is losing confidence in the efficiency of armed squadrons on the seas to suppress this infamous traffic. The British and foreign anti-slavery society has petitioned Parliament to discontinue an armed force for the suppression of the slave trade, on the well ascertained ground that the evils and horrors of transporting slaves are greatly increased by it, while the numbers annually transported are by no means diminished. Capt. Harris, who was sent to Africa and charged especially by the British government to investigate the matter and report the best method of extinguishing the slave trade, gives it as his deliberate conviction and his matured, decided opinion, that the remedy lies not in armed squadrons on the seas, but must be one of a kind that can be applied to *Africa herself*. He declares, in the most unequivocal

terms, that the slave trade can never be abolished while the barbarous and pagan spirit of Africa herself is in its favor. The only remedy which he thinks at all adapted to remove the evil is the *civilization and Christianization* of the native Africans themselves! The very work which colonization is not only adapted to effect but is now actually and rapidly effecting.

Some of the British journals are entering warmly into Capt. Harris's views on this subject, and are showing the enormous expenditure of sustaining a squadron on the African coast, and its utter incapability of effecting the object contemplated. The conviction is growing, even in the minds of irreligious men, that if Africa is to be saved from the ravages and perpetual desolations of slavery and the slave trade, it must be by pervading her with the institutions of civilization and Christianity. The benefits of these institutions our colonies at Liberia have not only conferred on some fifteen or twenty thousand of the natives contiguous to them, but have extended some knowledge of them, and waked up a spirit of inquiry and a desire for improvement through a distance of more than two hundred miles into the interior. It requires no prophetic gift to predict that the time is not far distant when the enlightened patriots, philanthropists and Christians of all countries will direct their attention to *colonization* in connection with *Christian missions* as the

great remedy for the slave trade, the barbarism and all the overgrown, gigantic evils that have so long burnt in their curses on seared and bleeding Africa.

And now may we not in conclusion, in view of the actual results and unparalleled success of the enterprise, ask whether the friends of colonization have ever had so great reason as at present to congratulate themselves, that through discouragements, opposition and conflict, they have steadily adhered to this cause and labored and prayed for its promotion? Their most sanguine hopes respecting it are this day more than realized. It is no matter of surprise that the confidence and patronage of an enlightened community are returning and *increasing* upon this enterprise. Without instituting any invidious comparison, may we not ask whether there is any benevolent scheme of the age so comprehensive of good, and so multiform in its benign relations and bearings on the best interests of aggrieved and oppressed humanity? It furnishes the proscribed, disfranchised colored man of this country, an asylum where he enjoys the social equality, the civil immunities, and the political rights and privileges of a citizen in a wise and well-ordered republican government, and where he has all those appliances for the development of his intellect, and all those lures to his hopes of eminence and distinction, which, under God, have made such men as Gov. Roberts, Judge Bene-

dict, and other leading minds in the commonwealth of Liberia. It reacts on the minds of slave holders in this country in favor of emancipation, because it furnishes the only condition on which *they* regard it honorable and benevolent for them to liberate their slaves.

It carries the blessings of civilization in the only effective form in which they can ever be brought to bear upon Africa herself. It absolutely annihilates the slave trade on the coast as far as colonial jurisdiction extends. It protects and fosters Christian missions, and therefore has proved *the only* means by which evangelic efforts in Africa have been to any extent practicable or successful. With so comprehensive adaptations and tendencies for good to this country and to Africa, and with so triumphant results already realized, the matter of surprise is that the giant energies of this nation, as of one man, are not roused, rallied and concentrated on colonization as the hope of the colored race in two hemispheres, and a twice-blessed work of beneficence and mercy. How irresistible ought to be the appeal of the commonwealth of Liberia to the heart of every American patriot who loves republican government and in-

stitutions ! That commonwealth is the first attempt by the citizens of this country to plant in a foreign land the peculiar political institutions of their own. 'That which the Scriptures so beautifully describe as a truth in the natural history of the parent Eagle, seems now to be metaphorically true of our national Eagle: "She stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them upon her wings."

Ours has borne away her firstling and left him on the heights of Cape Mesurado, to mount thence on his circling ascent towards the sun, and to shed from his wings the blessings of republican liberty on Africa.

And how powerful the impulse upon the heart of every American Christian, who loves and values civil and religious freedom, to make such a political community on the coast, the medium through which to spread that glorious gospel whose Dove mounts on a loftier flight and purer wings than eagles', bearing in its beak the olive branch of proffered peace from Heaven to man, and diffusing from every point in its upward, shining way, the light and infinite blessings of that "liberty wherewith Christ maketh free."

[Reported for the African Repository.]

Annual Meeting of the New York Colonization Society.

THE thirteenth anniversary of the New York Colonization Society was held on Wednesday evening, May 7, in the Rev. Dr. Mason's Church, Bleeker street, N. Y. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., presided. The

Rev. Dr. Cone read the 35th chapter of Isaiah, and the blessing of God was invoked by the Rev Dr. De Witt.

The choir of the church then sang in a beautiful and expressive manner, the fol-

lowing ode, written for the occasion by Mrs. Mary M. Thompson :

A voice comes from Liberia,
It sounds across the sea ;
It rises o'er the mountain top,
It swells along the lea :
It issues from dark Afric's wild,
In accents loud and strong :
(There roams the sable savage child—
There sounds the hunter's song.)

It calls for help from those whose sires
Were once in bondage laid ;
A few have kindled sacred fires
On altars newly made.
There, bending in the spicy groves,
They send up fervent prayer ;
And where the idol god has stood,
Now stands a temple there.

And oh ! will those who once have felt
The darkness and the thrall,
Sit calm, and coldly close their ears
To Ethiop's anxious call ?
It cannot be !—for Afric's sons,
With hearts and hands set free,
Will bear to those benighted ones
Light, Life, and Liberty !

The Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Dr. Carroll, then read the annual report.

The Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, was then introduced to the meeting, and offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization, by the greatness of the objects which it contemplates, and the success which has attended its operations, commends itself to every patriot, philanthropist and Christian, and demands their cordial sympathy and support.

Mr. McLain pointed out the objects of the Society, and the great good it designed and would accomplish. The prospects and probabilities of colonization were boundless for good. This subject was thoroughly identified with Christianity, and would make advancements as Christianity advanced.

He showed the immense good which colonization would achieve for the colored people in our own country—and that it was the only hope for Africa, and the only effectual means of arresting the slave trade.

He depicted, in glowing language, the unprecedented and unparalleled wrongs and miseries of Africa, despoiled and made the battle ground of ancient nations, and plundered and pierced by all the modern ; prostrate and torn on every side.

It was a land where the Prince of Darkness had drawn his bloodiest sword. From this land could be heard the wailing cry, and seen those streaks of darkness which were impressed upon every thing there. A curse bound inheritance was hers. For centuries, Africa had sat in sackcloth and ashes. The concentrated ills of perpetual bondage were hers. All nations robbed her, and rioted in her weakness. She stood hemmed in by all Christendom, and was drained annually of more than 150,000 of her people.

For a hundred generations she had been shrouded in darkness, and was now just greeting the streaks of the day of her redemption, adorned but by a single civilized State, Liberia, a gem upon her dark and lacerated bosom. Mr. McLain spoke particularly of that colony as comparing well with our own early colonies ; as having exerted an influence for the overthrow of the slave trade, and bound themselves in amity by treaty with a native population of some 75,000 souls.

Liberia sheds a new beauty for three hundred miles along the coast. Heroic men—an Ashmun, a Buchanan, and many others—had sacrificed their lives, and the foundation of a new empire of Christian free-men had been laid at a cost of less than \$700,000. This had been done in the face of opposition from the South and the North, amid the reproaches of foes and the apathy and indifference of professed friends. He insisted that the Society deserved aid from all—from patriots, philanthropists, and Christians—as an enterprise for civilization, for liberty and for missions. It was comparatively weak, in its infancy ; it needed support ; it was laid as a foundling, at the door of all Christians, and they should protect, defend, and sustain it as their adopted child.

The cause of colonization was then defended, and its merits of good compared

with other enterprises, to show that it had done more, in a shorter time, than any other enterprise.

He closed his address with an urgent appeal for funds to enable the Society to carry forward its stupendous operations.

After singing an ode by the choir, the Rev. Dr. Parker, of Philadelphia, then rose and offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the providence of God in accomplishing great national objects should encourage us in the work of colonization.

The speaker was anxious to impress upon his hearers the manner in which God acted for the improvement of the races of man.

If we ascertain something of the laws of God's providence in effecting great national changes, (said Dr. P.,) it is wise for us to fall in with them. How was the providence of God towards Israel? He sent them into slavery—into bondage among a people then the most learned and wise of all the nations, and he left them in slavery four hundred years. Then how did He bring them out? Not by the Egyptians—but by a high hand He raised up men among themselves to be their leaders, and planted them as a colony in a distant land, when in 700 years they became the most eminent and illustrious, if we regard their whole character, of all the nations of the world.

This to human reason may seem strange; but it has ever been God's providence to overcome by the weak. Again: when the advent of Christ drew nigh, the Jews were dispersed abroad, sent into bondage among the Romans, and they built their synagogues, and worshiped the God of their fathers in their exile and their slavery, and thus contributed, when apostles selected and endowed went forth to preach the gospel from Jerusalem, and they received it, to spread the truth through all the boundaries of the Roman empire. Their synagogues became churches in which, with renovated Pagans, they worshiped Him who was crucified.

So of our Puritan fathers. They fled from oppression, in which the rights of con-

science were violated, and in many cases the best and noblest men were cast down, who sealed their attachment to truth with the sacrifice of all things, and in not a few cases with their blood. How slow was their early growth, how severe their discipline and trials; but when three millions, they rose a free nation—and now nearly twenty millions, their course is onward and who shall prescribe limits to their numbers or power? God has sent millions of Africans to be educated among us—thousands are now, (in an important sense,) educated, and we have sent to Africa a fac simile of our institutions; and under circumstances far more auspicious than attended the planting of the colonies in this country. The African colonists were doing far more for the natives in their country than our fathers did for the natives here. This, in the view of the speaker, was the design of God. It was the manner in which he acted for the accomplishment of great good. Some of our fathers saw, as with the ken of prophecy, what must be the result of the colonies that had been planted here. He predicted a corresponding triumph for Africa.

It is common, in God's providence, that great things and changes move on slowly, and then grow great suddenly. It has been so in our history, we may expect the same to be true of Liberia.

You have seen Governor Roberts. He is modest, unpretending—his messages are marked by good sense and judgment—he moves on steadily—his policy is peace and good will to the natives and to all men. Should we live a hundred years, (and we shall, in this world or another from which we may observe this) we may be surprised at the opinions then entertained of this Liberian Governor. The greatness of great men is not felt by their associates and the generation that surrounds them, who see their faults, as by those in after times.

The time would come for honoring Governor Roberts, as the time had come for honoring the name of Washington. From 3,000, Liberia would become 100,000—from

a few vessels, she would be the owner of fleets. The ratio would run up and the colony would loom up in the charity of this world. She would appeal to us to endow her colleges and her schools.

We have had enough of dreaming philanthropy—enough of what had been called liberty—in tones that claimed to reach to Heaven, but in language of hellish excitement. The practical friends of the colored man were denounced by those who had done nothing for his good.

God's providence should encourage us. This colony when it rises to a population of fifty thousand, and is extending far abroad in Africa its influence, may bind to it the hearts of the colored race in all this continent, and the men of energy among them may hasten to that shore, and thus that colony now so feeble may suddenly expand itself, and cast its broad protection over the bleeding form of Africa. God, to use a quaint word of Bishop Hall, may do by a *fetch* this great work, and compass more than our sanguine hopes anticipate. It seems evi-

dent to me that he has sent these Africans among us for a great design of good to their race, let us discern this wisdom before the whole plan is accomplished. Let us break our boxes of precious ointments when we have them, and enjoy as well as impart their fragrance.

I noticed, said Dr. P., the allusion of my brother to the Eagle as an emblem of our liberty, and of the propagation of this liberty in Africa. Surely that glorious Eagle must expand its wings and triumph there.

The gray forest Eagle, where, where has he sped,
Does he shrink to his cyrie and shiver with dread?
Does the glare blind his eye? Has the terrible blast
On the wing of the sky king a fear-fetter cast?
No, no, the brave Eagle; he thinks not of fright,
The wrath of the tempest but rouses delight,
To the flash of the lightning his eye casts a gleam,
To the shriek of the wild blast he echoes his scream,
And with front like a warrior that speeds to the fray,
And a clapping of pinions he's up and away,
Away, O away soars he fearless and free,
What recks the sky's strife, its monarch is he.

The doxology was then sung, and the meeting adjourned.

The Slave Trade.

"BRITISH slave trading exterminated? It is a lie. There is no other word appropriate to the case. It is a lie—a gross, a palpable, an 'enormous' lie. It is proved to be a lie by Zulueta's trial. It is proved to be a lie by Mr. Foster's white-washing committee."

Such was the exclamation of a London editor, about a year ago. Is it true? and if true, what apology, what palliation can be offered? Here is the report of Zulueta's trial,—a London pamphlet of ninety-six pages,—and here is the report of "Mr. Foster's white-washing committee;" and here are other documents relating to the same subject.—Let us examine them.

Pedro de Zulueta, jr., of the firm

of Zulueta & Co., London, was tried before the Central Criminal Court of the city of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th of October, 1843, on a charge of slave trading. It is not necessary to fatigue our readers with all the complicated details of the evidence. The facts material to the present question are as follows:

Zulueta & Co. were commission merchants, transacting business for Don Pedro Martinez, of Cadiz; Pedro Martinez & Co., of Havana; Blanco & Cavallo, of Havana; and others, in South America and the West Indies. From those houses, they received consignments of sugar,

cochineal, and other merchandize, which they sold, and disposed of the proceeds according to instructions received. Zulueta knew, from common report, that Martinez, of Cadiz, and Martinez & Co., of Havana, were engaged in the slave trade. He knew, in the same way, that Gallinas, on the west coast of Africa, was a slave mart; though he professed not to know that there was no lawful commerce there. In the course of twenty years, he had shipped goods to the amount of £20,000, or £22,000, to Africa, nearly all of which was shipped to Gallinas, on account of Martinez, and Martinez & Co. These goods appeared to be such as might be used for lawful purposes, but are needed for the purchase and subsistence of slaves. They had been consigned to different persons; sometimes to Pedro Blanco, who, Zulueta said, "was, for a certain time, an agent of Pedro Martinez on the coast." They also accepted bills drawn by Pedro Blanco and other "people on the coast," to be paid out of funds in their hands belonging to Martinez, Martinez & Co., or Blanco & Cavallo.

In 1839, a vessel called the *Golupchick*, under the Russian flag, but with a Spanish master and crew, and fully equipped for the slave trade, was captured on the coast of Africa, and sent to England, where the Russian consul interfered, and at length she was sold at auction. There was some uncertainty as to the real purchaser. The ostensible purchaser was Thomas Jennings, who had

long been in the employment of Pedro Martinez. The purchase money was furnished by Zulueta & Co., on account of Martinez; and the vessel was mortgaged to Martinez as security. Zulueta at first instructed Jennings not to give more than £500, but afterwards paid £650. She was supposed to be worth £1,400. The vessel was then named the *Augusta*, and chartered by Martinez, through Zulueta & Co., for a voyage to Gallinas, with Jennings as master. She was taken from Portsmouth to Liverpool, received a cargo suitable for the African trade, and sailed for Gallinas; Zulueta paying the bills, on account of Martinez. She was consigned to three notorious slave traders at Gallinas.

On leaving the Irish channel, a heavy gale came on; the ship was damaged and endangered, and the crew insisted on putting back to Cork, not more than one hundred miles distant, with a fair wind; but Jennings pressed on for nineteen days, against adverse winds, to Cadiz. From Cadiz she carried letters from Martinez to the consignees at Gallinas. There was proof that touching at Cadiz for these letters was a part of the original plan of the voyage, as understood by Martinez and Jennings. The letters contained abundant instructions concerning certain slave trading operations; and one of them authorized the consignees to employ the *Augusta* in procuring supplies for the slaves on hand, or articles for the purchase of other slaves; and adds:—"You may

also employ the aforesaid vessel in any matter of extreme urgency, and in the service of that factory; for I feel assured that the master will object to nothing." On arriving off Gallinas, she was taken by a British cruiser, sent to Sierra Leone, and there condemned. Her guilty connection with the slave trade was so evident from the letters found on board, that Jennings attempted no defence.

Zulueta's trial was for his participation in fitting out the *Augusta*. The question was, whether he was aware of the character of her voyage. The letters put on board at Cadiz would not be used against him; though they would have been good against Jennings had he been on trial. The verdict was "NOT GUILTY."

It appears, then, that in England a man may act as agent of the most notorious slave traders on earth, knowing such to be their uncontradicted and unquestioned reputation; that he may buy and charter vessels for them, to be used in the slave trade; purchase and ship supplies for the slaves in the barracoons, and goods to be bartered for slaves, and accept and pay their bills growing out of their slave trading transactions, and it is all lawful; provided that he knows the character of the business only by common report. If he should receive and execute an order to buy and ship so many pieces of cotton *to be used in the slave trade*, he would be guilty; but if he receives an order from a notorious

slave trader to buy so many pieces of cotton and ship them to well-known slave traders at Gallinas, where there is no trade but the slave trade; and if he only executes that order, asking no questions for conscience's sake, it is all right.

The advantage which slave traders may derive from such an agency in England, are manifest. The slaves must be bought, almost wholly, with goods of British manufacture. The means of carrying on the trade are procured, of necessity, principally in England; and the rest in the United States, and other countries where the slave trade is unlawful. Agents in the countries from which the necessary articles must be procured, who can buy and ship them *innocently*, are almost indispensable to the existence of the traffic, and quite indispensable to its most successful prosecution. Don Pedro Martinez is perfectly aware of the value of these arrangements. In one of the letters found on board the *Augusta*, dated "Cadiz, December 10, 1840," and addressed to "Don Ignacio Perez Rollo, Gallinas," one of the consignees, he says:—"The friends at New York and London have replied to me, relative to their being willing to satisfy the bills you may draw on them; *which would facilitate giving a somewhat greater impulse to business.*" No doubt it would, as it would enable them to purchase cotton, gunpowder, rum, and tobacco, more advantageously; but how are Zulueta & Co., of London, or Peter Harmony & Co., of New

York, on whom he was to draw in preference, to know whether those bills represented the profits of the slave trade, or of the trade in palm oil, sugar, or cochineal? If the latter, it is evidently an honest business.

Let us repress our indignation for a few moments, and look at this matter calmly. Our laws on this subject, we believe, are somewhat stricter than those of England; but might nothing of the kind happen here? Suppose that Martinez sends a cargo of Mexican goods, the produce of "free labor"—for he deals largely in such—to Peter Harmony & Co., who sell them for him. He then authorizes "Don Ignacio Perez Rollo, of Gallinas," to buy so many pieces of cotton of any American trader whom he may find at Cape Mount, or Sherbro, or the Rio Grande, and pay for it by drawing bills on Peter Harmony & Co. It is a very great convenience to the slave trader; but what is to be done about it? Peter Harmony owes the money, and must pay it; even if he knows what the cotton was bought for.

Take another case. In our April number we gave an account of the sale of the *Atalanta*, of New York, to slave traders, and of her sailing for Havana with more than 400 slaves on board. Suppose that some agent of Martinez was the purchaser, which is not at all improbable; that he paid Captain Johnson for the *Atalanta* by a draft on Peter Harmony & Co.; and that they are indebted to Martinez, as before sup-

posed. In such a case, the New York house owes the money, and must pay it.

In fact, it is impossible for any merchant absolutely to secure his business against the possibility of being made indirectly subservient to the convenience of slave traders. Guard himself as he can, something that he sells may get into their hands; and the price of something that he buys may go into their pockets. All that can reasonably be demanded of a merchant, is, that he shall make no *voluntary* contribution to their success.

Another consideration. If Zulueta & Co. had no capital of their own, Martinez could not safely trust them with property, nor could they successfully transact his business, to the amount of some tens of thousands annually. It takes British capital to make a good London agent for a Spanish slave trader. British capital is employed in the agency for "sugar and cochineal," and so gets mixed up with the Spanish capital that trades in sugar, cochineal, *and slaves*, and thus becomes subservient to the slave trade. Any one may see how easy it is for a British merchant, of more avarice than conscience, to let his capital get mixed up in this way, to almost any extent, without exposing himself to the law. And who can doubt that it is done—deliberately and profitably done—to a vast amount? Not improbably, more than half the capital employed in the slave trade, is British; and very possibly, a large part of the rest is

American. This, of course, is mere conjecture; for if we were able to prove it against any American merchant, we should soon stop his operations. Still, when we think of the immense profits of the slave trade, the facilities for indirect and undetected participation in it, and the supremacy of avarice in many minds, there can be no reasonable doubt on the subject.

We will now look at another, a more direct and more startling case of subserviency to the convenience of slave traders. Lieut. CHARLES H. BELL, of the U. S. brig *Dolphin*, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated "New York, July 28, 1840," says:

"Most of the slavers sent into Sierra Leone have such articles on board as are used in trafficking for slaves. When the vessels are condemned, these articles are sold at public auction—are purchased by an Englishman there who is said to be the agent of Pedro Blanco, the great slave dealer at Gallinas. Whether this is the case or not, is of little consequence; they are put on board of an English cutter belonging to this man, who carries them to Gallinas, and lands them at his pleasure. This is well known to every person at Sierra Leone; and, in conversation with the Governor, when he made some remarks on the shameful use of our flag in this trade, I spoke to him on the subject: stated that the slave trade was encouraged and abetted by such proceedings under the very eye of his Government. He said he was sensible of it; but, as this was a *legal* traffic, he could not prevent it. British as well as American and French merchant vessels are also engaged in supplying these slave stations with provisions, and even luxuries, for which they are well paid, and for want of which they could not exist."

Incredible as these statements may appear, their truth is more than admitted by "Mr. Foster's white-washing committee;" in other words, the "Select committee of the British

House of Commons, on the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa." That portion of their report, presented in August, 1842, which relates to the subject before us, we give entire:

"We now come to the question which has of late excited so much interest and feeling—that of the facilities which British commerce is charged with having furnished to the slave trade, and to the extent and nature of the connexion which exists between them—a question which must be considered dispassionately and soberly, rather with a view to what is best for the object, upon the whole, and to what is practicable, than to what might at first appear to be desirable, and what might be perhaps a partial good, producing possibly, in other ways, a greater evil. Now, in the first place, it is fair to state that we have no evidence, or reason to believe, that any British merchant, concerned in the trade with the west coast of Africa, either owns or equips any vessel engaged in the slave trade, or has any share in the risks or profits of any slave trade venture. The charge is this, and it must be admitted, that whether by selling condemned slave vessels back to slave dealers, which is the rarer case, or, which is the more common, by selling to slave dealers lawful goods, which are afterwards employed in barter for slaves, (whether circuitously by sale to merchants in Cuba and Brazil, or directly on the coast of Africa,) the British merchant and manufacturer does, in common with the merchants of other nations, furnish very considerable facilities for the slave trade.

"It must further be admitted, that, owing to the equipment article in our recent treaties, which has prevented the actual slaver from hovering on the coast in safety, a large portion of the goods necessary for the slave trade is driven into vessels innocent in their apparent character, but subserving the purposes of the slaver; and that, in consequence, a somewhat larger portion of this kind of traffic may possibly now pass directly from the English or other merchants to the coast of Africa than heretofore, when those supplies went round by Cuba and Brazil in the slavers themselves, without risk of capture.

"Now, an opinion has prevailed, and that in very influential quarters, and it runs through Doctor Madden's report, that at least such direct dealing is illegal, and punishable under the statute of 5 Geo. IV, c. 5; and, if not so already, the same parties would urge on Parliament to make it so by new enactment; and some even

would extend it to all connexion, however indirect, in which a guilty knowledge of the destination of the goods or of the vessel could be presumed. Now, this view of the act is not unnatural, owing to the general and comprehensive nature of its language, and to the desire which must naturally exist to understand it in as comprehensive a sense as possible, for the obstruction of so odious and detestable a traffic as the slave trade. But, looking closely at the language of the act itself, and to the interpretation put upon it by the law officers of the Crown, as alluded to by the under secretary of the colonies, in his letter to Doctor Madden, April, 1842, and to the opinion of the attorney general in the case, inserted in the evidence, we cannot affirm it to be illegal now, and we shall presently state to the House why, however reluctantly we may come to the conclusion, we are not prepared to recommend that it should be made so.

"Now, in the first place, it is difficult to consider or to make that illegal which is and has been done at Sierra Leone for years, by a court of judicature, (in doing so, acting under treaties and under the sanction of an act of Parliament, namely,) selling publicly, and to the highest bidder, prize vessels and prize goods condemned for slave dealing, indiscriminately, and without precaution or restriction, to persons of all descriptions, including slave dealers themselves, and which, in regard to vessels at least, had been practised in that colony, by persons of high character and station, unreprieved. But, if it should be made illegal hereafter to sell a vessel to a party concerned in the traffic in slaves, the next question, and one that a legislative body must consider, is, in what manner shall such a prohibition be enforced? A bond that the vessel shall not be disposed of to a slave dealer has been proposed; but how shall the vessel be prevented from passing very shortly from hand to hand, till it reaches an unlawful owner? And is it not unwise for the law to attempt that which it has so little means of effectually enforcing? There seems no remedy for this, which, at Sierra Leone, in the heart of the slave trade, and where the vessel is often sold for half its value, is an evil substantially as well as in feeling, but that of extending the provisions of those treaties which direct that a slave vessel shall be broken up, not sold, and altering our own municipal laws to the same effect.

"But, in regard to goods and merchandize, should the committee advise the House to make such dealing illegal? Now, all the witnesses, even those who advocate this view most strongly, admit that legitimate trade, by which is meant the exchange of merchandize for produce, is most bene-

ficial to Africa, and co-operates materially with the cruiser in his operations, whether directly by the assistance and information with which the British trader supplies him, or indirectly by diminishing the necessity of a trade in slaves, as the means of procuring European or other goods. They admit that nothing, therefore, would be more injurious to the interests of Africa than to interfere materially with the operations of lawful commerce. It appears, moreover, that in every place on the coast north of the line, (to which limits our inquiries have mainly been confined,) with the exception of perhaps two or three points, a lawful trade of more or less extent is, or has been, carried on contemporaneously with, and often, nay generally, by the same persons as the slave trade. They have told us that the same goods, such as cottons, rum, tobacco, guns, and gunpowder, are employed in both trades; and that, although those employed in the slave trade are often of an inferior description, yet that quality alone will not furnish the means of distinguishing between the one and the other, and that, practically, there are no means of making such a distinction; they have told us that any restriction on traffic which they would recommend must therefore be confined to places or persons *solely* or *principally* concerned in the slave trade, and that the law should not attempt to interfere with any other. The question still remains, how this is to be carried out.

"With regard to those places where the slave trade has been extinguished, no difficulty will arise; but with regard to those places, not few in number nor of slight importance, where, as in Bissao now, and as it has been, and may be again, in the Brass and Bonny rivers, the most important marts for lawful trade upon the coast of Africa, a trade in produce and slaves is carried on together, and by the same persons; or where, as in Whydah and Popo, a trade in produce has been gradually growing up and gaining upon the slave trade, in proportion as the enterprise of the British merchant pushes on the one, and the vigilance of the British cruiser checks and cripples the other, how should the Legislature deal with them? Shall they be lawful or unlawful ports or persons? What is to legalize the traffic in such cases? What proportion, or what positive amount, of lawful traffic? But, indeed, how is the lawful traffic to spring up at all under such circumstances of exclusion?

"Some witnesses have argued that this question of degree need not be defined, but may be left to be solved by the practical sense of a jury. By what jury? In England or at Sierra Leone? Under what uncertainties and obstructions would the most

scrupulous trader deal with the coast of Africa, if for the misinterpretation of such instructions, as the nature of such a case will admit, by a supercargo, his vessel and goods are liable to be brought some hundreds or thousands of miles out of their course, to have the question decided by a jury, whether some person or some factory dealt with was *principally* or not engaged in the slave trade, it being unlawful if *principally*, lawful if *partially*, in some unknown and varying proportion, so engaged.

The question for the Legislature to consider is, whether it is worth while to do all this, to infuse so much risk and uncertainty into a trade which it wishes to encourage, which it looks to as one of the main instruments for the civilization of Africa, for the sake of interfering with so small a proportion of the facilities which commerce, permitted at all with Africa, under her present circumstances, must of necessity afford more or less to the trade in slaves. For, unless all other countries can be persuaded to take the same view, it must, indeed, be a small proportion, and little, indeed, will have been done towards the object; an obstruction will merely have been raised for such length of time as may be required for conveying the same goods from England, or from foreign countries, through other channels. It would be merely a transfer, and a transfer to parties less friendly to the object, and less under control. We have had ample evidence that foreign vessels already carry on this trade to a considerable extent; nor is there any right, by existing treaty with foreign nations, nor can it be expected that we should obtain it, to interrupt foreign vessels engaged in such a traffic. But, indeed, how would it be carried on? The right of search, in any shape, is one, as we know by experience, that requires the greatest delicacy in carrying out with the ships of friendly nations. But what kind of search must that be which would seek to ascertain, on board of an apparently innocent vessel, innocent in her build and in her equipment, and freighted with innocent goods, whether the destination of such goods was not made unlawful by some document hidden in the most obscure recesses of the vessel? How prolonged, how minute, consequently how irritating at all times, how vexatious if unsuccessful; how likely to be unsuccessful, if not guided by more obvious indications; how likely, consequently, to lead to disputes and collisions among nations, most injurious, if not fatal, to that harmonious co-operation for the common object, which is so absolutely essential to success. It must not be lost sight of how large a share of these evils must be inflicted on those who are engaged

in our own lawful commerce, if such a search be applied to them.

Now, if we were bound by a rigid principle to do this, these arguments must be rejected, as not affecting a case of conscience; but in this case we are not trying the value of a rigid principle. The principle would be intelligible which dictated the absolute interdiction of all commerce with every place from which a single slave was exported; or, further still, with every place from which a slave trade was carried on, such as Cuba and Brazil; or if it dictated a prohibition to send goods where there was a probability that they might be exchanged for slaves. But this arbitrary and uncertain limitation, so little capable of being referred to strict principle, and yet so injurious to lawful commerce, can only rest on the ground of its expediency, of its tendency to attain or promote the object; must submit to be tried by that test, and so tried will be found wanting. It is no doubt gallant to a zealous and gallant officer, engaged, in the service of his country and humanity, in watching anxiously a well-known slave's haunt, to see foreign vessels, still more, vessels bearing his own country's flag, passing inwards and supplying those goods, though innocent in themselves, which are the medium of an atrocious traffic; it is not surprising, under such circumstances, that feeling should have arisen which appears in Doctor Madden's report, and in the evidence of several, especially the naval witnesses. It is a feeling natural and honorable in itself, and we hope that the English merchant, animated, as he is, by the same feelings of horror for the slave trade, will endeavor to extend the influence of those feelings through the whole circle of his transactions. But we cannot recommend that a provision so difficult to be carried out, so vexatious, and yet so ineffectual for its object, should be made the subject of legislation."

What answer shall be given to this reasoning? It cannot be answered. It is conclusive. While slaves can be bought in Africa and sold in some other part of the world, legislation cannot keep British commerce, or American commerce, from furnishing facilities for the slave trade. No one, we presume, thinks of establishing and enforcing an absolute commercial non-intercourse between Africa and all the rest of

the world. Of course, then, a stop must be put to the *selling of slaves in Africa*, or to the buying of slaves in Brazil and in all other countries; or the trade will go on, and in defiance of all possible legislative enactments, will derive facilities from the general commerce of the world.

We conclude, therefore, that, in a certain sense, the harsh assertion of

the London editor is true. The employment of British capital in furnishing facilities for the slave trade is *not* abolished; and what is more, it never can be abolished by the course of policy on which the British government has hitherto relied. For the sake of Africa, and of humanity, we rejoice to see that some of her thinking men are at last adopting sounder views.

(Concluded from page 123.)

Colonization and Missions.

PART IV.

Recapitulation.—Conclusion.

SUCH have been the leading facts in respect to Western Africa from the time of Ibn Haukal to the present day—about nine centuries. From the first purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese voyagers, has been 402 years; from the first discovery of the negro country by the Portuguese, 397 years; from the discovery of Cape Mesurado, 382 years; and from the complete exploration of the coast of Upper Guinea, 373 years; and this, even if we reject the accounts of the French, who profess to have had trading posts where Liberia now is, 498 years ago. At our earliest dates, the natives were idolaters of the grossest kind, polygamists, slave holders, slave traders, kidnappers, offerers of human sacrifices, and some of them cannibals. For four centuries, or five if we receive the French account, they have been in habits of constant intercourse with the most profligate, the most licentious, the most rapacious, and in every respect the vilest and most corrupting classes of men to be found in the civilized world—with slave traders, most of whom were pirates in every thing

but courage, and many of whom committed piracy whenever they dared—and with pirates in the fullest sense of the word. Before the year 1600, the influence of these men had been sufficient to displace the native languages in the transaction of business, and substitute the Portuguese, which was generally understood and used in their intercourse with foreigners; and since that time, the Portuguese has been in like manner displaced by the English. By this intercourse, the natives were constantly stimulated to crimes of the deepest dye, and thoroughly trained to all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning. During the most fearful predominance of undisguised piracy, from 1688 to 1730, their demoralization went on, especially upon the Windward Coast, more rapidly than ever before, and became so intense that it was impossible to maintain trading houses on shore; so that, on this account, as we are expressly informed, in 1730, there was not a single European factory on that whole coast. Trade was then carried on by ships passing along the coast, and stopping wherever the natives kindled a fire as a signal for traffic. And this continued to be the usual mode

of intercourse on that coast, when the British Parliament, in 1791, began to collect evidence concerning the slave trade. Nor were factories re-established there, till the slave trade and its attendant vices had diminished the danger by depopulating the country.

It appears, too, that nothing has ever impeded or disturbed the constant flow of this bad influence, but colonization and its consequences. The Colony of Sierra Leone was planted, as a means of resisting and ultimately suppressing the slave trade. The testimony which it collected and furnished during twenty years of labor and suffering, was the principal means of inducing the British Parliament to pass the act of 1807, abolishing that traffic. From that time to the present, it has rendered indispensable assistance in all that has been done to enforce that act. Through its influence, the slave trade is suppressed, slavery itself is abolished, and a Christian and civilized negro community^{*} of 40,000 or 50,000 persons is established, on the territory which it controls. Liberia, only about one-third as old, has expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast, with the exception of a single point, brought a native population of 10,000 or 15,000, by their own consent, under the protection and control of a civilized republican government which does not tolerate slavery, and brought from 60,000 to 100,000 more to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages. Still later, another British settlement of recaptured Africans on the Gambia has begun to do the same good work in that region.

Beyond Cape Palmas, a few British, Dutch, and Danish forts overawe the natives in their immediate vicinity, and one of them protects a mission. Elsewhere, the work is not even begun.

The summary of Christian missions without colonization may be given in a few words. The Roman Catholics come first. Omitting the French statement, of a chapel built at Elmina in 1387, let us begin with the Portuguese mission at that place, in 1482. Romish missions continued till that of the Spanish Capuchins at Sierra Leone was given up in 1723, which was 241 years. They made no impression, except upon their immediate dependents; and what they made, was soon totally obliterated. Their stations were numerous, along the whole coast; but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations.

Protestant missionary attempts were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, 108 years ago, and continued till 1770. Five attempts cost eleven lives, and effected nothing. The account of them scarce fills a page in Crantz's "History of the Brethren."

English attempts have been more numerous. That of Capt. Beaver at Bulama Island, in 1792, does not appear to have been distinctively of a missionary character, though it must have contemplated the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, as one of its results and means of success. It failed in two years, and with the loss of more than 100 lives. The missions to the Foulahs, in 1795, found, when at Sierra Leone, insuperable obstacles to success, and returned without commencing its labors.

* That is, Christian and civilized in respect to the character of its government and institutions, and the predominant character of the people; though multitudes of the inhabitants, but lately rescued from the holds of slave ships, are just beginning to learn what Christianity and civilization are.

The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct, and five of the six missionaries dead, in 1800. The Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804; but it was four years before they could find a place out of the colony, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations, viz: Fantimania, Bashia, Canoffee, Lisa and Jesulu, on or near the Rio Pongas, Gambier on the Rio Dembia, Gambier on the Isles de Los, Gambier among the Bagoes, Goree, and Yongroo among the Bulloms. Goree was given up to the French and abandoned. The hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from the other nine, and forced them to take refuge in the Colony of Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. Here, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of the climate and the hostility of the natives. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have been made at Half Cavally, within the territorial limits of Cape Palmas, and at Rockbokah and Taboo, in its immediate vicinity, and within the reach of its constant influence. The result has been already stated. The mission of the Presbyterian Board has been removed to Settra Kroo, about seventeen miles from the Mississippi settlement at Sinou. Death has reduced its numbers to a single widow, who teaches a school. As the Kroos have bound themselves by their late treaty with the Liberian government, "to foster and protect the American missionaries;" and as the mission is placed where no hostile act can long be concealed from that

government, it may be regarded as safe under colonial protection. The mission of the American Board has been removed from Cape Palmas, about 1,250 miles, to the River Gaboon, in Lower Guinea, and placed among a people, whom the missionaries represent as much superior to any within the region embraced in these researches. Its labors here commenced in July, 1842. It is yet uncertain, therefore, whether it will be able to maintain its ground, even as long as did the English mission at the Rio Pongas. An attempt, the success of which is yet doubtful, to establish a "Mendi Mission," between Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the vicinity of both those colonies will diminish the danger; two or three English Wesleyan stations, protected by the British Forts on the Gold and Slave coasts; the missions in South Africa, most of which are within the Cape Colony, and the remainder among tribes under its influence and deriving safety from its power; an attempt to open intercourse with the nominal Christians of Abyssinia; a small English mission to the Copts at Cairo, and still smaller French missions at Algiers—if this last still exists—complete the list, so far as we can learn, of Protestant missionary attempts on the continent of Africa. To these, add the attempt of Capt. Beaver and others to promote civilization by a colony of Englishmen at Bulama Island in 1792, and the late disastrous Niger Expedition of the British government, and we have the sum total of Protestant expeditions for the improvement of African character.

The failure of the Niger Expedition prostrates for the present, and probably forever, the hope which it was intended to realize; the hope of opening an intercourse with the less demoralized nations of the interior, by ascending that river. It has shown that we must reach the coun-

tries on the Niger from the west, "labor without danger and without interruption. Of these, more than 10,000 are natives of the country, in the process of civilization. Of these natives, about 1,500 are so far civilized that the heads of families among them are thought worthy to vote, and do vote, at elections; 353 are communicants in the several churches; and the remainder, generally, are merely unconverted human beings, who have some respect for Christianity, and none for any other religion. Among these, neither the slave trade nor slavery is tolerated. Besides these, numerous tribes, comprising a population of from 50,000 to 100,000, and according to some statements, a still greater number, have placed themselves by treaty under the civilizing influence of the colony; have made the slave trade and various other barbarous and heathenish usages unlawful, and many of them have stipulated to foster and protect American missionaries. The territory of these allied tribes is supposed to extend half-way to the waters of the Niger. Several missionary stations have already been established among them,

And this work is going on successfully, by the colonization of the coast with civilized men of African descent. Sierra Leone has done much, notwithstanding its great and peculiar disadvantages. Its thousands, among whom all the safety of civilization is enjoyed, have already been mentioned. Liberia proper has under its jurisdiction, a population of 15,000 or more, among whom any missionary who can endure the climate, may

* If any are alarmed at the supposed expensiveness of our enterprise, we would suggest to them in the first place, that the thought of leaving Africa forever in her present horrible condition, for the sake of avoiding any expense whatever, is unchristian, and not to be entertained for a moment. Africa must be converted; and whatever expense is really necessary for that purpose, must be incurred. In the second place, we would submit the following estimate, by the late Secretary of the Navy, of the expense of the squadron of 49 guns, which the United States is bound by the Ashburton treaty, to keep on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. It is dated December 29, 1842, and was made in obedience to a resolution of the Senate, of the 14th of that month:—

Number and class of vessels.	Cost of the vessels.	Ann'l cost of repairs, and wear and tear.	Number of officers.	Number of petty officers, seamen, and marines.	Annual expense under all heads of expenditures, except wear and tear.
Two sloops of 1st class	\$257,655	\$20,000	42	366	\$133,986
Four brigs or schooners	166,587	20,000	40	260	107,196
Total	\$424,242	40,000	82	626	241,182

with perfect confidence in their safety.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, though but ten years old, and numbering less than 700 emigrants, has also proved a safe field for missionary labor.

Still later, it would seem, though we have not been able to obtain exact information, the British government has settled about 1,500 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, on the Gambia; some of them, probably, at

Bathurst, near the mouth of the river; and some of them, certainly, at McCarthy's Island, 300 miles from its mouth. At both of these settlements, the English Wesleyan missions are flourishing. That at Bathurst reckons 279 converts, and the other 254.

It has usually been supposed, that sensible and candid men may learn from experience. If so, it would seem that such a variety of experiments extending through four centuries, and all pointing to the same

According to this estimate, the expense of a brig or schooner, including interest on her first cost, is \$34,297 a year, or \$2,858 a month. On the 300 miles of coast which we wish to possess, there is still one slave factory—at New Cess. The expense of watching that factory two months, with the smallest vessel in the squadron, would be amply sufficient to purchase New Cess, settle it with emancipated slaves from Tennessee, and thus stop the slave trade there forever. Again: The 150 miles of coast, or thereabouts, which we wish to purchase, will cost, it is supposed, \$15,000 or \$20,000; say \$20,000, which is 133½ dollars a mile. This is probably high enough, as the last purchase of ten miles cost but thirty dollars a mile. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is estimated, in round numbers, at 4,000 miles. This includes some long tracts of coast, on which there is no slave trade; but let that pass. The whole 4,000 miles, if in the market at 133½ dollars a mile, would cost, \$533,333. The annual expense of our squadron of 80 guns, including interest on the first cost, is \$306,636. Its expense in two years is \$613,272; being enough to buy the whole 4,000 miles, and leave a surplus of \$79,939, or \$38,868 a year, to be expended in colonization. And yet again: The whole expense of this work can by no means be allowed to fall upon this country. The annual expense of the British squadrons employed in watching the slave trade, for several years past, has been estimated at £500,000, or about \$2,437,500, and there is no probability that it can be diminished, if the present system be continued, for many years to come. Here is a sum, large enough to meet the expense of purchasing and colonizing to any desirable extent, and with any desirable rapidity. The most difficult parts of the coast to manage are the possessions of Portugal, a power almost wholly under the protection and dictation of Great Britain. Here is money enough to pay for them all, and thus end that part of the trouble at once and forever.

We are perfectly aware that the whole of these naval expenditures cannot be diverted to the purposes of colonization, as some ship must be kept on that coast for other objects; that some portions of the coast may not be purchasable at any price; and that national jealousies may interpose hindrances to the straight-forward execution of such a plan in its full extent. Still, it is none the less evident, that colonization, so far as it is practicable, is beyond comparison the cheapest mode of exterminating the slave trade and civilizing Africa; and that Great Britain and the United States are expending money enough, if judiciously applied, to give Christian civilization an overwhelming predominance on the whole coast, and thus finish the work in a very few years.

The greatest obstacles to the complete execution of such a plan, however, are found in two points of British policy. In the first place, Great Britain is unwilling to make her colonies sufficiently democratic. Instead of calling out the energies of her colonists by loading them with the responsibility and stimulating them with the honor of self-government, she aims only to make them a virtuous peasantry, under officers appointed and paid by the crown. This policy vastly increases the expense of her establishments, while it diminishes their efficiency. For adhering to it, however, she has some apology in the fact, that she has few subjects for colonization in Africa, of equal capacity with ours. In the second place, instead of wishing to colonize Africa, she is desirous, and is endeavoring, as a substitute for the slave trade, to transfer free laborers from Africa to the West Indies, to be a laboring peasantry there. The good of Africa, and the most cheap and effectual suppression of the slave trade, must be sacrificed to the interest of her sugar-planters. This, however, need not hinder us from doing that part of the work which belongs to us, in the best possible way.

conclusion, might suffice to teach them. Consider the numerous attempts by Romanists of different nations and orders, Portuguese, Spaniards and French, Capuchins, Dominicans and Jesuits, and by Protestants of divers nations and communions, to sustain missions there without colonies, and always with the same result. Consider, too, that every attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization by colonizing Africa with people of African descent, has been, in a greater or less degree, successful. Every such colony planted, still subsists, and wherever its jurisdiction extends, has banished piracy and the slave trade; extinguished domestic slavery; put an end to human sacrifices and cannibalism; established a constitutional civil government, trial by jury and the reign of law; introduced the arts, usages and comforts of civilized life, and imparted them to more or less of the natives; established schools, built houses of worship, gathered churches, sustained the preaching of the gospel, protected missionaries, and seen native converts received to Christian communion. *Not a colony has been attempted without leading to all these results.*

In view of these facts,—while we readily grant that some Liberians sing, pray and exhort too loud at their religious meetings; that some profess much piety, who have little or none; that some of the people are indolent and some dishonest, and that some of their children play pranks in school, all greatly to the annoyance of white missionaries worn down by the fever,—still, we claim that the influ-

ence of Colonization is favorable to the success of Missions, to the progress of civilization, and of Christian piety. As witnesses, we show, in the colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia proper, Sierra Leone, and on the Gambia, more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. We show the fruits of their labors,—more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives, perfectly accessible to missionary labors. All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822. We show, as the result of the opposite system,* after nearly four centuries of experiment, and more than a century of Protestant experiment, a single station, with one missionary and perhaps one or two assistants, at **Kaw Mendi**, under the shadow of two colonies, and one mission which has retired from the field of our inquiries to Lower Guinea; neither of which has occupied its ground long enough to exert any appreciable influence in its vicinity, or even to ascertain the possibility of effecting a permanent establishment.†

We claim, therefore, that the question is decided; that the facts of the case, when once known, preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt. We claim that the combined action of Colonization and Missions is proved

* The Wesleyan mission, protected by British forts on the Gold Coast, does not belong to the opposite system.

† If missions should now prove successful beyond the limits of colonial jurisdiction, it would only prove that the beneficial influence of colonization is felt along the whole coast, and has rendered missionary success practicable, where it was formerly impracticable.

to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.

And who that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work? Need we, after all that has been said, appeal to sympathy? Need we here to repeat the catalogue of horrors from which Africa groans to be delivered? Need we mention the slave trade, devouring five hundred thousand of her children annually; her domestic slavery, crushing in its iron bondage more slaves than exist in the whole wide world besides; her ruthless despotisms, under which not even the infant sleeps securely;

her dark and cruel superstitions, soaking the graves of her despots with human blood; her rude palaces adorned with human skulls; her feasts, made horrid with human flesh? Shall not a work, and the only work which has proved itself able to grapple with and conquer these giant evils, be dear to every heart that loves either God or man? It must be so. The piety and philanthropy of Christendom cannot refrain from entering this open door, and transforming those dread abodes of wretchedness and sin, into habitations of Christian purity and peace and joy.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 23d April, to the 24th May, 1845.

MAINE.		
<i>Bath</i> —Jonathan Hyde, Esq., to constitute Mr. Jon. A. Hyde, of <i>Chester</i> ville, and Mr. Edward C. Hyde, of <i>Bangor, Me.</i> , life members of the American Colonization Society, \$60, Bath Colonization Society, per Jon. Hyde, Tr., \$58.....	\$118 00	
VERMONT.		
By Dea. Sam. Tracy: Donations:		
<i>Hartford</i> —A. Hazen, Esq.....	2 00	
<i>Norwich</i> —Aaron Loveland, \$5, Dea. Asa Lord, and John Lord, \$1 each, D. B. Lord, 25 cents.	7 25	
<i>Post Mills</i> —J. Pratt.....	1 00	
<i>Bradford</i> —Dea. S. Bliss, 25 cents, Mrs. Bliss, 10 cts., A. Stevens, Esq., 50 cents.....	85	
<i>Newbury</i> —Wm. Atchinson.....	50	
<i>Wells River</i> —T. Shed, Esq., \$2, A. Underwood, \$3.....	5 00	
<i>Peacham</i> —Dr. Shed, Hon. John Chandler, and Cash, each \$5, E. C. Chamberlain, Miss Chamberlain, Mrs. Strong, each \$1.	15 00	
<i>Danville</i> —Hon. J. P. Dana, \$5, Hon. S. Sias, \$2, Seneca Ladd, 50 cents.....	7 50	
<i>Wethersfield</i> —Hon. Wm. Jarvis, \$10, Gen. Bowen, \$2, J. Haseal, \$5.....	17 00	
<i>Saxton's River</i> —Benja. Smith, \$5, H. Suke, jr., \$3.....	8 00	
<i>Windham</i> —Rev. S. R. Arms, \$1, W. H., 25 cents.....	1 25	
<i>Townsend</i> —Dea. Salisbury, 50 cts., W. B. Bunnell, \$1 50.....	2 00	
<i>Westminster</i> —Mrs. Ranney.....	50	
<i>Putney</i> —Capt. J. Hutchins.....	1 00	
<i>Brattleboro</i> —N. B. Williston, Hon. S. Clark, and G. C. Hall, each \$5, Rev. C. Walker, \$2, A. Van Doorn, \$3, Hon. S. Elliot, L. G. Mead, Esq., Maj. H. Smith, and Dr. Rockwell, each \$1.....	24 00	
	95 85	
NEW YORK.		
<i>New York Colonization Society</i> —Per Moses Allen, Tr.....	1,000 00	
<i>Albany</i> —Daniel Fry, in part for L. M., \$10, Thos. McMullen, in part for L. M., \$10.....	20 00	
	1,020 00	
VIRGINIA.		
<i>King Geo. Co.</i> —Younger Johnson,	10 00	
KENTUCKY.		
By the Rev. Alex. M. Cowan:		
<i>Fayette Co.</i> —Wm. Rodes, Gen. James Shelby, F. Davis, R. C. Boggs, James Embry, and Hector P. Lewis, each \$30 to constitute themselves life members, H. J. Bodley, F. K. Hunt, and James Clark, each \$10, John R. Dunlap, Dr. Geo. B. Harrison, each \$5, D. C. Overturn, \$3, Elijah McClanahan, \$2, John Dunley, \$1, P. G. Hunt, 50 cts.	226 50	
<i>Clark Co.</i> —James Stonestreet, Geo. Anderson, Jacob Vaname-		

ter, and Strander Goff, each \$20,
Judge James Simpson, and R.
C. Clark, Esq., each \$10, Dr.
Thomas M. Taylor, \$5, A. M.
Preston, \$4, L. Hampton, \$1. 110 00
Jessamine Co.—Daniel B. Price,
\$20, Ellis Corn, and Thos. E.
Wirt, ea. \$10, John Butler, and
William Clark, each \$5..... 50 00
Shelby Co.—Joseph L. Fore, \$10,
Miss Anna Allen, \$5, Gilbert
Jarvis, \$2..... 17 00
403 50

INDIANA.

Princeton—Mrs. Jane Kell, (of
which \$30 is to constitute her
a L. M.)..... 100 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington—H. L. Ellsworth,
Esq..... 12 50
Total Contributions..... \$1,759 85

FOR REPOSITORY.

VERMONT.—*Norwich*—E. Spear,
and J. Burnam, \$1 50 each.
Thetford Port Mills—E. Bar-
tholomew, \$1 50. *Newbury*—F.
Keys, D. Johnson, each \$1 50.
Wells River—E. Hale, \$1 50.
St. Johnsbury Centre—J. Bacon,
75 cents. *Wethersfield*—J. W.
Colburn, \$1 50, O. M. Whipple,
75 cents. *Windham*—Wm.
Harris, jr., 75 cents. *West*
Townsend—Hon. C. Phelps,
\$1 50. *Townsend*—W. B. Bun-
nell, \$1 50. *Ballows Falls*—
Wm. Henry, Green, and Flom-
ing, and A. Wentworth, each
\$1 50, Putney I. Grout, \$1 50.
Dummerstown—Ara Boyden,
\$1 50. *Brattleboro*—C. H.
Cune, \$1 50..... 25 23

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—*Pelham*—
Mrs. H. G. L. Richardson, to date, 7 00

MASSACHUSETTS.—*Unionville*—
Rev. Joseph Havens, jr., \$2,
Dea. C. Shepard, Dr. J. C.
Harris, Calvin Dyer, each
\$1 50. *South Brookfield*—O.
Kimball, Sumner Bartlett, Hen-
ry D. Fales, each \$1 50. *Wor-*
thington—Col. Wm. Ward, \$2. 13 00

NEW YORK.—Rev. J. H. Eaton,
on account of collections made
by him, \$75..... 75 00

GEORGIA.—*Columbus*—Dr. A.
Pond, \$1 50, James Johnson,
\$1, Dr. A. M. Watson, \$1 50. 4 00

ALABAMA.—*Mobile*—John Hunt,
\$1 50, A. F. Edwards, \$1 50,
and James Dodridge, \$1 50... 4 50

LOUISIANA.—*New Orleans*—Mrs.
Theresa Canon, \$1 50, A. B.
Noble, \$1 50..... 3 00

KENTUCKY.—*Louisville*—Robert
Jarvis, to Dec., 1845, \$4 50, T.
Anderson, to Dec., 1845, \$3.
Lexington—M. T. Scott, to Dec.,
1844, \$3, H. J. Bodley, to Dec.,
1845, \$3. *Frankfort*—J. Swig-
ert, to Dec., 1845, \$11. *Har-*
rodsburg—Mrs. S. S. Thomp-
son, to Dec., 1844, \$10. *Hele-*
na—Dan'l Fitzgerald, to Dec.,
1844, \$11 50..... 46 00

INDIANA.—*Princeton*—I. Mont-
gomery, to date..... 7 00

Total Repository..... 182 75

By the REV. J. B. PINNEY on his
southern tour, in addition to
those before acknowledged, and
not including a large amount of
subscriptions payable at a future
day:

Louisville—Ky.—J. C. Coleman,
\$5. *Memphis*—Tenn.—A. Por-
ter and G. Farkinson, each
\$10, Miss Boyd, C. A. Leath,
and L. Banks, \$5 each, J. Test
and Rev. Mr. McNutt, each \$1.
Natchez—Miss.—A. Fisk, Esq.,
Alex. C. and Thos. Henderson,
Esqrs., L. R. Marshall, Esq.,
each \$1 50, Miss Margaret
Overaker, per Thos. Hender-
son, \$300, collection in the M.
E. church, \$57 11, E. B. Ful-
ler, \$20, Mrs. Dr. E. Taylor,
A. H. Barrow, Esq., H. Tooley,
Esq., cash, cash, each \$5, cash,
\$2, A. W. McGowan, \$10, G.
W. Dougherty, \$5. *Port Gib-*
son—Wm. Young, Esq., \$100.
New Orleans—La.—J. S. Peters,
Esq., \$100, Recorder Baldwin,
\$5, Mr. Sloo, \$10, A. Hennen,
Esq., \$25. *Mobile*—Ala.—H.
B. Gwathney, Esq., \$100, Dr.
J. A. Tait, \$20, collection in
the steamboat Dallas, Capt.
Adams, on the Alabama river,
after an address, \$17. *Colum-*
bus—Geo.—John Allen, \$20,
Pond and Wilcox, C. B. Inslee,
Ives and Brother, A. G. Reed,
J. C. Cook and James Johnson,
each \$5. *Charleston*—S. C.—
James Adger, Esq., \$100.
Georgetown—S. C.—per Rev.
S. Proctor Taylor, from four
persons, \$20..... 1,302 11
From the sale of camwood..... 469 48
Total Contributions..... 1,759 85
Total Repository..... 182 75

Aggregate Amount..... \$3,714 19

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, JULY, 1845.

[No. 7.]

Late Intelligence from Liberia.

By a late arrival at New York we received one letter and one newspaper from a private citizen in Liberia, dated the 15th March.* This is some two months later than any thing previously received. But we are unable to imagine the reason why we did not receive despatches from Governor Roberts, and other correspondents who are accustomed to embrace every opportunity of sending letters to us, As soon as the *Liberia Packet* commences running, which we presume will be next fall, we shall be certain of regular communication with Liberia at least twice a year.

From the letter and paper above alluded to, we gather the following facts:

Governor Roberts had returned from his visit to the leeward settlements, where he found things generally in a prosperous condition. *While at Sinou he completed the purchase of the whole Sinou country.* Our friends in Mississippi and Loui-

siana will be glad to hear of this, as it gives their settlement all the territory that is desired, and insures the settlement against the many interruptions to which it has been subject heretofore.

The health of the colonists was generally good. There had been considerable sickness on board the U. S. man-of-war "*Preble*,"—the last intelligence giving seventeen as her loss by death, and seventy still on the sick list.

The commissioners appointed by the Governor to settle some disputes between the various chiefs and head men of the Little Bassa country, and to negotiate with them for the purchase of their whole territory, had returned to Monrovia, having fully succeeded in carrying out their instructions. We have here another undeniable proof of the powerful and happy influence which the "*Liberian settlers*" have gained over the native tribes. But for this influence, a most bloody and exterminating

* For still later intelligence see on page 214, which has been received since the above was in type.

war would have raged among those *kindred* tribes. But now they are all at peace;—their troubles and difficulties are at an end; and *their whole territory* is now put under the government of the commonwealth of Liberia, *having been purchased at a fair price.*

We would call attention to the "Journal of these Commissioners," in another column.

Our friends will thus see that we are pushing ahead the purchase of the territory as fast as possible, although we are yet without the means of paying for it. Will they not be thus stimulated to make up "that \$15,000" without delay? Most of what is already pledged, remains totally unavailable to us, for the want of a few more names being added to the list!

We do not find any intelligence of the purchase of New Cesters; and from the entire silence on the subject, we fear that Governor Roberts was unsuccessful in his endeavors there. Still, we do not doubt the possibility of obtaining possession of it, and thus breaking up the slave barracoon established there.

The following remarks by the editor of the Liberia Herald, under the head of "OUR AFFAIRS," show that they understand the great fact, that the road to dignity and honor, and high national character, is open before them, and that by their own efforts they must push their way upward: that they never can be made great by others: that it is only

by toilsome efforts in resisting opposing circumstances, and by bold and daring energy in seizing upon the elements of life and power, that they can ever command distinction and acquire everlasting fame:

"OUR AFFAIRS."

"Our last letters from America present us with encouraging prospects in regard to African Colonization. Colonization appears to be attracting somewhat more of attention than was given to it the three or four years last past; and the attention now paid to it is of a more favorable character. Connected with this, however, is a fact of which the people of these colonies should never lose sight: and that fact is, that cautiousness should ever be observed in placing reliance upon a cause which depends for its onward movement upon a foreign popular favor. Such are the fickleness and versatility of the multitude—such their anxiety and burning for something new and striking—that many regard them unworthy and unsafe arbiters of even their own destinies. The object of ardent pursuit to-day, will likely be among the forgotten of the morrow. Colonization should not take these irregular and spasmodic impulses as the prelusive movements of a regular and abiding force, but should regard them as indicating for the time the direction of the public mind, whose most striking characteristic is ceaseless change. Whilst we should ever close our minds against the entrance of the conceit which would effect to disdain the sympathy and aid of others, let us remember that to expect to be made 'a people' solely by the efforts of others, or even to desire it, would prove *defuncto* that we are unworthy of the boon we desire. A *name* and a *place* are among Heaven's brightest gifts, and Heaven rarely bestows its benisons upon the enervate and irresolute. While, therefore, we should never be insensible to the efforts of our friends abroad, nor to any indication of a favorable public regard of our cause and condition, but receive with grateful hearts every emotion of sympathy; let us yet recollect the heat and burden of the day are to be borne by us.

"The lesson fraught with the greatest blessing to us we have yet to learn. The bone and sinew are ours—others can only advise the direction of their movement. The eager anxiety and the numerous enquiries on the arrival of letters from America, to know what the Society is doing, indicates too truly, we fear, an unworthy and unmanly reliance on the efforts of

others ; while the great objects to which our friends abroad direct our attention as the certain highway to independence, because they involve in their accomplishment difficulty and labor, are too systematically neglected.

"That we have recently made some improvements, and that there have been some development of capacity among us, there can be no doubt ; but these have not been commensurate with our opportunities."

There are undoubtedly many in the commonwealth who have very inadequate notions of the immense responsibility which rests upon them, and of the "exceeding weight of glory" which awaits them if they prove faithful to their trust. They are not yet emancipated from that laziness, improvidence, and *mental* bondage which long depression in this country had brought upon them. They have not yet conceived ideas of their *national* redemption ; they have not yet lifted their eyes to the orient star which already hangs over the place of their race's coming distinction on earth ! But we are happy to know that this is not true of all the citizens of Liberia. They, in some good degree, appreciate the fact that they have been summoned by the providence of God, "to hold," as a friend has expressed it, "in rightful possession, the wide, magnificent, but depopulated, territory of their mother country, awe-struck by no superior power, subdued by no mighty competition, restrained by no force of prejudice, custom, or law, depressed by no sense of weakness or of wrong, and in the consciousness of freedom of all human power, to build up among barbarians the church of God and a republican

empire. Escaped from the despotism of the mind, they feel that liberty of soul, which is the parent of greatness, which turns adverse events, the rigor of discipline and the shocks of calamity, to the account of wisdom, and makes nature in all her forms tributary to its power ; that mental liberty which admits in all their force the influence of all the motives which strengthen and ennoble our immortal faculties, give clearness and comprehensiveness to reason, vigor to imagination, and invincible energy to will :— which arm fortitude, elevate hope, make courage resistless, and, guarding and cherishing the domestic and social affections as the seeds of public virtue, by ties of patriotism, indissoluble because sacred, bind man to his country, and by the golden chain of an all-circumscribing philanthropy, link him forever to the destinies of mankind." They remained long enough in this country to learn something of the nature of our government and our civil institutions, and to become inspired with a laudable ambition "to make Liberia to their country what Plymouth and Jamestown have been to this ! to do for themselves what all the world can never do for them ! to do for their race what can only be expected from their prayers and their labors ! *They* have gone to Africa for great purposes, to build up their own fortunes, redeem the character of their people, and thus command the respect of the world ; to estab-

lish upon her shores civilization and free government; to lift the covering of night from her face, and call forth her ignorant, savage, enslaved children, from the desert where the lion roars, or the wilderness where he slumbers, from clay-built huts, from dens and mountain caves, to a purer, nobler life; to re-kindle the gone-out glories, to rear anew the prostrate, decayed, but giant monuments of her ancient might; to wave the torch of wisdom in the face of superstition and amid the haunts of ruin; to carve their names as benefactors in her eternal rocks, and bring back that quarter of the earth, long lost to science, liberty, humanity, and religion, to the empire of reason and God." They have gone to Africa, not to seek a life of ease in "the castles of indolence;" not merely to better their own individual fortunes and their children's; not merely to alleviate the general sufferings of frail humanity. No!—They have learned that—

"The drying up a single tear has more
Of honest fame, than shedding seas of gore."

And they have made up their minds to a life of toil, and energy, in laying deep and broad the foundations of republican institutions for their numerous but afflicted race! They know that "by toilsome effort only, do the bold and daring gain the Alpine heights, and the eye that thence sees the sun, hidden to all eyes below, beams as bright with health as honor:" and they are determined to make the efforts adequate to the

desired and glorious result! We may with appropriateness apply to their self-sacrifice and determination what was said of the "bounty" of another—

"There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping."

They have shown no marks of discouragement, no disposition to resign the work in despair. And in their past history and present character we have the assurance that they never will! They are pledged to the work, and have no intention of losing the forfeit. They have put the armor on, and cannot be induced to put it off, till

"They their work have done
And rendered up account."

Here then is a strong appeal made to us for assistance. We are assured by their very character and present condition, that what we do for them will not be thrown away upon the recklessly indolent, and hopelessly inactive. They have about them bone and muscle and sinew; but they are yet in an infant state. Whatever of aid and assistance we now render them, will act as the best of food to nourish and invigorate a young but healthy constitution. We are called to help those who are willing and determined to help themselves. We have it in our power to afford them facilities such as they cannot otherwise obtain. They need increased numbers of intelligent, educated citizens, to add to their moral power, and enable them to spread more

rapidly the principles of civilization and Christianity among the natives; to act as teachers and preachers, and *helpers* in making and executing the laws of the commonwealth.

They need also the means of purchasing the remaining territory, lying within their extreme limits, as the only means of extending the influence of their government and the protection of their laws over the whole line of coast, and thus putting a stop to the slave trade along their borders, and compelling those who engage in lawful commerce to respect the laws and uphold the authority of the commonwealth. In reference to this subject, the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, in the article from which we have already quoted, holds the following language:

"The present position of the colony is one exceedingly perplexing and anomalous; and as if past annoyances, to which the colored man has been every where subjected, are not sufficient, foreigners are now wielding this anomaly greatly to our disadvantage. We have long seen the probability of this difficulty, but would not allow ourselves to believe we should be soon plunged into it. Professing, as the English do, so much philanthropy and so extended and high-toned benevolence, we hoped every thing from them: but Commodore Jones's last letter to the Governor has dispelled the illusion, and warns us that we have most to fear where once we had indulged the most pleasing expectations. His diplomatic communication contains one sentence which we presume would find a place in a correspondence with no people on earth except Liberians. It is a kind of genteel braggardism; of diplomatic gasconade over a prostrate victim from whom nothing is to be apprehended. We have compared the style and spirit of this communication with the commodore's correspondence with American commanders on this station, and we can find no escape from the conviction, that, when penning this letter, he kept distinctly before his eye the resources of the people he was addressing.

"It is clear we cannot exist if the British maintain the position assumed by the commodore, as we shall be exposed to incursions by every British trader that comes to the coast—to which if we dare oppose resistance, we shall feel the full vengeance of all-powerful England.

"But until it be denied that we are men, it will not be denied that we have certain rights—among these the right to breathe God's free air—to purchase land from its rightful owners, to dig that land and eat its fruits—to govern ourselves on that land, and to adjust the conditions on which others shall come among us. These are altogether distinct, in our opinion at least, from international rights. The former are founded on the unavoidable wants of our common nature—that is, they are the gift of God, and therefore cannot be conferred by any people on another; the latter is founded on conventional agreement—the former is necessary to our existence, the latter not.

"It behooves us, therefore, to prove ourselves worthy of these rights, by our industry, perseverance, good order, and virtue. By clearing away these primitive forests and developing the rich resources of the unreclaimed country; by recovering these semi-savage tribes around us from their barbarism, and tutoring them in the arts and manners of civilized and Christian life, we will exhibit a claim to be let alone which no people who have any respect for justice will dare to disregard."

The world ought to come forward and nobly sustain men actuated by such a spirit as that! We ought to cheer their hearts, and encourage them in their arduous work of planting a civilized state, suppressing the slave trade, establishing lawful commerce, imparting instruction in letters, the useful arts, and all the appliances of social life, to the native barbarous tribes, and endeavoring to bring up their country and their race from the wilderness of their long depression, and out from under the dark eclipse of ages, and causing her to take rank among the most favored nations, with honor on her brow and blessings in her hand!

Men, actuated by such a spirit and governed by such principles, must succeed. No earthly power can hold them back. The struggle may be long—the labor arduous; but the triumph is sure, and the victory will be glorious!

A little of encouragement now, some small assistance now, may be of vastly more benefit to them than the most full-hearted sympathy, and the most splendid liberality at some advanced period in their history.

To what does duty now urge the friends of this enterprise and of the colored race?

1st. To act with confidence in the practicableness of the scheme of colonization. In view of what has actually been accomplished, there should be no distrust in regard to the adaptation of the enterprise to produce the most splendid results! The facts in the case are enough to enlighten the understanding and convince the reason of any man. Its beneficent aspects, and its saving influences, are demonstrable every where. There is, also, an inherent energy and vitality in Liberia itself which bids fair to live to a splendid manhood and a ripe old age. There is no power that can restrain its growth, short of some divine interposition.

These things should be fully believed. Entire confidence in final success should take possession of every heart. There should be no paralysis of despair—no doubting that every effort now made will as-

sist in hastening forward the wide and general triumph which we anticipate!

2d. Duty calls upon all who understand this subject to make others alike sensible. A little effort on the part of the friends of the cause would diffuse knowledge and information all through the land. Our agents all tell us that the people need "*indoctrinating*;" that the publications of the Society ought to be circulated every where, and that the facts of the present position and future prospects of Liberia ought to be spread abroad and "kept continually before the people." And they all tell us, moreover, that when this is done, prejudice expires, opposition dies away, and the former enemies of the Society become its friends. This clearly indicates our duty in the premises. Men must understand the reasons for giving, before they will give of their substance to carry on any enterprise.

3dly. Duty calls upon us for enlarged contributions. Without this the work cannot be carried forward in a manner commensurate with the demands. The indispensable necessity of securing the *territory*, has diminished much from the amount of funds for the general objects of colonization. We were compelled not to send any expedition to Liberia with emigrants last spring, in order that we might husband our resources to secure the other important objects before us. But we must send a vessel with emigrants this

fall. We cannot longer delay it. Some of the persons who want to go then, will revert back to hopeless bondage, if detained longer in their present condition.

But we need not enumerate. The

demands for funds, greatly enlarged, meets us on every hand. Oh that all our friends were impressed with a sense of the grandeur of the enterprise, and would bestow upon it that bounty it so richly deserves!

Capture of the Spitfire.

WE give below all the facts in relation to this vessel, of which we are in possession. We anxiously await the result of the trial in Boston, to know whether justice can be done in such a case, even in the capital of New England.

CAPTURE OF THE SPITFIRE.—The following letter is from an officer of the U. S. brig Truxtun, which captured the slaver now awaiting condemnation at Boston:

U. S. BRIG TRUXTUN,
(off Sierra Leone,)

March 29, 1845.

Here we are, in tow of the British man-of-war steamer Ardent, bound into Sierra Leone with a prize. We received information, at Monrovia, that a schooner named the Spitfire, of New Orleans, was lying some few miles up the river Pongas, waiting for a cargo of slaves.

Upon examining into the subject, we found that this same vessel was built in Baltimore and named the Caballero; and that in March, 1844, she made a voyage to this coast under the American flag, to this same river Pongas; there she was transferred to a man named Faber, a Virginian and a notorious slave dealer, for \$10,000. From his slave factory she took on board 346 negroes and sailed for the island of Cuba,

hoisting no flag and with the name on her stern erased. About thirty miles from Matanzas she landed 339 slaves, and was resold to Spanish owners.

Of these facts we are certain, because the mate who was in her is now on board this vessel and has made oath to them. Having ascertained beyond a question that the same vessel, under another name and wearing our flag, had arrived upon the coast, we sailed for the Pongas and anchored off its mouth. Finding the British steamer at anchor there, the two vessels dispatched six boats, well armed and manned, all wearing the British flag. They met the Spitfire about fifty miles up the river, she hoisted the American flag for protection, and was instantly seized by our officers. In an hour after she was sailing down the river. No slaves were found on board, but 300 were confined in the barracoon, waiting for the rainy season, when they were to be taken on board. These slavers prefer the rainy season, as the winds are fresher then and they have a better chance of escaping the men-of-war.

The captain is now on board here, a prisoner, but of course allowed every privilege; his name is Flowrey; he is a citizen of New York, and has commanded many vessels from that city:—the Moro Castle and others. He seems a very quiet,

respectable man, and is both master and owner of the schooner. He had also a Spanish captain on board. Twenty-six casks full of water were waiting to come on board. Her men are all ready to testify against her, and I do not see how she can escape condemnation.

She is a very beautiful vessel of 100 tons burthen, and sails like a witch. If she is condemned we shall get little or nothing from her; with a miserably niggardly policy, our Government only allows captors one-half the value of a prize;—the British and all other governments give them the whole—a very poor compensation for the suffering and disease always attendant on a boat expedition up these pestilential rivers. The loss of life attendant upon them is often dreadful.

The British boats also brought down a prize, a Spanish brig, and the steamer is at this moment towing the *Truxtun*, the *Truxtun's* prize, and her own, at the rate of six miles an hour. We receive every possible attention and assistance from the British here; their squadron on the coast numbers now thirty vessels, many of them steamers, and is to be increased greatly soon. The slave trade is by their efforts vastly diminished, and the risk run by the slavers is every day increasing.

It is difficult to see how 350 human beings could, by any possibility, be crammed into a vessel of less than a hundred tons; and when it is remembered how much even of this small space must be occupied by the officers and men of the vessel, and by the provisions and water necessary for the support of so many people, you can form some idea of the sufferings of the blacks during their thirty-five days' passage to Cuba. The *Spitfire* is about one hundred feet long, and between decks there is just height enough for a man to

sit down if his head is bent a little forward. Imagine three hundred and fifty men, women and children, confined for thirty-five days in such a place and in such a position!

The food allowed them is one pint of rice per day, and no more; a pint of water each is also given them daily; a few are occasionally allowed to come on deck for a little air, but not often; those who evince any disposition to rebel or make trouble, are confined in irons. The average cost of a prime negro, between 20 and 30 years old, at the slave factory, seldom exceeds \$15: at Cuba the same slave will sell for \$400. Their value at the West Indies, however, has much diminished and still continues to diminish daily. No money is paid here for the negroes who are brought from the interior. Cloth, rum, muskets, cutlasses, powder, and such articles as are adapted to the wants and wishes of the natives, are given by the slave factor in exchange.

It is extremely difficult to get up these rivers to the places where the slavers lie. The whole coast is intersected by innumerable rivers, with branches pouring into them from every quarter, and communicating with each other by narrow, circuitous, and very numerous creeks, bordered on each side with impenetrable thickets of mangroves. In these creeks, almost concealed by the trees, the vessels lie and often elude the strictest search. But when they have taken on board their living cargo and are getting out to sea, the British are very apt to seize them, except, alas, when they are *protected by the banner of the United States*. Then the British, of course, have no authority to detain them.

This vessel continues healthy. Nine names are on the sick list to-day, of which six are cases of fever.

[From the (Boston) Mercantile Journal.]

A SLAYER CAPTURED.—Schooner *Spitfire*, (of New Orleans,) has arrived at this port a prize to the U. S. brig *Truxtun*, in command of Lieut. Washington Reid; Samuel Wilcox, midshipman. The *Spitfire*, Peter Flowrey, master, was seized in the Rio Pongo, coast of Africa, at the slave factory of Paul Faber, March 26, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade, by the boats of the U. S. brig *Truxtun*, in the charge of Lieut. Simon F. Blunt, co-operating with the boats of H. B. M. steamer *Ardent*, under the charge of Lieut. Johnson. The boats went along-side under English colors, and ordered the schooner to show her colors on the penalty of being seized as a pirate. The American ensign was then hoisted at her gaff, and the colors immediately shifted in the boats, and the schooner taken charge of, evidence having been lodged against her as having already made a successful trip from the same place to the island of Cuba, with 346 slaves, under the command of Capt. Gordon, lately in command of the *Manchester*, by Thomas Turner, who served in both vessels as Capt. G.'s mate. She was known by the name of *Caballero*, and was built in Baltimore, whence she sailed via New York, in 1842. She was afterwards sold, and her register returned to Baltimore. Her present crew also testified as to her intention of receiving slaves.

Some of the *Spitfire*'s crew were very troublesome on the passage, and two of them, a Spaniard and a negro, who quarrelled, were brought in ironed. Lieut. Reid found it necessary to use the utmost vigilance, and has not been undressed since he took command of the vessel. The prisoners were committed to the U. S. authorities, and the proper measures taken for their arraignment.

It will be recollected by our readers that the schooners *Manchester* and *Devereux* were detained and searched at this port, last season, previous to their departure for the coast, on suspicion that they were intended for the slave trade, but were at last allowed to depart because sufficient evidence to procure their condemnation could not be obtained. Faber, who owns the slave factory on the coast, went out as a passenger in the *Manchester*. Capt. Gordon, the commander and ostensible owner of the *Manchester* and *Devereux*, died recently of the coast fever, as did also Capt. Gordon of the *Devereux*.

The *Spitfire* is a clipper-built schooner of about 130 tons. She is flush on deck, has two small houses aft, one on each quarter, and a small trunk to the cabin. Her bulwarks are high for her size, and she has a tier of ports on each side, but no guns mounted. Outside she is painted a shade whiter than blue, and inside buff color. Her cabin, which has not accommodations for more than six white persons, we understand contained, at one time, fifty female slaves!

[From the Boston Traveller.]

Indictment of Captain Flowrey, of the schooner Spitfire, for a misdemeanor.—The grand jury of the U. S. Circuit Court, on Saturday returned a bill against Capt. Flowrey, of the slaver *Spitfire*, but not against the crew, there being no reason whatever for supposing that they knew of the object of the voyage when they shipped at New Orleans. Capt. Flowrey was arraigned in the U. S. Circuit Court this morning, but no day assigned for his trial. The bill found by the grand jury was for misdemeanor in fitting out the vessel with intent to carry slaves, and he was ordered to recognize

with sureties in the sum of \$5,000. His defence will be conducted by Col. J. P. Rogers, and P. W. Chandler, Esq.

[From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.]

THE SLAVER SPITFIRE.—The officers and crew of this vessel were before the U. S. commissioner at Boston, on Thursday, for examination. Their names are—Peter Flowrey, captain; Ferdinand Weltz, William Otters, Henry Tangerman, William Turner, William Pense, Frederick Ennes, Antonio Del Mijo, and Ebenezer Jackson.

Four others—Robert Smith, Thos. Turner, J. C. Parker, and William Dawson, being part of the crew of the schooner *Manchester*, which sailed from Boston last year for the coast of Africa—were brought home in the U. S. brig *Truxtun*, which captured the *Spitfire*, as witnesses. They were also before the commissioner, who committed them for want of bail to appear and testify.

The charge against the officers and crew of the *Spitfire* was, that they shipped on board the *Spitfire*, at New Orleans, on the 10th of last December, knowing that she was to be engaged in the slave trade, and took part in fitting her out for that purpose. To this charge they pleaded “not guilty.”

In support of the charge the following deposition was read, having been made by Thomas Turner, one of the four men from the *Manchester*:

“August 6, 1844, at Baltimore, Turner shipped on board the schooner *Manchester* as mate, under the command of Morgan S. Gordon; was to serve not exceeding nine months, and perform a trading voyage on the west coast of Africa. Sailed from Boston, September 22, with a trading cargo; had no handcuffs on board. Touched first at

Pongo river—remained there three weeks. The *Manchester* was wrecked at Cape Mount, west coast of Africa, on the 24th February. I knew a vessel, built in the United States, named the ‘*Caballero*.’ I knew her in Baltimore, November, 1843. I saw her on the 11th of February last, in the river Pongo.

“The last time I saw her she had painted on her stern, ‘*Spitfire*, of New Orleans.’ I saw landing from her water cask staves. I supposed her business was to take on board a cargo of slaves, because—1st, she had two captains, an American captain and a Spanish captain; 2d, all her goods were consigned to the owner of the slave factory off which she was moored; 3d, her appearance was that of a vessel built for speed rather than cargo; 4th, her having water cask shooks on board. The owner of the factory at Rio Pongo was P. Faber.

“I entered on board the schooner *Caballero* at Baltimore, Md., on the 11th day of November, 1843, in the capacity of seaman and carpenter, to perform a voyage to the west coast of Africa, having been assured by Morgan S. Gordon, then master of the *Caballero*, that she was to make a trading voyage to the coast. Not being able to procure a clearance from the Baltimore Custom House, we sailed to New York with a ‘coasting license,’ having on board all the cargo intended for the African coast. At New York the *Caballero* was cleared for the coast of Africa. We sailed from New York on the 27th day of November, 1843, and arrived in the Rio Pongo, west coast of Africa, in the latter part of December.

“We ascended the Rio Pongo to Mr. P. Faber’s slave factory, where we discharged all the vessel’s cargo, and took in water and ballast. We sailed from the Rio Pongo and pro-

ceeded to Prince's Island, where we took on board 18 casks of about 120 gallons each, called palm oil casks, and returned to Rio Pongo, touching on the way at Grand Bassa. On arriving in the Rio Pongo, the vessel was again moored near Mr. Faber's slave factory. Preparations were then made to take on board a cargo of slaves, by filling the so called palm oil casks, and 35 other casks, with water,—these having been brought from the United States in shoeks, a part of the Caballero's cargo—getting on board wood, rice, &c. During the time of these operations, the Caballero was under the American flag.

"She was then sold to Mr. P. Faber for the sum of \$10,000, and her name was scratched off her stern. She then went down the river and anchored just inside the bar. At this anchorage we took on board 346 slaves; then got underway and proceeded immediately to the island of Cuba, and landed the cargo of slaves at a point about 30 miles to windward of Matanzas. From the time of the vessel's sale to Mr. P. Faber up to this period, no flag was hoisted on board her, and she bore no name on her stern. After the slaves were landed the vessel was delivered over to the Spaniards where she lay.

"The vessel I left lying in the Rio Pongo, on the 11th of February last, named the *Spitfire*, of New Orleans, and supposed to be lying there now, is the same vessel whose slaving voyage to the West Indies I have described above. The said vessel always hoists American colors when the British man-of-war boats come in sight of her."

At this stage of the proceedings Mr. Chandler, of counsel for the prisoners, said he would at present interpose no objection to their being committed to await the action of the

grand jury; and the commissioner so disposed of them. The *Boston Post* says:

"Captain Flowrey, rather a short man, is apparently about fifty years of age, and belongs to New York. The other prisoners are young men; six of them are Germans or Dutchmen, and the other two half-breeds—Mijo is half Spanish and half Indian, and Jackson half Spanish and half negro. The white men appear as respectable as any company of foremast hands that may be met with on board any vessel."

In the *Boston Atlas* we find the subjoined letter from an officer of the *Truxtun*, giving the particulars of the *Spitfire's* capture:

"U. S. BRIG TRUXTUN,
(off Sierra Leone River),
March 29, 1845.

"Here we are, in tow of Her Britannic Majesty's steamer *Ardent*, with an American schooner our prize, and a Spanish brigantine, prize to the steamer, captured in the Rio Pongas, one hundred miles to the northward. We had good information, when we left Monrovia, that there was a vessel in the Pongas, waiting a cargo; and on our arrival off the river, finding an English man-of-war steamer, arrangements were made to send a combined boat expedition to make captures for both vessels.

"They proceeded about fifty miles from the anchorage outside the bar, carrying English colors all the way. On coming in sight, our little schooner ran up the American ensign to protect herself from any suspicion; when our own boats, after running alongside of her, changed their ensigns and produced the stripes and stars, much to the astonishment of those on board. She proved to be the *Spitfire*, of New Orleans, and ran a cargo of slaves from the same

place last year; of only about 100 tons, but, though of so small a size, stowed 346 negroes, and landed near Matanzas, Cuba, 339.

"Between her decks, where the slaves are packed, there is not room enough for a man to sit, unless inclining his head forward. Their food, half a pint of rice per day, with one pint of water. No one can imagine the sufferings of slaves, on their passage across, unless the conveyances in which they are taken can be examined. Our friend had none on board, but his cargo of three hundred were ready in a barracoon, waiting a good opportunity to start. A good hearty negro costs but twenty dollars, or thereabout, and is purchased for rum, powder, tobacco, cloth, &c. They bring from three to four hundred dollars in Cuba. The English are doing every thing in their power to prevent the slave trade, and keep a force of thirty vessels on this coast, all actively cruising. This large force is to be very much increased shortly.

"*April 4th.*—Our prize is all ready, and sails for Boston to-morrow, under charge of Lieut. Reid, with all the necessary papers and documents to condemn her. I am glad that the ice has been broken, and that we have been the ship to do it.

"I have been frequently on shore here, and received every attention from the people. I mean the white residents. We are all well on board, including all those who were engaged in the boat expedition.

"It was expected that many would be taken down; but our good fortune has sent us here during the healthiest season of the year, and we have been favored every way since our arrival on the coast. We leave to-morrow, also, for the Cape de Verdes, and a pleasure excursion among the Canary Islands, returning

to Port Praya in fifty days from our departure. We are in great hopes that we have seen the last of the coast, as all are heartily tired of it, and anxious to get home. Our prize may hasten us, as we believe the captain intends to defend himself."

Public attention being thus again drawn to the slave trade and the manner in which it is carried on, some interest may attach to various items of intelligence which we are enabled to supply, having before us the Sierra Leone Watchman of February 19.

The first article under the editorial head refers to the case of schooner *Enganador*, which was captured near the close of last year, by the British sloop-of-war *Growler*, having 300 slaves on board. When captured she had neither flag nor papers to show her nationality, but was represented to be Spanish. But it was ascertained that she had for some years been sailing out of Sierra Leone as the *Sherbro*, and belonged to a resident of that colony—one Daniel Coker. This man nominally sold her to one Thomas Caulker, by whom she was immediately transferred to a noted slave dealer at Sea-bar, named Luiz. No doubt was entertained that the sale to Caulker was merely a blind, and that Coker knew, when he made the sale, that Luiz was to be the real purchaser.

Among the negroes found on board the *Enganador* were three who had been formerly liberated from a slave vessel and taken to Sierra Leone; and their depositions are given, showing how they were again reduced to slavery. From these it appears that after living several years at Sierra Leone they were kidnapped, within the bounds of that colony itself, and sold to Luiz.

It is added that the slave traders at Sea-bar and in the River Gallinas had been much emboldened by the

prosecution of Captain Denman, in England, for his summary destruction of sundry barracoons, and openly asserted their determination to seek redress in the English courts if they were again molested in their operations.

Next follows a letter from the Rev. William Raymond, the missionary who went from this country with the Africans of the *Amistad*. It is dated at the Mendi mission-house, Little Boon River, January 8, and gives a melancholy picture of Mr. Raymond's trials.

It seems that Mr. Raymond had been the bearer of a letter from the Governor of Sierra Leone to the king of the Mendi country, by which that personage was greatly angered, as well as by various hostile demonstrations of the British against the slave establishments at Sea-bar; all of which he imputed to the agency of Mr. Raymond. He said that if the English wanted to destroy the slave trade they must destroy one half of Sierra Leone, for half of Sierra Leone was engaged in it, &c.

After much talk of this kind, in which the king inveighed bitterly

against the English and their attempts to destroy the trade, he told Mr. Raymond that he must go; and finally gave him a written notification that he must "clear out" before the 7th of February.

This king bears the name of Henry Tucker, but it does not appear whether he is an African with an English name, or actually a white man. Mr. Raymond ascribes his conduct to the instigation of Luiz and other slave traders. His letter—which is addressed to the superintendent of the Wesleyan mission at Sierra Leone—asks for advice as to the course he had better pursue; whether he should go away or remain and trust to the aid he might receive from the men-of-war, &c.

The Watchman says that Commodore Jones had resolved to protect Mr. Raymond and suppress the traffic by all the means in his power. That he had burned the factory of Luiz at Sea-bar, and several other establishments at Gallinas.

There is another letter from Mr. Raymond to his wife, but neither of them makes any mention of the *Amistad* Africans.

Prejudice.

IN the address to the Clergy in our number for May, it was said of the colored people of the United States: "In this country they can never rise above the very lowest grade of society. You may say that this state of society is all wrong; may call it *prejudice* that keeps them down; and all this may be admitted, without improving their condition in the slightest degree. The facts still remain the same."

There are not a few, however, who maintain that prejudice, being sinful, must and shall be overcome; that by taking for granted the continued existence of this prejudice, and making arrangements for relieving the colored people by withdrawing them from the sphere of its influence, we are guilty of sinful yielding to it, and that instead of pursuing such a course, the Christian community ought, with united voice, to

condemn this prejudice, and crush it under the overwhelming weight of public reprobation.

There is in this feeling an appearance of valor for the cause of truth, which deserves respect ; but there is also a remarkable forgetfulness of the strength of the adversary that is to be overcome. Those who may be expected to renounce prejudice from religious considerations are not numerous enough to answer the purpose of such sanguine calculators. Let us look at the numbers on each side :

The late work of Dr. Baird on "Religion in America," gives a sufficiently favorable, and probably as correct an estimate as can easily be obtained.

Dr. Baird estimates the population of the United States in 1844 at 18,500,000 ; communicants in evangelical churches of all denominations, 2,864,848 ; non-communicants, 15,635,152 ; less than three millions against more than fifteen millions ! Less than one to five ! If this prejudice, as it is called, were wholly extinguished in every communicant in all our evangelical churches, public sentiment would still be more than five to one in its favor.

There are doubtless some in churches which Dr. Baird does not class as evangelical, who might be expected to overcome prejudice from a sense of religious obligation. But there is doubtless an equal number in the evangelical churches, whose

religion is a mere profession, and will never subdue a prejudice.

The vote is, after all, more than five to one in favor of the prejudice.

Nor can any thing be gained by saying that this prejudice is confined to the white population of about 15,500,000. The proportion is still overwhelming ; still more than four to one, even if we count all the communicants as whites. In reality, communicants are about as numerous among the colored people, in proportion, as among the whites ; so that by leaving out the colored people, the number on both sides are diminished about equally, and the vote still stands as before—more than five to one : that the community of the pious, guarded by truth and sustained by Omnipotence, will, at some future period, subdue prejudice, and make public sentiment throughout this land and all lands, almost if not altogether, what it ought to be, is a most cheering hope ; a hope of most salutary influence. The three millions of the pious may be the means of imputing their piety to other millions, and they to others, till our people generally shall have religious principles that are stronger than prejudice, and able to overcome it. But while outnumbered as they are now, it is absolutely impossible for them to pull down a prejudice by declaring, or even by proving, that it is sinful. With an overwhelming majority of our countrymen, the known sinfulness of a practice or a feeling, is no sufficient reason for renouncing it.

Every grown man in the nation, doubtless, knows that duelling is sinful; and yet there are multitudes who have no thought of abstaining from it on that account.

The testimonies of the pious against sin, pass by such men "as the idle wind!"

We may rest assured, therefore, that the pious cannot, with their present strength, change the position of the colored man in American society, however great the sin of denying him social equality, and however

well known to be sinful, it will continue to be committed, and to be sanctioned by public sentiment, till the amount of religious principle is increased at least three-fold. Meanwhile shall he not be allowed, if he desires it, to escape to a land where no such prejudice shall obstruct his elevation, where his talents and his virtues may have free scope, and where, by showing that he is in the best and highest sense, a *man*, he may shame the world for treating him like a beast of burden!

[From the National Intelligencer.]

The Colony at Liberia.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,

December 20, 1844.

Messrs. EDITORS:—Notwithstanding enough may have already been written by different persons who have visited or resided in the colony of Liberia, relative to the condition and apparent prospects of those who emigrated from the United States to this part of the world, and who have adopted this as the place of their future residence, yet I have thought that a plain, unvarnished statement of facts from one who has resided upwards of a year in the colony, and who, during that time, has had good opportunities to become conversant with the state of public affairs, and with the situations of nearly all the colonists, may be acceptable to many of your readers, and may tend to shed some additional light on subjects which may be interesting to those especially who are desirous to receive information, from various sources, respecting the success of the great

scheme of colonizing the free people of color of the United States in the land of their forefathers.

That portion of the peninsula of Africa which has received the appellation of Liberia, embraces a tract of land on the western coast, extending from the Gallinas river on the north to Cape Palmas on the south, between the latitudes of $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 7 degrees north. Only about one-third of this territory, however, has been purchased by the Colonization Society; consequently, the colonial government does not extend as far as might be inferred from an examination of the usual maps of Africa. There are nine settlements in the colony. Of these Monrovia is the largest, containing a population of about one thousand. On the St. Paul's river there are two settlements, Caldwell and Millsburg; the first about ten miles and the second about twenty miles from Monrovia. On an arm of the St. Paul's river, called Stockton creek, is New Georgia, the settle-

ment of those recaptured Africans who were restored to the land of their nativity by the United States Government, and who have taken up their residence in the colony, and have adopted the forms and habits of their civilized neighbors and become identified with them as members of the commonwealth. At the mouth of the Junk river is the settlement of Marshall, about thirty-five miles by sea south of Monrovia. On the St. John's river are the settlements of Bassa Cove, Edina, and Bexley, about seventy miles from Monrovia. Further down the coast, at the distance of about one hundred and thirty miles by sea, is the settlement of Greenville, at the mouth of the Sinou river. Besides these, two other points have lately been settled; one on the St. Paul's river, above Caldwell, and the other on the Sinou river. The former was settled principally by those persons who formerly belonged to Mr. McDonogh, near New Orleans; and the latter by those who were liberated by the late Mrs. Read, of Mississippi.

These settlements are not compact, although they have received particular names. The houses are generally separated by intervening lots or small farms; so that the towns generally occupy a space of from one to five or six miles in extent. Monrovia, which has more the appearance of a town than any of the others, is the metropolis and seat of government, at which place the legislature, composed of ten representatives, elected by the people, meets annually. The form of government, is similar to that of the state governments in the United States. The colony is divided into two counties—Montserado and Grand Bassa; in each of which courts are regularly held, as in counties in the United States.

In visiting the legislature and the different courts during their sessions,

any unprejudiced individual cannot fail to be impressed with feelings of respect for the authorities of the colony, and with a conviction of the fact that in a country in which the mind as well as the body is unfettered, the power of self-government does not depend on the color of the skin. And when we take into consideration the fact that the majority of the colonists were brought up in slavery and came to Liberia without any education, our surprise will not be that the colony has not advanced more rapidly, but that it continues to exist at all.

The soil of Liberia is generally very good, and it will produce freely most of the productions of tropical climates. It is different in different parts of the colony. Near the sea coast the soil is light and sandy, and yields sweet potatoes, cassadas, and most of the garden vegetables that are usually raised in the United States. On the banks of some of the streams, the soil consists of clay more or less mingled with dark loam. In more elevated positions we find a reddish clayey soil, producing a luxuriant growth of forest trees and shrubbery. This last is the most favorable for the cultivation of coffee. The richest and most productive soil, however, is a deep, loose, dark mould, extending back from the banks of the rivers, and free from stones and gravel.

Most of the usual productions of tropical climates thrive well in Liberia. The coffee tree will grow as freely and yield as abundantly as perhaps in any other part of the world. And I am glad to see that the colonists are beginning to appreciate the advantages that may result from attention to the cultivation of this useful and profitable article. At some future period no doubt coffee will be the principal staple production of Liberia, and the most profitable article of exportation. The trees attain a much larger size than those in the West

Indies, and they bear much more abundantly. They do not require much cultivation; indeed they frequently grow wild in the woods on this part of the coast.

The sugar cane grows luxuriantly; but, at present, sugar cannot be made as cheaply in the colony as it can be purchased from abroad; and I am apprehensive that the colonists never will be able to compete with some other countries in the production of this article. If they had the necessary apparatus, however, they could easily produce enough for home consumption at less expense than it now costs when purchased from trading vessels.

At present very little rice is raised by the colonists, as it can be bought from the natives for less than the cultivation of it would cost.

Indian corn can be raised in the colony, not very plentifully, however; but in sufficient quantities, I think, to supply the families of those who will take the trouble to cultivate it.

Sweet potatoes can be raised in the greatest abundance during any season of the year, and on almost every kind of soil; I have seen them growing freely in the sand within sixty yards of the ocean. I have scarcely ever dined in Liberia without having this excellent vegetable on the table.

Cassadas and yams can be produced in almost any quantities; and when properly prepared for the table they are very good and nutritious vegetables.

Plantains, bananas, and all other fruits peculiar to tropical climates, thrive well in Liberia. Tomatoes, egg-plants, okra, beans, and nearly all the other usual garden vegetables can be raised easily. Irish potatoes are, however, out of the question; nor do cabbages thrive well. We have plenty of greens, but few cabbage heads.

Although very little cotton has yet been produced in the colony, yet it has been clearly ascertained that, with proper cultivation, the cotton tree will grow well and yield abundantly. Several kinds of cotton trees grow wild in the forests.

In regard to the *climate*, I may say that it is altogether very pleasant. The temperature is exceedingly uniform; and the warmth of the atmosphere is generally much less than I have frequently experienced it in the District of Columbia. I have scarcely ever known the mercury in the thermometer to rise above 86 degrees. The extreme limits may be set down at 72 and 87 degrees of Fahrenheit. I have never known the mercury to sink below the former nor to rise above the latter number. The variation in the heat, as indicated by the thermometer, is seldom more than four or five degrees, during the twenty-four hours of a day.

There is properly no real distinction in regard to seasons. But as more rain falls during the half of the year beginning with May than during the other half beginning with November, the former is usually called the wet or rainy season, and the latter the dry season. There is not, however, any month during the whole year in which we do not have more or less rain; nor is there any month in which we do not have some fine clear weather. I have seen garden vegetables perishing for the want of rain during the months of July and August, and I have seen pretty copious showers of rain during the months of January and February. During what is called the rainy season, the temperature of the atmosphere is generally five or six degrees less than during the dry season: the thermometer usually standing at from 76 to 80 degrees during the day in the rainy season, and from 80 to 86 degrees in the dry season.

The rivers in Liberia are comparatively small; and although some of them are of sufficient size to admit vessels of eighty or a hundred tons, yet, in consequence of the difficulty presented by the bars at their mouths, they are seldom entered except by the small crafts belonging to the colony. The land bordering on the rivers in the vicinity of the ocean is generally low, and in some places very swampy; but towards the headwaters of the rivers the land is elevated and covered with large forest trees.

In regard to the influences of the climate on the physical system, I may remark that my experience and observations in reference to myself and many others, have confirmed me in the opinion that the climaterial influences are less deleterious to human health than is generally supposed in the United States. Every person who emigrates from a temperate climate to this country must experience some acclimating process, which may or may not be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to constitutional predisposition, previous habits of life, &c. In some cases the acclimating fever is violent and fatal in its effects, but in the large majority of cases it is mild in its form and yields readily to appropriate treatment. Very few persons die during the first attack of fever; the principal danger is in consequence of relapses, which, in nineteen cases in twenty, are the results of personal imprudence, and not the effects of the continued injurious influences of the climate. I find that those persons who have resided in the colony one year or more, and who are able to live comfortably, generally enjoy very good health. The principal cases of sickness are among those who are in indigent circumstances, and in whom poverty and indolence are often associated.

In concluding this perhaps already

too lengthy letter, I cannot forbear an expression of my feelings relative to the kind of immigrants who are best calculated to build up and sustain this interesting little republic; which, if properly sustained and fostered, will no doubt become a mighty nation, shedding the lights of civilization and Christianity far into the interior of this land of ignorance and superstition. The Colonization Society should exercise greater discrimination in the kind of people whom they send to Liberia, or the advancement of the interests and blessings of the colony will bear but a faint comparison to the number of immigrants. The great scheme of colonization, as I understand it, is not designed simply to rid the United States of the colored population, but to establish in the land of their ancestors a colony of free colored persons, for the two-fold purpose of promoting their own happiness and of extending the benign influence of civilization and Christianity to those who are grovelling in the darkness of heathenism. I think that the colony has not yet arrived at that point which renders it a fit receptacle for all kinds of characters—a place of refuge for all kinds of slaves who may be “manumitted for Liberia,”—or an asylum for those whose constitutions have been broken down by hard labor or old age. It is important that men of sterling integrity, of industrious habits, and of some degree of intelligence at least, should combine their efforts to overcome the many obstacles that may be presented to the accomplishment of any grand design—to the achievement of any bold and hazardous enterprise. This is equally true in regard to the maintenance of a republican form of government in any country, especially in a new country, the aborigines of which are in a state of barbarism, and the subjugation of whom depends in a great measure on

the introduction of habits of civilization among them.

It is true that the colony of Liberia has already been established on a basis which is impregnable to the assaults of a savage foe; yet it is essential that men of intelligence, of upright moral character, and of habits of industry, should unite in adding additional strength to the foundation, or I am fearful that the beautiful fabric which is now being erected, will totter beneath its own weight, and perhaps finally fall from the contin-

ual additions of rubbish which are being heaped upon it.

I would not write disparagingly of the present condition and prospects of the colony; for, although much remains to be done, yet a great deal has been accomplished; and, taking every thing into consideration, the colony of Liberia is justly entitled to the respect as well as to the sympathy and admiration of the world.

J. W. LUGENBEEL,
Colonial Physician.

Journal of Messrs. Teage and Brown.

"HAVING been joined with friend James Brown in a commission to settle some matters with the kings and chiefs of Little Bassa, from which place we returned on the 17th ult., we give below an extract from our journal:

"Wednesday, 13th, made arrangements with Mr. Jonas Carey for his canoe and six boys to accompany us to Bah Gay's, and having furnished ourselves with supplies as far as Messrs. Jones and Carey's stores would enable us to do so, we left at 8 A. M. for the king's residence. Our route was along a beautiful river studded near the coast by numerous islets mantled in the deepest green. The river here is exceedingly beautiful, and expands itself almost into a bay. Bah Gay lives about seven miles from the embouchure. Reached there about 10 o'clock. He appeared much pleased to see us, and granted us a gracious reception with—eh, how doo my friend! and a loud and sonorous snap of the finger. After mutual enquiries about *old friends*, his majesty retired, rather unceremoniously we thought. He returned soon after, and we discover-

ed why he had gone. He went to adjust his wardrobe. We found him in his undress—that is, with only a part of his haunches covered. He now had his whole person wrapped in blue cotton from his shoulders to his heels.

"We announced to him at once the object of our visit, and enquired where we should hold the palaver. He said the chiefs would not come to his town, and he would not go to theirs. We must (continued he) have de palaver for beach at you (Teage's) factory. We saw at once there was jealousy and suspicion among them. In fact Bah Gay showed symptoms of apprehension unworthy of a personage of so high standing. He has for two or three years suffered with some mesenteric disorder, which no *gregree* has been able to correct; and, as usual in such cases, the *dottor* has concealed his ignorance by assuring his majesty that he is *witched*. This important fact having transpired, it was sustained by evidence in the Harem. Two of his majesty's wives voluntarily came forward and assured their lord that they had *witched* him by putting the

gregree into his chop; and, moreover, that they had been induced to do so by one Bey, a chief in the country. Bey's name having been mentioned in connection with the king's sickness, he avoided his majesty's vengeance by flight. The chiefs of the country, who have been long jealous of Bah Gay, and desirous of an opportunity to reduce him, took up the fugitive Bey as a convenient tool for their purpose, and persuaded him to call a devil palaver. His Satanic majesty, always to be found by those who seek him, granted a ready audience and took up the case. The time for the ghostly consistory was fixed, and the intended victim summoned to attend. Bah Gay saw at once the snare spread for him, and knew that once in the toils his fate would be inevitable. He therefore returned for answer—I no go. Again the women of his town were made to tremble by a ghostly voice sounding in the bushy suburbs the fatal summons. Again Bah Gay refused; and knowing the next notification would be the ring of the musket and the whoop of savage war, he dispatched with all speed a letter to Gov. Roberts imploring his interposition. We arrived just in time to arrest the blow.

“Dwah-Will, one of the chiefs, is the head devil of the country. We have not seen his excellency, but if he be more of a devil than some we have seen in that country, then he is truly all sorts of a devil. This devil-palaver seems to be a politico-religious institution, and is the highest tribunal known amongst them. When any one under accusation desires the decision of the devil, he goes to Dwa-will, the ‘devil’s mate.’ He then confers with his superior, and fixes the time and place of the audience. They usually select for the purpose a dark and gloomy forest, suited to the genius of the infernal

arbiter. When preliminaries are arranged, a messenger is dispatched to notify the appellee to attend. The messenger, disguised by a hideous visor rudely carved and painted to caricature the human face divine, wends his way through the woods, avoiding roads lest he should be seen, and so regulates his speed as to reach the residence of his victim at night. Then, when sleep has buried all the inhabitants in soft oblivion, he raises his awful voice and startles them with the dreaded notice. The messenger is always a ventriloquist, and the sound comes as from the bottomless pit. The women wrap their children up and cover their faces. The men turn out and signify by significant noises their audience of Diabolus’s legate. Should the individual summoned to attend, fail to appear at the proper time, the message is repeated with threatenings of vengeance. No other indulgence can ever be granted. If he continue disobedient, the messenger is sent the third time; but he now carries with him three or four masks similar to those he wears on his face—called by the natives *devil*—and creeping up to the town at night, he throws these visors or masks into it and retires. All the inhabitants are *de facto* placed under the ban of the country. They can be captured, sold or slain, and their property confiscated by any and every one. Indeed they are then lawful prey, and seeing they lie under the malediction of the devil, in whose good graces all these people are fond of securing a place, the whole country will eagerly combine against them. Under any circumstances it is death for a woman to see the devil, and the man who should show a woman one of these devils would surely have to give the devil satisfaction for exposing him to the curious gaze of a female. African devils are like devils

everywhere else. However they may simper, and smile, and flatter, when they have no power, they are terrible when once they have infixed their claws. We once witnessed a devil-palaver from which the victim escaped only by the payment of twenty slaves; and although the amount was paid by Bah Gay, the man to release whom it was paid is now leagued against him. We resolved at once to go on to the beach, and made a requisition on our baskets for strength for the task. Bah Gay promised to follow us to-morrow. Having *dashed* the king a few bars of tobacco and piled our baggage on the *boy's* heads, we commenced to trace a path which we had been told was 'good too much and have no more one water to cross.' This latter we soon found to be nearly literally true. The path a great part of the way is neither more nor less than a gutter which the water has made for itself, in which it lay in filthy alliance with its own depth of black mud, threatening indelible darkness to whatsoever may come in contact with it. We enquired whether there was any way to avoid the water, when being assured there was not, we trudged on affecting no little fun in wading. The path lay along a ravine which was, in days of yore, an extensive morass, but now partly filled up by decayed vegetation and debris from the adjacent elevations. These lowlands offer excellent sites for plantations of rice and all kinds of succulent vegetables. Emerging from this gloomy and filthy canal, we found a firmer dry path forming all sorts of angles through a forest of ancient trees, whose abundant drapery completely canopied us and concealed the sun from our view. About two miles brought us to a grass field, where we were exposed to the full force of a fiery sun. Such

was the fury with which Sol shot his beams upon us, that it seemed as if he was paying us for the shelter we had just enjoyed. Perhaps it was the sudden transition from the invigorating shade of embowering trees, to exposure to the direct rays of the sun that rendered the heat so oppressive.

" 'We could now distinctly hear the surf beating its everlasting symphony upon the beach, and knew therefrom that 'we close ketch em,' and a walk of fifteen minutes brought us in full view of the old Atlantic.

Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll!
 Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain;
 Man marks the earth with ruin—his control
 Stops with the shore;—upon the watery plain
 The wrecks are all thy deed, nor doth remain
 A shadow of man's ravage, save his own,
 When, for a moment, like a drop of rain,
 He sinks into thy depths with bubbling groan,
 Without a grave, unknelt, uncoffined and
 [unknown.

" 'We turned our eyes in the direction of the factories, and there they were, basking in the sun, at a distance of about two miles. Inspired by the sound of the surf, and refreshed by the spray which was continually thrown upon us, we soon measured the distance, and reached the factories about 5 P. M. Anxious to execute our mission, we dispatched a messenger to each head man—and to each we sent a little tobacco and a fathom of *white* cloth, charging each one to say 'Mess. Teage and Mess. Brown give you sarvice. Dey come for bring Gubnor word—dey want for see you beach to-morrow.'

" 'Having done Mr. Ferguson, whose factory was our hotel, all the harm we could by eating one-half of his fowls for supper, and threatened him with eating the other half 'to-morrow,' we then betook ourselves to *mat*.' "

Despatches from Liberia.

SINCE the preceding pages were in type, we have received still later intelligence from Liberia, by the arrival of the "Medonna" at New York. No person can fail to be interested in the following communications from Gov. Roberts, Dr. Lugenbeel, &c., exhibiting, as they do, the general prosperity of the commonwealth, and many highly encouraging facts connected with the various settlements, and the extension of the colonial influence. Our friends and patrons will not fail to notice the purchases of territory which have been made, and also the obstacles which were in the way of the purchase of New Cesters.

The letter of Gov. Roberts, dated 17 April, and the one from Major Benson, relating to the seizure, by the British, of the schooner "John Seys," belonging to Benson, a colonist, cannot fail to attract attention. We give the facts just as we have received them, preferring not to make any comments until we hear again from Liberia on the subject and learn the *finale* thereof.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, March 18, 1845.

SIR:—On the eve of my departure for Grand Bassa and New Cess, as intimated in my last communication to you, Capt. Bruce, of the United States Brig Truxtun, arrived here from Port Praya, bound on a cruise to leeward, and very kindly offered me a passage to Sinou, which place I had been anxious to visit for some time, to settle some disputes that had

arisen between the colonists and natives, in consequence of some thefts that had been committed by certain Fishmen, residents in the Sinou country; and particularly to arrange and settle the difficulty caused by the improper interference of one Captain Tasko, a British trader, who disputes the rights of the colonial authorities to impose custom duties on foreign merchandize imported into the colonies, upon the ground assumed by Com. Jones; and particularly at Sinou, as a balance of the purchase money for the territory occupied by the Americans remains unpaid. To enlist the natives on his side and array them against the colonists, he refused to credit them with goods, as he had been in the habit of doing, unless they would insist that the Americans suffer his goods to be landed free of duty. This of course was refused; he then instigated the natives to make a demand for the immediate payment for the balance due them on account of the territory; and if not settled forthwith, which he knew could not be done, to draw a line just above the settlement, limiting the colonial jurisdiction to not more than one mile of sea coast, which he told them was equal to the amount of money they had received on the purchase, and that the colonists should not be permitted to interfere with goods landed beyond that line. This done, Tasko proceeded to land goods at Fishtown, some two hundred yards from the settlement, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the colonial authorities at Greenville, and, as I am informed, armed the natives and encouraged them to resist any attempt on the part of the authorities to seize them. In this state matters remained until my arrival, 13th February.

After much delay and trouble, I succeeded in assembling the kings and chiefs of the Sinou country in grand council, to adjust and settle all palavers existing between the colonists and country people.

The chiefs and people complained much of the inconvenience they had been compelled to suffer in consequence of the nonfulfillment of the contract for the territory purchased by the Mississippi colonization society in 1836, and felt that they were under no obligations to protect the colonists from frequent depredations, committed by Fishmen, resident in the Sinou country, upon their cattle and farms.

I am happy, however, to be able to inform you, that I succeeded in settling amicably all difficulties, and restored confidence on all sides. The Fishmen, a restless and ambitious people, who have given us more trouble than all the tribes along the coast together, and who, backed by one or two designing foreigners, have been the principal agents in causing all these difficulties, (except twenty-six, who were permitted to remain at the request of the king, who pledged himself for their good behavior) have been required to leave the country, and I feel satisfied that the good understanding now established will be permanent.

I have agreed to pay, in a few days, the balance due on the purchase of territory, (some \$500,) for which, and in consideration of certain presents, privileges and protection, granted to the Sinou tribe, the kings and chiefs have ceded to the American Colonization Society the entire Sinou country, (see accompanying document marked A.) This may be considered quite an acquisition to the colony, and we hope soon to conclude a purchase for the Ground Butau country, now in progress, which will give us an unbroken line of said coast of some forty miles from the

S. E. end of the Blue Barra country to the N. W. extremity of the Little Butau country—and I hope will secure us from any further interruption from foreign traders, at least within that line of coast. The following is a copy of an agreement entered into between the colonial authorities and the king and chiefs of the Sinou country, viz :

"Be it known to all, that the colonial authorities of the commonwealth of Liberia, and the king and chiefs of the Sinou country, having met in grand council this 24th day of February, 1845, to settle all difficulties existing between the American settlers at Greenville and the Sinou tribe, have adjusted all misunderstandings and agreed to the following terms :

"1st. The Sinou people agree to pay to Stephen Young as a compensation for certain articles stolen from said Young by one Pine, a Sinou man, the following : 2 Bullocks, 10 Kroos Palm Oil and 1 Goat.

"2nd. The Sinou people cede to the American Colonization Society their entire territory, and incorporate themselves with the American colonists, forming an integral part of the government, and subject to the laws of the commonwealth of Liberia.

"3rd. All difficulties arising between colonists and natives, shall be adjudicated and settled by the authorities at Greenville, subject to an appeal to the Governor of the commonwealth.

"4th. In consideration of the grant of territory to the American Colonization Society, or to the commonwealth of Liberia, the colonial authorities promise to protect the Sinou people from the aggressions of the other tribes, as far as can be done consistently with the peaceable policy of the government of Liberia.

"5th. It is agreed that the government will employ and encourage Sinou people as laborers, when it can

be done on as favorable terms as other natives are willing to be employed at.

"6th. It is further agreed and understood, that for the considerations mentioned in the 4th section of this instrument, the Sinou chiefs or people are permitted to trade with natives of other tribes, with colonists or foreigners, without being required, as are the American colonists, to obtain from the government a license to prosecute such trade. It is understood, however, that all goods or merchandize landed from foreign vessels, to natives within the Sinou territory, shall pay the lawful duty at present of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, and shall be landed under the inspection of the collector of customs or his deputy.

"Done at Greenville, Sinou, this 24th day of February, 1845.

[SIGNED] J. J. ROBERTS,
GEO. SANDS,
SOLDIER KING,
PETER KIMO,
KING WILLIAMS,
DAVIS & NINNEY."

I spent eighteen days at Sinou, surveyed and run off the lots at Greenville which had not been attended to heretofore; and the farms on which the Reid people are situated, some five miles back from the coast, on the N. W. bank of the Sinou river. I was exceedingly gratified to find those Reid people so comfortable and happy; for the time they have been in the colony, I think they have made decidedly greater improvements than any set of immigrants we have ever had. On entering the settlement I was struck at once with the air of comfort and neatness that seemed everywhere to abound, not excelled, I am certain, if equalled, in any other settlement. Coming from Mississippi, they had very little sickness after their arrival, and entered immediately on their

farms and commenced operations, assisting each other until each family had a comfortable house, and some four or five acres of ground planted; they live in perfect harmony, looking upon each other as members of the same family. During my stay, I succeeded in making arrangements to put the settlement in a pretty good state of defence. There is, however, a deficiency in small arms; one hundred good United States muskets would place them in a position to defend themselves successfully against any attack that might be made by the natives. At present, however, no such event is expected; still it is vitally important that they be prepared for any emergency, particularly the people up the river.

I found at Sinou a quantity of lumber, that Mr. Murray had received in exchange for extra supplies furnished the destitute emigrants by the "Jane," and some assistance granted those by the "Lime Rock." It occurred to me, that no better use could be made of this lumber, than to have erected, without delay, a suitable building for the accommodation of emigrants, and a depot for emigrants' stores, and other property belonging to the Society at Greenville. It will also be a great saving to the Society, and will pay for itself in the accommodation of two expeditions. At Sinou we find considerable difficulty in procuring suitable houses for the accommodation of emigrants and stores, and only at extravagant rates.

The U. S. ship Jamestown, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Skinner, arrived here on the 1st inst., and remained a week. I had not the pleasure of seeing the commodore, being absent at the time of his arrival. I hope, however, on his return from the leeward, to have much conversation with him respecting our affairs, and to secure his countenance and protection during his stay on

this coast. He is friendly to the cause of colonization, and I have no doubt will do all he can to further the interests of these colonies. I leave to-morrow for Grand Bassa, and shall be absent some ten or fifteen days. I hope, however, to return in time to give some account of our doings in that quarter by Capt. Brown or Lawlin. Your letter by the Jamestown is received, but I have not time now to reply to it, but will do so by the next opportunity.

I am, sir, respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
J. J. ROBERTS.

Rev. Wm. McLAIN,
Sec. Am. Col. Soc'y,
Washington City, D. C.

BEXLEY, LIBERIA,
April 12th, 1845.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—You are no doubt aware of the circumstances which brought me to this place. If I am not mistaken, I wrote to you immediately before I left Monrovia; and as you may wish to know something about my “wanderings on the seas and shores of Africa,” since the date of my last letter, I will give you a short sketch. You are aware that I came to this little interesting settlement in charge of a company of twenty-one emigrants, who were liberated by Mr. Wilson, a philanthropic gentleman of Shelby county, Kentucky. I left Monrovia in company with those people, on the 1st of January, in the brig “Chipola,” and on the 3rd we arrived at Grand Bassa. In a few days after, I succeeded in getting the people comfortably situated at this place; and I have been with them ever since. They have all had one attack or more of acclimating fever, and some of them have been very sick. Two of them have died; and unfortunately they were both men. I tried very hard to save them, but all my efforts proved unavailing. There were pe-

culiar circumstances connected with both these cases, which tended to counteract the efforts which were made for their restoration to health; but as they died in Africa, of course it will generally be supposed that their death was altogether the result of the “dreadful African fever.” One of these persons was undoubtedly very much diseased previous to his arrival in this country; as was clearly exhibited in the examination of the body which I made after his death. Another of these immigrants, who has not suffered much with fever, is in a declining state; and from present appearances I am apprehensive that he cannot live many days. He is evidently laboring under that fatal malady, pulmonary consumption, developed no doubt by the change which his physical system has been undergoing since his arrival in this country.

Persons who are strongly predisposed to any such disease, or whose systems have been much impaired by sickness in America, ought not to come to Africa; for I am satisfied that the whole physical system must undergo a thorough change, before a person from a temperate climate can enjoy good health in this country; and in undergoing this change, if any part of the system has previously become enfeebled by disease, the individual is more liable to protracted suffering, and to death. The person to whom I have alluded as being the victim of consumption, suffered very much in the United States from frequent attacks of pluresy, according to the statements of his companions; and notwithstanding he seemed to have a slighter attack of fever than most of the others, yet from the first, I could clearly perceive that there was very considerable irritation of the lungs, which I vainly endeavored to overcome by cupping, blistering, &c.

I mention these circumstances to

call your attention to the fact, that Liberia is not the place for any person whether white or colored, who cannot come with a pretty good constitution, as well as with a cheerful mind.

In regard to my own health, I may remark, that I keep about nearly all the time; but sometimes it requires vigorous mental exertion to set the languid muscles in motion, and to rise superior to the debilitating influences of a vertical sun, and to shake off the chills or drive the fever through the pores of the skin. But I do not feel discouraged. I still think that I shall be able to live in Africa at least a year or two longer.

Yours truly,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

Rev. WM. McLAIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, April 2, 1845.

SIR:—In compliance with a resolution of the legislature at its last session, I appointed Messrs. Teage and Brown a commission to proceed to Little Bassa, to adjust and settle certain difficulties existing between king Bah Gay and certain other chiefs in said country, (the particulars of which have been transmitted to you at Washington,) and if possible to effect a purchase of the remaining unpurchased portion of the Little Bassa territory. They proceeded on their mission early in March last, and succeeded in assembling the chiefs of the country in "grand palaver." It was, however, soon discovered that Prince and Salt Water, the opposing chiefs, had no real cause of complaint against the king, but seemed determined to sacrifice him to their own selfishness, and set up for themselves an independent sovereignty. After much palavering to bring about a reconciliation without effort, the commissioners gave Prince and Salt Water to understand distinctly, the relation

existing between this government and king Bah Gay; that he was bound under a solemn treaty, which was known to them, not to engage directly or indirectly in any war without the consent and approbation of this government, and that Bah Gay had twice asked permission of the colonial authorities to chastise them, which had not been granted, in the hope of effecting without a war, an honorable reconciliation. In this, however, they had failed in consequence of their own stubbornness. Nevertheless, Bah Gay would not be permitted to make war upon them except in self-defence, and that any aggression on their part tending to disturb the peace and quiet of Bah Gay or any of his people would be punished severely. By the accompanying deed you will perceive that the commissioners succeeded in the purchase of the territory, which extinguishes the native claim, and gives to the Society an unbroken line of sea coast from Digby on the N. W. to Grand Bassa Point on the S. E. In order to make some observations respecting the force of the country, the quality of the soil, &c., &c., and if possible to ascertain the real state of feeling among the people towards Bah Gay, I passed through the Little Bassa country on my way to Grand Bassa, taking in my route Bah Gay's principal town. No mention of my intention to visit Bah Gay, having reached his town, I found his majesty in the midst of preparations for a journey to Monrovia. He was to have set out the following day; my arrival, however, deranged all his plans and delayed his visit for two weeks. He will probably be here to-morrow. I learned from Bah Gay, that soon after the departure of the commissioners, Prince returned to his allegiance, but Salt Water remained obstreperous and seemed disposed to give him considerable trouble. Some two

weeks prior to my arrival, Salt Water had visited his town and he was disposed to treat him civilly, but the boy (as he calls him) behaved so rudely and uttered such treasonable language, that he was compelled to confine him, and would have taken off his head but for the solicitation of Prince. He discharged him under the promise and invocation, (according to a certain country rite of taking a draught of a decoction extracted from certain charms,) that he would demean himself in future as becoming a good subject. Bah Gay gave us to understand that the object of his contemplated visit to Monrovia, is to incorporate himself and people with the Americans, to subscribe to the constitution and laws of the commonwealth, and become *de facto*, citizens of Liberia. He says a large majority of his people have been urging him to this course for some time, as the only means of quietly and forever putting at rest the desire of a few reckless and abandoned individuals of his tribe, among whom Salt Water stands most prominent, to renew the slave trade by transporting them to New Cess.

At Grand Bassa I found, under the judicious management of Judge Day, the affairs of the country progressing steadily and in regular order. Immediately on my arrival, I proceeded to obtain an assemblage of the chiefs of the surrounding country, to adjust and settle the difficulty with Bob Gray and Young Bob; Peter Harris and Young Bob soon made their appearance; Bob Gray, under a consciousness of his guilt, and a conviction that he would be punished according to his desert, absconded from his town immediately on hearing of my arrival. If he will remain at a distance from the settlements, perhaps it will be well; should he return, we shall be compelled to take measures to bring him to justice.

Young Bob was very penitent, and

willing to submit to any terms we might think proper to propose. He attempted many apologies for the conduct of his people, and charges all upon Bob Gray. He paid the first instalment of the indemnity for the articles stolen from Factory Island.

Some three months ago six slaves escaped from a town bordering on the New Cess country, and found their way to Edina, and subsequently to their own country; one Sofly John, a native chief, who claims them as his property, three or four weeks ago seized and detained in custody, a colonist from Edina, charged him with encouraging and assisting said slaves to escape to the American settlement. Judge Day dispatched Messrs. Harrison and Fuller to Sofly John, to ascertain the particulars and procure the release of the man. Upon examination, no proof (not the slightest) could be produced to convict him of rendering any assistance to the slaves, or even of possessing any knowledge of their intention to escape. Sofly John nevertheless insisted that he was guilty, simply on the ground that this man had been trading in his town, and left for Edina at or about the time the slaves escaped; consequently must have had some knowledge of their intention, and no doubt assisted them in their flight; he should therefore hold him until the slaves were recovered, or their value in merchandize, and if any attempt should be made by the colonists to release him he should be put to death. Sofly John, without the remotest idea of carrying this threat into execution, used this strong language for effect. It had the effect intended. Messrs. Harrison and Fuller became alarmed for the man's safety, and pledged the commonwealth, unauthorized, of course, for the payment of some one hundred dollars to procure his release.

I gave them to understand distinct-

ly that no such terms could be agreed to by the commonwealth :

1st. That no proof existed to convict the man of any participation in the escape of the slaves ;

2nd. That Soffly John is under certain treaty stipulations with this government, to refer all matters of dispute that may arise between himself or any of his people and colonists, to the colonial authorities for adjustment and settlement, and therefore this act of Soffly John's is a violation of said treaty, and subjects him to certain penalties ; and further, such a policy would be fatal to the future peace and prospects of these colonies ; establish the president and every petty chief to extort money from the government, would be detaining colonists wherever found in the country.

I sent a message to Soffly John to request him to meet me at Bassa Cove, to talk his palaver. His highness declined an interview, unless I would furnish him with certain articles of dress, suitable to his standing as a prince, viz : a shirt, coat, boots, and an umbrella, which would enable him to make a decent and respectable appearance ; being altogether unprepared to grant this modest request, I had not the pleasure of meeting prince John ; I however sent him word that the seizure and detention of a citizen of these colonies, passing quietly through the country could not be tolerated ; that if this man had wronged him as he supposed, it was his duty to have delivered him to the officers, and made application to the colonial authorities (as he had done on former occasions, and obtained satisfaction,) for redress, and that we shall hold him responsible for the violation of his treaty and good faith with the colonists, and that the privileges of trade and intercourse heretofore enjoyed by his people, would be withheld until full reparation be made. I

requested Judge Day to visit Soffly John as early as convenient, and make known to him fully the feelings of this government in regard to his conduct, and to arrange the misunderstanding, which I feel confident can be done without difficulty.

I am sorry to inform you that an effort in regard to the purchase of New Cess failed. The slaver established there has not failed to exert himself in every possible manner to foil all our attempts, and so far has succeeded. He has for some time been dealing out, and continues to deal out large presents to their chiefs and people, and tells them he will pay for the country, if they insist upon selling it, one thousand dollars more than we are willing or able to pay. So long as he continues thus lavish of his means, we shall not be able to do anything.

The prospects of the people in Grand Bassa, those of Edina and Bassa Cove particularly, I think were never better than at the present time. They are turning their attention, with but few exceptions, almost exclusively to agriculture. The culture of coffee they have commenced in real earnest, and in a few years will be able, no doubt, to export some considerable quantity. Mr. Moore is now gathering in his crops, and notwithstanding he expects to lose at least 25 per cent for the want of force and machinery to gather and clean it, still he will save several thousand pounds of clear coffee. I was astonished, however, on visiting Bexley, where a year ago every thing appeared so flourishing, and the prospects of the people so flattering, to find that such little improvement had been made, particularly on the farms, during the past year. Notwithstanding much praise is due to a number of enterprising citizens of that settlement, it was nevertheless mortifying to me to see what I considered a year ago several of the

most promising farms, if not altogether abandoned, shamefully neglected. Their owners not content with pursuing the slow but sure and certain road to independence and wealth, invested their means in merchandize, (thinking to grow rich more speedily,) and commenced (what they knew nothing about, as the result has proved,) an itinerant traffic with the natives of the country. They have, however, discovered their error, and I am happy to find out, are making preparations to return to their former pursuits; I hope others will profit by their experience.

Of the emigrants by the "Chipola," two have died; the others, except one, who is laboring under some chronic disease and will probably die, are convalescent, and commenced operations on their farms which have been assigned them in Bexley. Dr. Lugenbeel, Judge Day and others, speak of them as a very interesting and industrious set of people; they appear much pleased with their new home, and will no doubt do well, and be a great acquisition to the colony.

Commodore Jones has made no further communication respecting British claims, nor has he visited the colony since my return. I understand an officer of the British navy not long since made a proposal to the chiefs of New Cess to enter into some treaty, the particulars of which I have not been able to learn: some say for the acquisition of territory, others say for the suppression of the slave trade and establishing legitimate commerce. I will give you the earliest information of their movements. We are looking anxiously for the proceedings of the annual meeting of the board of directors, to learn the result of their deliberations on the subject of Commodore Jones' communication.

We are proceeding with the building for the United States government

with all possible dispatch. The unusual quantity of rain that has fallen this season, unparalleled in the history of the oldest inhabitants, has retarded very much our operations. It shall be completed, however, just as soon as possible.

I am happy to find, sir, that you are succeeding so well on the fifteen thousand dollars subscription. If we had the funds, I have no doubt that in less than one year we could effect a purchase of almost the entire coast between this and Cape Palmas. Several important points, viz: Nau-nakroo, King Willey Town, and Tasso, are now offered, but we have not the means.

I am, sir, most respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

To Rev. Wm. McLain,

Sec. and Treas. Am. Col. Soc'y,
Washington City, D. C.

"DEED OF THE PURCHASE OF THE
LITTLE BASSA TERRITORY.

"*Know all men by these presents:*
"That I, Bah Gay, king of the Little Bassa country and people, for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars paid by the commonwealth of Liberia, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents, do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, and confirm unto the said commonwealth of Liberia forever, a certain lot or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the Little Bassa country, and bounded as follows: commencing at Junk Point on the southern side of the Junk bar or river's mouth, running thence in an easterly direction to a purchase recently made of a portion of the Little Bassa country by Gov. Roberts from Zoola, Lewis Crocker & Brother, thence along and in a line with said purchase as far into the interior as the site of the town former-

ly occupied by the late king Bassa, thence bending around at a right angle and running in the direction of Junk until it strikes the Junk river, thence along the line of our former purchase from the said Zoola, Lewis Crocker & Brother to the place of commencement, said description of above boundary is intended to include the territory known by the name of the Little Bassa country, over which Bah Gay is king, and no more, to have and to hold the above granted and bargained premises, together with all and singular the buildings, improvements and appurtenances thereof and thereto belonging, to the said commonwealth of Liberia. And I, the said Bah Gay, king of the Little Bassa country, do covenant to and with the said commonwealth of Liberia, that at, and until the en sealing hereof, I as king of Little Bassa territory had good right and lawful authority to sell and convey the aforesaid premises in fee simple. And I, the said Bah Gay, king of the Little Bassa country for myself, and my heirs, and successors, will forever warrant and defend the said commonwealth of Liberia against any person or persons claiming any part or parcel of the above named premises.

"In witness whereof I, Bah Gay, have set my hand and seal at Marshall, this fifteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

BAH GAY, his X mark. [SEAL.]

"Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

A. B. HENDERSON, J. P.
JAMES J. POWELL, J. P.
JOHN B. WOODLAND.

A true copy,
J. N. LEWIS, *Col. Sec.*"

"PROCLAMATION.

"To all to whom these presents may come :

"KNOW YE. That this day king

Bah Gay, rightful sovereign of the Little Bassa country, until relinquished to the commonwealth of Liberia as per deed dated at Marshall Junk, 15th day of February, 1845, has this day subscribed to the constitution and laws of this commonwealth, thereby incorporating himself and people with the people of these colonies, and entitled to the care and protection of this government.

"Be it therefore understood, that any improper interference either by colonists or natives, calculated to disturb the peace and quiet of the said Bah Gay or any of his people, will be promptly noticed and punished by this government.

"Given at Monrovia, this the fifth day of April, 1845.

J. J. ROBERTS.

A true copy,
J. N. LEWIS, *Col. Sec.*"

"PURCHASE OF THE SINOU COUNTRY.

"This Indenture made this 27th day of February, A. D., 1845, between Joseph J. Roberts, agent of the American Colonization Society and Governor of the commonwealth of Liberia, on the one part, witnesseth, that in consideration of the one thousand dollars paid to the Sinou chiefs, by certain commissioners in the year 1836, and for certain presents, and the protection extended to the Sinou people, we, the undersigned king and chiefs aforesaid, do by these presents confirm the purchase of certain territory by the Mississippi state colonization society in the year 1836, and by this instrument do further grant, cede and transfer, and by these presents have granted, ceded and transferred to the American Colonization Society, the entire Sinou country without reservation, to have and to hold forever, viz : commencing at the entrance of the Sinou river, and running along the sea beach in a northerly direction

about fifteen miles, thence easterly into the interior about thirty miles, thence southerly about fifteen miles, thence westerly about thirty miles to the place of beginning. To have and to hold forever the aforesaid territory, and to exercise political power and control over the persons and property of whatever description within said territory, and we the undersigned bind ourselves, our heirs and assigns forever, to warrant and defend the said American Colonization Society or the commonwealth of Liberia, against any person or persons claiming any part of said territory.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year first above written.

"Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

THOMAS WILSON,

RICHARD E. MURRAY.

GEORGE SANDS,	his X mark.
SOLDIER KING,	his X mark.
PETER,	his X mark.
KIMAR,	his X mark.
COON OF BLACK WILL,	his X mark.
KING WILLIAM,	his X mark.
DAVIS,	his X mark.
NIMNEY,	his X mark.

A true copy,

J. N. LEWIS, *Col. Sec.*"

SEIZURE OF THE SCHOONER JOHN SEYS.

BASSA COVE, GRAND BASSA,

April 16, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—I feel myself constrained to forward you a few lines, *by express*, in order to inform you of the state of affairs down here.

Judge Day has no doubt wrote you of the intelligence brought by Captain Cortland, and Mr. Davidson, of the Little Ben, from Sierra Leone, to wit: that Commodore Jones instructed them to pay no more

harbor duties, nor comply with any commercial regulation exacting money from Englishmen. Davidson having refused to pay anchorage, the collector seized goods sufficient to satisfy the law, and he left here on the 14th, of course to report to some man-of-war he may fall in with, while on his way to Monrovia or Sierra Leone. Yesterday, the 15th, a three-masted man-of-war boat (English) came in our harbor, took possession of my schooner, the "John Seys," and after sporting with her by sailing up and down in our harbor, yesterday afternoon, and running races with their own boat, as if, seemingly, to aggravate and defy us on shore, they then ran out some distance, anchored for the night, and this morning they are bearing her off for the leeward. I had my papers all on board, and the Colonial flag flying, all of which they disregarded. There was nothing on board to amount to suspicion that she is a slaver. She has in a great many oil casks, all of which have had oil in them, and some are now full; moreover I had just put a fine cargo of English and American goods on board, and she was to have sailed to leeward on a trading voyage this day. I am pretty certain they will bring her back so soon as their spree is over; but then is it not likely she will be robbed of every valuable thing, for which English tars are famous? They forbid to let the captain go on board yesterday, and though they were told by the mate that *he was* the captain, that he was astern in the canoe, yet they refused to let him on board; two of them took aim at him with their muskets, and he was obliged to return or could not get his crew-men to venture further.

I would like to be advised what to do if they return here. Should I receive her, and as I know she will be robbed of every valuable thing on

board by them, how shall I proceed in this particular?

Please excuse me for writing so badly, I have a great deal to write, in a few hours, and can't take due pains. I will let you know in future what is the result of my tour to Young Sess, from which place I returned last week. Please return me a few lines by the Krooman.

Your ob't servant,

STEPHEN A. BENSON.

His Excellency, J. J. ROBERTS.

A true copy.

J. N. LEWIS, Col. Sec.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Monrovia, April 17, 1845.

SIR:—Mr Davidson, of the English schooner Little Ben, of Sierra Leone, arrived here last evening from Edina, and, I understand, (I have not seen him,) complains that the collector of Grand Bassa seized a few pieces of cloth to secure the harbor dues of said schooner, which Davidson refused to pay, on the grounds, he says, that Commander Jones has given notice to British traders on the coast, that such charges are illegal, the colonial authorities not possessing sovereign and independent rights, are not authorized to impose custom duties; therefore they should be resisted. He has left for the windward, I am told, to report the case to Commander Jones.

I hope by the first vessel from the U. S. to receive something definite from the Board, in regard to the subject.

April 18th, the crisis has arrived. Information has this morning reached us of the seizure, in the harbor of

Grand Bassa, by an English man-of-war cutter, of the colonial schooner "John Seys," owned by Major S. A. Benson, of Bassa Cove; for particulars, as far as they came to our knowledge, I beg to refer you to Mr. Benson's letter to me, a copy of which is herewith inclosed.

What pretext they will offer, in justification of this gross outrage on the property of inoffensive and detenceless people, is impossible for us to conjecture. I presume, however, it will be put on the footing of a reprisal for the seizure of the goods mentioned above: if so, how contemptible the conduct, and it proves to a demonstration, the existence of a plan to draw us into collision with the British people.

An English trader, as admitted by himself, is instigated by a British officer, to come among us, to violate our laws, and if any attempt is made to enforce them, they make it a pretext to seize a vessel and cargo worth several thousand dollars, as an indemnity for goods valued at twelve dollars, and without making any application to the authorities for redress. What is their ultimate aim, unless to put an end to colonization, to effect the destruction of the colonies, destroy our commerce along the coast, to give British merchants the monopoly, which is very likely, or to drive us from the face of God's earth, I cannot imagine.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

Rev. Wm. McLAIN,

Sec. Am. Col. Society,

Washington City.

NOTES.—In order to make room for the above interesting letters, we have deferred the receipts of the past month to the next number.

For the letter of Commander Jones, referred to in the letters of Governor Roberts, see the 3d page of the cover.

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, AUGUST, 1845.

[No. 8.

Our African Affairs.

British opposition—Seizure of the John Seys—Rights of Liberia—Opinion of the Press on the subject.

IN our last number, we published a letter from Governor Roberts, and one from Mr. Benson, giving an account of the seizure by the British of the colonial schooner "John Seys." On the cover we also published a letter from Commandant Jones, of the British navy, exhibiting the ground which the British government have assumed with respect to the rights, privileges, and national existence of Liberia. This letter will be found in another column of our present number. We consider it of such importance as to demand a permanent place among the facts and principles admitted or disputed in the establishment and progress of Liberia. The light which this letter throws on the subsequent action of the British squadron on that coast must not be unobserved. The letter plainly denies to the commonwealth

of Liberia any authority whatever to exercise jurisdiction over the territory purchased by the American Colonization Society for the use and benefit of the said commonwealth. Since that doctrine was promulgated authoritatively, if we can credit *British traders*, Mr. Jones has instructed them not to regard the laws of Liberia, and has pledged the squadron under his command to protect them in resistance of the port regulations. Accordingly, a trader, going into Bassa Cove, and landing goods for trade, refused to pay the customary duties: the collector, in the proper discharge of his duty under the laws of Liberia, seized enough of his goods to pay the duties; after which the trader left to report the case to Commandant Jones, and to invoke his promised aid. Shortly after this a British cutter enters the harbor, and seizes a vessel, with a valuable cargo on board, belonging to a citizen of Liberia. Such is the plain history of the affair. But here the history,

as far as our information extends, comes to a pause. What they did with the *vessel*—what justification they will offer for such an unwarranted outrage on the property of a private citizen—it is impossible for us to say. We anxiously await further intelligence on the subject. We are disposed to put the most favorable construction possible on it. We *hope*, even against hope, that we shall never be called upon to record another instance of the kind. We are anxious to avoid trouble, and would fain see Liberia rising in prosperity and influence, with no strong power at hand to crush or wither her feeble energies. We would fain believe that the only ground for the seizure of this vessel was the one suggested by the Journal of Commerce—"as a means of recovering indemnity for the goods seized" by the collector; and that, "except in two or three small localities, where British subjects were in possession *prior* to the colonial occupation, we have no idea that the British government intend to interfere."

This may be a correct estimate of the *intentions* of the British government. But there are some things apparent which we are at a loss how to explain in consistency with it. For example: in Lord Aberdeen's letter, dated January 31, 1844, to Mr. Everett, he says that "Her Majesty's naval commanders afford efficient protection to British trade against improper *assumption of power* on the part of the Liberian authorities."

In what instance have the "Liberian authorities" "*assumed*" power improperly? They have never attempted to restrict British commerce except according to *laws* regularly enacted by the colonial council, sanctioned and approved by the American Colonization Society, and they have never attempted to extend these laws over any territory except that which they owned, and for which they could show a good and sufficient title. The evidence to prove that Liberia has a clear and valid title to the Bassa Cove Point, about which there has been some dispute, and to which Mr. Jones alludes, is sufficiently strong to convince any person not blinded by some adverse interest. On the contrary, there is no documentary evidence that Captain Dring, or Captain Spence before him, ever purchased the *territory* at that point. Governor Roberts has often demanded proof of their having made such purchase, and they have never been able to present it. The natives declare that they never sold their land to *any* British subject; and the most that Captain Spence *claimed*, was that he had purchased the right to establish a factory and trade at that point.

The evidences that the commonwealth of Liberia purchased the Bassa territory in 1836, *prior* even to *any* contract with Captain Spence, have been furnished to the British commanders on that coast, and by them undoubtedly laid before their government at home. Most of these eviden-

ces were also laid before Mr. Fox while he was British minister in this city, together with full statements of the relations of the Society to Liberia, the history of colonization, and the extent of territory owned on the African coast. We are, therefore, at a loss to know how to account for Mr. Fox's most unjust charge that Liberia was "assuming, to all appearances quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free; and *thus injuriously interfering with the commerce*, interests, and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter." Had Mr. Fox given any attention to the facts in the case, he certainly would not have used such language as this. Nothing could be further from the truth. Governor Roberts says: "No people under the sun have suffered more from the improper interference of foreign traders than we have. They have defied the authorities of the colony—offered insult to our citizens, when found trading along the coast—destroyed their property—threatened their persons with violence if they attempted to trade at certain points along the coast, and those very men are loudest in their complaints against the 'Liberian settlers;' and I defy them to name a single instance in which this government has, in any way whatever, directly or indirectly, interfered with British commerce along the coast, except requiring the British (on

equal footing with traders of all other nations) to conform to the maritime regulations of ports within the *purchased* territory of the colony."

Mr. Upshur, then Secretary of State, in his reply to the letter of Mr. Fox, from which we have quoted above, gave a correct description of the condition of Liberia, and a very plain intimation of what the United States government were disposed to do with reference to it. He said: "It is due to Her Majesty's government that I should inform you that this government regards it [Liberia] as occupying a peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly considerations of all Christian powers; that this government will be at all times prepared to interpose its good offices to prevent any encroachment by the colony upon any *just right* of any nation, and *that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights as an independent settlement.*"

If we are not entirely mistaken, the seizure of the "John Seys" is an instance of British aggression which demands the friendly interference of the United States government according to the pledge given in this language of Mr. Upshur.

The letter of Commandant Jones takes ground against the exercise of any powers, by Liberia, appertaining to a sovereign, independent settlement. He denies that Liberia has

any right to impose "custom duties," and argues as proof that no such authority could be conferred by any "association of private individuals." Commander Jones knew, undoubtedly—if he did not, his government at home, by whom we presume his dispatch was prepared, did—that the "Liberian settlers" never based their right to exercise political jurisdiction over their territory upon any authority vested in the American Colonization Society, or conferred upon them by it; but upon the fact that they had purchased from the original owners and governors of the soil both the fee simple in the land and the right of government over it, so that whatever rights of sovereignty formerly resided in the native kings and chiefs, and which were acknowledged and respected by the British government, now were wholly and rightfully invested in the commonwealth of Liberia. Knowing this, we see not how Mr. Jones could honestly indite the letter which he did, unless he was actuated by some other motive than merely to protect British subjects in the exercise of *free trade* at a point where they disputed the ownership with the Liberian authorities! Nor do we see how his government can approve of the statements in his letter, or of his subsequent conduct, if she "has no hostile designs against the integrity or government of Liberia." It strikes us, therefore, that the matters in controversy between the authorities of

Liberia and the British, relate not merely to questions of jurisdiction at one or two points along the coast. In this opinion we find ourselves sustained by the opinion of a very intelligent officer in our navy, formed after long association with the British officers on that coast, and with the authorities of Liberia. He says that this dispatch (alluding to the letter of Mr. Jones) "denies the right of the colonial government of Liberia to enact laws regulating the commerce within the territories purchased from the original possessors of the land. Thus these poor people, struggling against the greatest difficulties a commencing nation ever had to encounter, are not too insignificant for British bullying."

While, therefore, we are disposed to put the most favorable construction on the seizure of the "*John Seys*," and the causes which probably led to it, we are constrained to fear that there is more in it than many others might be disposed to admit.

It has been justly remarked, that "Liberia depends for its success, if not for its existence, upon the good opinion of the civilized world." It is, within itself, as helpless as an infant. It can legally claim the protection of no government under the sun, for it holds allegiance to none. But it can in justice claim from all other nations *to be let alone!* And the government of the United States "owes it" (in the language of the *Journal of Commerce*) "to the brave and adventurous men of color who

have planted both a republican government, and a pure Christianity on the African coast; to the Society that has aided them in their weakness and their conflicts; and to itself, which has already derived large benefits from the colony, in the security afforded by it to recaptured Africans, the objects of its philanthropy; and in the aid extended to our commerce and our naval squadron, *to urge the high claims of the colony to favor and consideration upon England and the other powers of Europe. And why should not the independence of Liberia be acknowledged? She has, unquestionably, by the law of nature and nations, all the attributes of a sovereign and independent State!"*

Whether any government will step forward and boldly acknowledge the independence of Liberia, is a question that we are at present, of course, unable to decide. But we are safe in saying that there never was a stronger claim for *justice* than that which Liberia has upon both England and America. There a few brave and noble men have planted themselves, under the hope of doing something for the elevation of their long oppressed and degraded race. They have met with great difficulties—have had to struggle against a thousand adverse influences—and yet they have been undismayed! They have arisen to somewhat of importance; have established all the forms of government; have done much for the welfare of themselves

and their children; and have aided in the suppression of the slave trade for several hundred miles along the coast, and in the establishment of Christian missions among the natives. They constitute the last hope of their race. If this experiment does not succeed, no human sagacity can devise any means for their moral and intellectual elevation.

Who, then, can be so cruel and treacherous as wantonly to interfere with their internal peace or external prosperity? So strong is the appeal which they make to the sympathy of the whole civilized world that we cannot but hope that a moment's reflection, on the part of any who have wronged them, will produce a change of conduct, and a happy recognition of their righteous cause!

Alluding to this subject, the Boston Traveller makes the following remarks:

"THE ENGLISH ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.—For several years there have been occasional complaints against the English cruisers on the coast of Africa of interference with our trading vessels. But, from a recent article published in the Journal of Commerce, from a Monrovia newspaper of April 9th, it would seem that the colony of Liberia itself is likely to suffer from British views and measures.

"The situation of the Liberia colony is certainly somewhat anomalous and trying. It was neither founded by our government, nor have its inhabitants ever been recognized as amenable to our laws, nor entitled to any claim on the special protection of this government. The colony claims a sort of national independence, and exercises the rights of an independent State. And these claims have been tacitly admitted by our government, and generally by other governments. But, as these claims have been found to interfere with the claims and supposed rights of subjects of other governments, particularly the English, there has been a growing disposition to dis-

regard them and call them in question. Whatever may be the result of this agitation on the interests of the colony, we cannot believe that the English government will allow its subjects greatly to trespass on the rights of this defenceless colony. Still, we have not sufficient confidence in the disinterested benevolence of that government, to expect that it will adopt any measures to benefit Liberia which will operate to the disadvantage of the English traders on the coast of Africa."

The following able views of this matter and its bearings we find in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* of New York, and we doubt not they are from the nervous pen of its respected senior editor. We commend them to the serious consideration of all who are interested in the fate of Liberia:

"It is among the most surprising and mortifying items of intelligence which have reached us from Liberia, that British officers and traders should show hostility toward the American colonies on the western coast of Africa. It is so directly in the very teeth of all the professions of benevolence to the colored race which England has made to the world for some years past, and of which we must admit she gave a practical demonstration in the purchase and liberation of the slaves in her colonies, that we cannot believe she will sanction the oppressions and vexations inflicted by her people on the helpless settlements of colored people in Liberia and Cape Palmas.

"The commonwealths on the western coast of Africa, settled by emigrants from the United States, are not colonies of the United States, and therefore cannot claim protection from our government; they have been established by benevolent associations, both incorporated by the State of Maryland, merely to facilitate their benevolent purposes by legalizing their transactions at home, but neither giving nor pretending to give any authority to their government abroad. Under such circumstances, Liberia and Cape Palmas, though possessing all the forms of civil government for domestic purposes, could only depend upon the comity and the philanthropy of the nations of the earth for the exercise of those municipal rights which are essential to their existence. Among these rights are the authority to levy impost duties on

foreign articles brought to the country to be disposed of in the way of trade, and to punish the infraction of the revenue as well as other laws of the anomalous governments they have established. The country they inhabit has been fairly bought of the natives, who held it by the universal acquiescence of the civilized powers who acknowledged the sovereignty of the native chieftains in all the intercourse maintained with them; and, with the soil, the natives transferred the right of sovereignty. The governments of Liberia and Cape Palmas entered, therefore, upon the exercise of those rights under the confident expectation that they would be acknowledged by all civilized nations, while they were exercised with strict impartiality toward all. And accordingly, no higher duties have been levied upon the products of one country than upon those of all the rest trading with the colonies; and, until within a year or two, the Liberia and Cape Palmas governments have been respected, and their laws have been enforced without opposition from the British or other traders. Indeed, it was to be expected that all who regarded the common obligations of humanity would extend to the immigrants every possible and necessary facility in carrying out a scheme so fraught with practical good to the colored race.

"But of late, the subjects, and even the officers of Great Britain, have made the extraordinary discovery that Liberia and Cape Palmas are not nations, nor the colonies of any nation; and therefore have no national rights at all. They contend, therefore, for the privilege of trading with the colonies without paying any duties, or obeying any regulations of trade or commerce adopted by these governments.

"Now, if these pretensions and high-handed oppressions are sanctioned by the British government, that government must withdraw all her claims to disinterestedness and humanity in respect to the measures she has taken to suppress the slave trade; for the colonies she proposes to destroy are the most efficient agencies in carrying out this purpose. We must, therefore, be compelled to believe that the desire to monopolize the trade of the world holds subordinate her benevolence to the colored race, since she does not hesitate to destroy her own auxiliaries in the work of mercy, if they happen not to be exclusively tributary to her commercial monopoly. The colonists in Liberia and Cape Palmas are as incurably republican in their notions of government as we Americans are. Great Britain may subdue and oppress them in their helplessness, but she can never reconcile them to her rule; and as all supply of im-

migrants from this country would be cut off by her conquest, the colonies would dwindle and die in her hands. No European or American nation may resist or remonstrate against this high-handed iniquity. Yet Great Britain would lose much by the pitiful meanness of the operation. Much of her influence depends upon moral power, especially that which she wields in relation to slavery and the slave trade, and in which she so much glories. Let it once be proven that she seeks only the extension of her commerce, or any other national advantage in her negotiation with the powers of the earth on this subject, and her influence is gone—and gone forever.

“But it cannot be that Great Britain will sanction such an outrage upon humanity. France, it is true, under the wily craftiness of the Jesuits, has forced—or is cruelly endeavoring to force—her protection upon Tahiti. But France long since renounced all pretensions to the character of a Christian nation. She has been Papist, then Infidel, and now again Papist—but Christian never, for many centuries past. Great Britain, on the contrary, has often reiterated her profession of being a Christian country, and so large a portion of her people demonstrate the justness of the claim by their ‘works of mercy and labors of love,’ that we will not believe the fate of Liberia and Cape Palmas, colonies originating in, and supported solely by benevolence, without the slightest admixture of selfishness, or hope of gain, is sealed over to hopelessness and bitter disappointment by the British government, until we see the sign manual of Victoria Regina to the instrument by which it is announced and declared.

“With these views, we are rejoiced to hear, indirectly, that Governor Roberts, of Liberia, contemplates a voyage to England, with a view to the adjustment of the difficulties to which we have alluded. We commend him to the attentions of all Christian people in Europe as not only an upright and capable governor and statesman, but as a sincere and pious Christian.”

As yet, Governor Roberts or the colonial council have made no definite arrangements for his going to England. No pains, however, have been spared to lay correct statements of the whole case before the British government, under the hope that they would be willing to pursue a policy

which should be not only *just* but also *generous*.

There is one question which it may not be impertinent to ask in this connection: admitting, what we by no means do admit, that a British trader and the commonwealth of Liberia have both an equal title to the Bassa Cove Point, to whom ought the preference to be given? Whose interests demand most the undisputed ownership of the Point? Whether it is more magnanimous in the British government to harrass and injure Liberia, for the sake of protecting a single subject in the exercise of a very questionable right, or in the Liberian government to endeavor, by all justifiable means, to enforce the observance of her laws by all civilized and Christian men, as a means of commanding the esteem and respect of the barbarians whose welfare she seeks?

How easy it would be for England, without compromising aught of her honor, to buy off Captain Dring from pressing his claim to *free trade* at the Point? How difficult it would be for Liberia to do without that Point—to have in her very heart, as it were, a spot not under her control? How easy it would be for England to say to her African traders, You have reaped a great harvest from that afflicted country—now give them a chance to do something for themselves—there are a few men on that western coast who are trying to do something for the good of their race—deal justly with them—respect

their laws—they are few and feeble as yet, but they are worthy of honor for the good they have already done. We hesitate not to say that Lord Aberdeen saw and felt the justice of a policy like this when he wrote his letter to Mr. Everett, of January 31, 1844—for, we find in it, he says, that “the instructions which have been given to Her Majesty’s naval commanders, for their guidance in their communications with the Liberian settlers, enjoin them to avoid involving themselves in contentions with the local authorities of the Liberian settlements upon points of *uncertain legality*.”

How can the seizure of the “John Seys” be explained in this light?

If such instructions have been given, and if obedience to them will certainly be enforced, there will, in

future, be little occasion for anxiety. The difficulties which have arisen touching the payment of duties, will soon be fairly adjusted; the title of Liberia will be fully acknowledged; and the British government will become a little more cautious how she gives full credence to the verbal statements of adventurous traders, when they conflict with the documentary evidence of a young settlement just struggling into existence. British officers will discover (“a consummation most devoutly to be wished!”) that there is somebody on the face of the earth besides themselves and their fellow subjects, whose rights are to be regarded; and the commonwealth of Liberia, externally *let alone*, will internally develop its resources, and nationally rise to dignity and usefulness.

Items of Intelligence.

COLONIZATION IN VERMONT.—We are receiving very encouraging accounts of the prospects of the cause in this State. Our agent, *Deacon Tracy*, is encouraged in his labors by what he considers “a *rising interest* in the subject.” The Secretary of the State Society, the Rev. J. K. Converse, has published, in the various papers, an address “To the pastors of the churches of the several denominations in Vermont,” urging the necessity of their taking up collections, about the 4th of July, in aid of the cause. He says: “The approaching anniversary of our national independence reminds us that recently the germ of this great nation was a Christian colony, going out from oppression, establishing herself on a waste continent, planting around her the institutions of religion and learning, increasing in strength and numbers, till she takes her place among the chief nations, and bears her part in spreading the blessings of religion and liberty through the world. In this retrospect, we see what changes may be wrought by a Christian colony, throughout a hea-

then continent, in the space of one or two centuries. May we not ask you, brethren, to consider well the good that may be accomplished by rearing a colony of civilized and Christian men upon another continent of heathenism, which has stronger claims upon our benevolence than any other portion of the globe?"

He then traces briefly the origin, object, and achievements of colonization; and, in view of all the facts and statistics in the case, he arrives at this conclusion: "After making all deductions demanded by truth, we can say confidently that the colonies established on the coast of Africa are without a parallel in the history of the world, as it respects their cost, their successful establishment at the outset, their good order, their ability for self-government, and their kindly influence on the surrounding tribes.

"Africa is a part of the world, and must be converted. God is showing, by his providence, that it is his purpose to convert Africa by colored men. The Rev. Mr. Pinney, formerly governor of Liberia, has shown, from a careful examination of all the missions established on the northern and western coast of Africa, that the *average missionary life of white laborers is less than two years and a half*, while that of colored laborers, from this country even, is eight or ten times as great."

We hope that the clergy of Vermont duly considered and acted upon the facts and suggestions contained in this able address.

All moneys should be forwarded to Daniel Baldwin, Esq., Treasurer, &c., Montpelier.

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AFRICA'S LUMINARY.—By the last arrival from Liberia, we received a file of this paper for the last three months, and were much gratified to find that its publication had not been discontinued, as was contemplated at the beginning of the year. It is now edited by a colored man, the Rev. F. Burns, and, with all due courtesy and respect to the former editor, we must be permitted to express our opinion that the editorial department has never shown more ability than it does at present. Mr. Burns writes with vigor and ease. As a specimen of what he can do, we refer to an article in another column from his pen, on a subject of great importance and interest to the colony and all the friends of colonization at the present juncture.

The Luminary is now strictly a *Liberian paper*. It is entirely in the hands and under the control of colored men. This is what we are anxious to see with respect to all missionary and other operations in the commonwealth. We are glad to learn, also, that, at present, there is but one white person connected with the Methodist mission in Liberia, and she is a very excellent lady, who has felt it to be her duty to continue her labors there yet for a season. The very genius of colonization requires that all power and authority should be centered in the colored men. They must assume the re-

responsibility. They must raise themselves. And we are glad to see the various missionary societies coming to the conclusion that it is unwise to send any other than colored missionaries to Africa.

We find the following remarks on this subject in the "Christian Advocate," from the pen of its very able editor, which we commend to the earnest attention of all the members of the various missionary boards and others who are seeking to do good in Africa:

"We have long since been brought to the conclusion that both the Colonies and the Missions, established by Americans on the western coast of Africa, were destined to deliver the world from a gross libel on the colored race—if it is not also a wicked imputation on the wisdom and goodness of the common Father of all the races of men who dwell on the face of the earth—namely, that the negro race is so inferior in intellectual endowment as to be incapable of self-government, and therefore destined either to endure the evils of savage life or to be slaves to the superior races of white and red men. Infidelity abounds in speculation, but truth seeks the demonstration of experiment; and the experiment which is to settle all questions on this subject has been in operation, for some years past, under the direction of 'The American' and 'The Maryland Colonization Societies.' So far, the results are such as the philanthropist and the Christian desired they should be. The colonies, under the direction of these societies severally, are governed, in all the departments of their governments, by colored men. Even the governors, both of Liberia and Cape Palmas, are colored men, and both, too, compare favorably with the governors of our own States. These governors are, however, appointed by the parent societies in this country, but all the other officers are chosen by the people, either directly by popular elections, or mediately through their representatives. It is, therefore, with no ordinary satisfaction that we record the fact, that the long-enslaved and degraded people, for whose benefit these colonies have been established by the benevolence of our citizens, are not only capable of enjoying the blessings of liberty and civili-

zation, but are capable of providing, securing, and perpetuating these blessings under a republican form of government—the colonies on the western coast of Africa, settled by emigrants from the United States, being now among the best ordered and happiest commonwealths in the world.

"To this result the Christian missions in these colonies have greatly contributed; while the colonies have opened the door for, and secured the safety of the missions. So far, then, the original purpose of the Colonization Society is shown to be practicable. It was never pretended that private associations, such as these benevolent societies are, could furnish the means of transporting all the free people of color in the United States, much less the whole colored population, to Africa. Nothing short of the financial resources of our General Government can effect such an object. But before any one could hope for government aid, it was necessary to convince the people of this country of the possibility of erecting, on a firm and durable basis, a negro commonwealth, enjoying all the political and social blessings of liberty regulated by law,—and this has been done, the interested doubts and difficulties suggested by cupidity and the speculations of infidelity to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Like the colonies, our missions have gradually come to be committed exclusively to the management of colored men, so that at present we have no white man in our Liberia mission; preachers, school teachers, editor, and printers, are all colored, except one female teacher, our good sister Wilkins, whose devotion and labor of love may God reward in Heaven, since earth can make no compensation for such sacrifices to benevolence."

We trust the day is not very far distant when we shall not have a single white man in Liberia. The only one there now, in the employment of the Society, is the colonial physician; and he is now educating young men, citizens of the commonwealth, for physicians, who, we trust, will be competent to fill his place when he returns to this country.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.—The Sabbath Schools of Edina and Bassa Cove have been reorganized, and new spirit and interest are manifested in

their exercises. In other places, increased attention is given to this interesting department of labor. Nothing is more important than that all the children of the colonists, and of the natives, should be brought under the influence of Sabbath School instruction. Many new schools are needed; but they *complain* of the want of competent and willing teachers. We have sometimes heard the same complaint made in this country, and in some very Christian communities.

A SNAKE.—The Rev. Mr. Roberts says that while they were taking down the Mission house at Edina, for the purpose of removing it to a more convenient place, a *snake*, about five feet in length, and two inches in diameter, of the Boa Constrictor kind, was found coiled up snugly between the ceiling and the floor above. From the appearance of his bed, he had for several months made his lodgment there. He was executed.

HORRIBLE.—The Reverend Elijah Johnson, writing from the missionary station at Garretson, says, that on entering a neighboring town, he saw an old woman sitting on the ground. She seemed at least an hundred years old. She asked him to give her something. A man had died in the town, and they had made a palaver on this poor old woman, and said that she had *made witch* for the dead man, and had killed him. The day after he left there, they pounded up

a quantity of *sassay wood*, put three or four quarts of water to it, then, making the old woman hold her mouth open, they poured it down her throat. They then put a rope around her neck, dragged her out of the town, made a fire around her, and burned her up.

A GOOD PIECE OF ADVICE.—We find published in "Africa's Luminary," a letter from a father to his son, who is at school, from which we extract the following very sensible remarks:

"I need not remind you of the vast field for usefulness that lays before you. The 20th of next month will be your eleventh year's residence in Liberia; and although a part of this residence was in the days of your childhood, yet you must have treasured up in your mind some useful observations which have kept pace, I trust, with your advance in age; and if so, you will have lost nothing by coming to your adopted country in your childhood. You will have grown up in the midst of her wants, which gives one a great advantage.

"Prepare yourself, then, to assist in her relief. This may be done in a thousand ways; but he who supplies his own intellect best, is, unquestionably, the most competent to administer to the wants of his country. You see that I use the word *country* very often. It is a most endearing term; I love to use it; and that father who has raised up his children, and has failed to inspire them with a supreme love of *country*, has raised them up in vain. But you are at an age now, not only to feel the force of this remark, but also to judge and choose for yourself. Shun, therefore, all associations, whether in feelings, persons, books, or anything else which does not inculcate this principle; remembering that a *Liberian ought, above all other men, to love his country best.*

"I need not enumerate the many reasons for this. One is sufficient. *He cannot be a citizen in any other country; and but in few can he command the respect that is due to a stranger.* This is an awful thought. But while it humbles us when we look abroad, it exalts us at home. The celebrated Blair says, we love our country for its religious liberty and laws; these three mighty pillars we have, upon which our

little growing commonwealth and its hopes are suspended. The first is the mighty, and I had like to have said that, like its Author, it is *Almighty*. We can no more prosper as a people, without a profound respect for religion, than we can build a city in the air. I hope we shall never lose sight of this fact."

Have the free colored people in our Northern States ever thought of these things? Have they any ideas corresponding to those expressed by this excellent father? It would seem to be a fact that they have not. For certainly he never could be persuaded to return to this country, and to spend his days in circumstances where he must be perpetually depressed; and we should think that, if they had a single spark of native fire within them, they could not long brook the disadvantages of their present condition. It is doubtless true, that they have less responsibility and fewer privations than they would have in Liberia. But can they be willing, for the sake of these paltry considerations, to forego the pleasure of being there, and the honor of contributing to elevate their kind. They ought to have a pride of race, if they are devoid of the benevolence which would lead them to pursue a different course. No feeling stirs in the human breast more delightfully than a consciousness that we are not living for ourselves, but for mankind and the world, and the glories of eternity. The good, among the citizens of Liberia, know this feeling. They shall have their reward. Would that those of their race in this country, who might make good citizens and Sunday School teachers, or good

instructors of the young, or good missionaries, would lay this subject to heart.

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SOMETHING NEW IN THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.—Some time in March last, a deer was killed at Cape Palmas of a most uncommon color, and with singular marks. From the top of the fore shoulder, backward, it was perfectly white, including the fore and hind legs. The neck, the head, and the ears, were all perfectly black, in appearance like the richest black velvet. The horns were smooth and dangerously sharp, and the eye of the most piercing brilliancy. When started by the dogs, he betook himself immediately to the water, from which he could not be dislodged until he was killed.

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A LIBERIAN OPINION OF GOING TO JAMAICA.—The government of Jamaica is warmly discussing the question whether, in the present state of affairs, the recommendation of the merchants to import from the East Indies 5,000 Coolies for laborers ought to be adopted; and whether Jamaica, like Demarara, shall consent to borrow half a million of money for the purpose of their transportation.

The editor of *Africa's Luminary*, after stating the above fact, says: "There must be *gall* somewhere in the laborer's cup, or the colonial governments of those islands might obtain more help from the working classes there."

What ought we to do?

We copy the following very able and interesting article from *Africa's Luminary*, and commend it to the earnest attention of our readers. It clearly evinces that there are men who think for themselves in Liberia, who, at least, can *speculate* about taking care of themselves, and can understand their rights, and feel the wrongs done them by others:

The crisis—Colonization and its effects—Superiority of our condition in Liberia—Our preferences—Threatening aspects—English traders—Action of the British Government—Objects—Our admonition from the condition of English subjects—British Christians and British Government distinguished—Conclusion.

To us, as citizens of this Commonwealth, at this particular juncture, this is a thrilling question. No one, who properly estimates both our weaknesses and our enemies, but what will deeply sigh, again and again, as he casts about his mind for an answer to it. Nevertheless, it is to be answered; inquirers will be satisfied, so far as *reply* is concerned, and that before long too, whether we are willing or able, in theory, to make the true reply now or not. *Events*, grave in their character, and extended and durable in their influence upon us, will fully satisfy every inquiry. A practical demonstration will be had, so luminous in its conclusions as to preclude all further anxiety on the subject. Are we asked, What will the conclusion be? We answer, and our heart thrills with concern as we write it, we do not know.

Since before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the question of *slavery*, and its concomitant evils, both to the suffering race submitting to them, and the

whites themselves, has been a subject upon which American feelings have been extremely sensitive. Experience of this was had in the adoption of that Constitution. Not only has slavery been universally admitted to be an evil, and a great evil too, but the *colored race*, in their existence, intercourse, intermixture with the white citizens, and in their privations in America, is and has been regarded, for years, as a calamity very difficult of being remedied. The free people of color, particularly, have been felt to be an incumbrance. While benevolence and humanity have been constrained to admit and lament the fact—while they have known that the unfortunate race were in these circumstances only by the agency of the whites, and not by their own—the State legislatures, in their various policies and legislation, have endeavored to remove, or at least to mitigate, the evil. But perplexities have met them at every step. To distribute equally to all that justice which each, without the intervention of some personal forfeiture, had a right to claim, and, at the same time, to give general satisfaction to the citizens of the different States respectively, is a degree of ability in political measures and civil legislation to which no State in the Union has hitherto attained.

Benevolent men, long ago, saw these difficulties as clearly as they see them now, and commenced a system of measures, remedial in character, by which the difficulties that such a state of society would inevitably lead to might be prevented. On this subject, as upon all other subjects over which uncertainty hangs, and in reference to which experiments are to be made, good men differed in their opinions. As there were spacious

and inviting fields on both sides of this vital question, promising rich rewards, both in this world and the next, to the most successful occupant, as the reliever of his country's embarrassment; and, as the occupancy of either by the party so doing seemed *just* to all implicated in the final issue, good men took opposite directions. Their objects, however, were undoubtedly identical—the relief of their country and the benefits of the colored race. Hence colonization and abolitionism. Colonization adopted the plan of purchasing, on the western coast of Africa, of the original and legitimate owners, a territory, to which to transport all such free people of color as gave their consent to come and inhabit it, with the explicit and constitutional understanding that the purchased territory, designed to be the free and happy home of those immigrating to it, was to be held in trust by the purchasing party as their *foster parent*, and, ultimately, when they were prepared for it—when they wished it—to be surrendered into their hands in *fee simple*, to be its sole and exclusive owners, and to conduct its government, without dependence upon, or responsibility to, any other governor or lord than the God of the Universe.

Without any particular advocacy of either the system or measures which the American Colonization Society has approved of, we assert, in the face of its friends and foes, that it has solved some important problems, the truth of which, but for this effort for our good, must have remained doubtful for centuries to come.

In the *first* place, it has demonstrated that the people of color immigrating to the American colony of Liberia, with the usual successes attendant upon industry, can be, not only *free*, in all the meaning which

that significant word embraces, but *happy* to the same extent of meaning. It has demonstrated that we only require pecuniary power to place our various interests upon the footing of which they are obviously capable, and we need envy no man or nation of men on earth. We do not envy them now.

In the *second* place, it has demonstrated, we think, with sufficient conclusiveness, that the colored race, in common with other races of the same Creator's forming hand, possesses the faculty of *self-government*.

Theory and speculation have contested this point with great diversity of object in view, and with various degrees of successful argumentation; but it has remained for the American Colonization Society, in the nineteenth century, to give to the nations of the earth a practical demonstration.

Third. It has demonstrated, in the great mortality of the whites, their admissions on this subject, and the success with which the labors of colored men have been attended—moral and intellectual qualifications being supposed—that the colored race is the proper medium through which to convert the swarming posterity of their ancestors.

Fourth. It has demonstrated, with the clearness of a sun-beam, that an American colony is a most effectual antidote against either domestic or foreign slavery, and all their accomplices within its jurisdiction. It crushes that brat of the pit—the traffic in human flesh and blood—under its triumphant feet.

This being so, what more natural than that we, as a people, should respect an institution which has been instrumental in developing to the view of mankind so many things highly creditable to our race, and in procuring for us here a home, and a *happy* home too, and the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges belong-

ing to men. What more to be expected, as a matter of *course*, than that we should *love* that home, not so much, perhaps, on account of anything so very peculiar in itself, so far as the place is concerned, but it is a refuge from the most cowering distinctions—distinctions that must discourage the efforts, dwarf the intellect, and bleed the heart of every thoughtful man of color. They sit upon the most persevering, aspiring mind like an incubus, till, overcome by their overpowering weight, it gains a level but little in advance of former generations, and servilely submits to be oppressed. Besides, here is something in the circumstances affecting us here—our liberty, our political equalities, our social rights and privileges, every man being a man among his fellows, and, above all, our expectation, at some future day, of being a people, not by revolution or revolution, but by *natural growth*, a nation among other nations. There is something in all this that gives a *peculiar character* to our *hope* as colored men. But more than this: the human mind is confessedly a unit, but still divisible, in mental analysis, and for philosophical purposes among other divisions, into *classes of feelings*, for the full development of which, it is said, they must be so situated to outward circumstances as to receive from them the requisite promptings to effort. Hence the white citizen of America, for example, pursues his upward career in the road to political or civil distinction, or to any other eminence for which tact and literary qualifications are required, with *avidity* and the speed of a locomotive. Why? Because the road is *open* to him; and because it *is* open, honor and eminence being attainable by *him*—he “seeing them afar off,” it may be, “being persuaded of them, and embracing them”—they are, to all

intentions and purposes, the proper *ex-citants*; and they give exercise to feelings in his mind, to which others, before whom the road to eminence is not so clearly opened, or not opened at all, are entire *strangers*. They never had, and they never will have, some of the feelings that inspire his bosom, and prompt to a higher degree of intellectual improvement.

We make these remarks for the purpose of showing that, whatever else we might have possessed in the land that gave many of us birth, the way to many species of virtuous distinction not being open to us, we consequently did not have, and could not have, the delighting and improving promptings of many feelings which here we experience in common with the most free and happy of any nation. Not only then is our *hope* peculiar in its character, but we have *incitements* to at least mental and political activity which we never could have experienced to the same degree any where but in Liberia. Every thing considered, will any one *blame* us if we love our home? Will they ridicule that affection as either unnatural or inconsistent? While we say to all, without the least feeling of animosity, “enjoy your own opinion,” have we not a right to the same indulgence from those who think proper to differ from us? We think we have. Well, then, as nothing is more commonly to be met with than men and associations of men having their preferences, it will not, we presume, be deemed inconsistent with such common occurrences if we have ours. We say, then, we prefer, every thing taken into consideration, to continue our connection with the American Colonization Society, at least for the present; we entertain no wish to loose Liberia from her moorings as thus connected—to start a *pin* or break a *link* leading thereto—unless it should be

thought by those whose advice ought to be taken, and in whose integrity and opinions we have reason to repose confidence, that such severance of the connection between us and them is immediately and absolutely called for.

Before any steps are taken, leading to disconnection, we shall calculate well the course she is going to steer, and into whose hands she is going to drift.

But there are evils that threaten us now, which, considering either the source from whence they arise, the spirit with which they are prosecuted, or the objects to which they took, ought, and no doubt will, make the heart of every lover of his liberties and home feel most poignantly. Strange to say, these threatening calamities do not spring out of any want of suitableness or efficiency in colonization as a remedial system for the sufferings of the colored race, or out of any demonstrable misdemeanors of the colonists to any man or body of men, but out of the assumptions of British traders on the coast, and the action of the British government had upon their statements.

From the early settlement of these colonies, they have served the purpose, as it is easy to prove to all, in their factories within their territory, or elsewhere, by the permission of native chiefs, of *collectors* of the native produce to their settlements. This has been done without interference with the rights of any man, whose purchase and exportation of these collections the vessels of the different nations trading on this coast have shared, indiscriminately and without distinction, upon the same fair and equitable terms. That this trade with the colonists has been a source of advantage to the traders, the great increase in their number abundantly proves; or, if it had *not*, this is not material to the argument.

English vessels have had their share, and, in some instances, they have seemed to have the preference.

While our intercourse with the vessels of other nations has been conducted with the most harmonious feelings, English traders, in a number of cases, have not scrupled, upon the most trivial incident, to occasion misunderstanding, and then point to their ships of war as a source of retribution. If their seamen have been necessitous, or their vessels wrecked, as has been the case time and again, they have received from the colonists and the colonial authorities the most prompt attention, and the most courteous assistance within their power. Notwithstanding this, there has been manifested, every now and then, a disposition to infringe, to oppress, and to tantalize.

In 1841, in the town of Edina, out of hearing of Governor Buchanan, because he could not be suffered to do as he pleased, one asserted that "The *English* flag would be flying over the colonies before long." Our Tariff Regulations, the authority for creating which has not been questioned by other nations, has been to them a source of constant anxiety and vexation. Our "territorial limits were more extensive than we could defend; therefore, the attempt to prohibit the vessels of other nations from carrying from them what, in our colonial trade with the natives, would be of great service to us, was an assumption." One has disputed about a few rods of land at Bassa Cove; another offers Cape Mount for sale. Thus things have gone on with increasing irritation on the part of the English, until recently, in a document from Commander Jones, the new and startling discovery is announced that the Colonization Society, being but a company of American citizens, and, as such, possessing no political rights, could confer

none upon us; and that, consequently, we, possessing neither political existence nor rights received from them, have no right to make port regulations to which the vessels of other nations trading with us are under obligation to conform. Within the two weeks last past, an English captain informed our collector of customs that "Lord Aberdeen had said that their vessels must not pay duties within the colonies." 'This is a blow at the root. But what does this action of the English government mean? What does it contemplate as ulterior objects of accomplishment? Our *ruin*, evidently to us, the crocodile tears of sympathy in the English nation, in the oppressions of the colored race in America and elsewhere, notwithstanding. Well, as a helpless people, without any nation to interpose its power and save us from engulfment in the capacious maw of the British lion, its object may be very easily and very soon compassed. But we submit it to the world whether it will be an evidence of either its *magnanimity*, *philanthropy*, or *benevolence*.

As to our condition being bettered by becoming subjects of Great Britain, we consider it idle to reason; we have no confidence in the truth of statements that assert it. The political and moral condition of her free colored population in the West Indies—the measures so justly suspected of enslaving intentions, by which she proposes to supply her foreign colonies with laborers—her thousands of Irish subjects writhing and maddening under her oppressions—the drudging, starved, and meager hundreds of thousands in the very seat of English philanthropy and benevolence, in her commercial, mining, manufacturing, and agricultural districts—her dogmatical, domineering spirit, especially in her colonies un-

der her lieutenants—all—all assure us that any other impossibility is as reasonably to be expected as a bettering of our condition under her government. She may succeed in the destruction of these colonies, monopolizing to herself their entire trade—obliterate, on *this* coast, the last trace and hope of a republican government, which, no doubt, is her praiseworthy object, and which she regards as Satan regards holiness, with hatred and fear—she may blast the hope of benevolent American citizens, and effect a transfer of our American missions in and about the colonies into the hands of her own subjects; but, let her remember, a retribution awaits her. She is not, and never will be, the arbiter of nations. Her recompense, by a just God, will be given to her, whether we have friends or no friends, through some divinely ordained instrumentality.

For British Christians, no one excels us in the profoundest respect. Among her saintly living and dead, are names which will be recorded in letters of light, not only on the heart of the ignorant, the friendless, and the poor, but in a golden niche in the registry of glorified humanity, when time is no more. Many of her institutions, too, have wrought wonderfully in the rescue of myriads of our fallen race back to more than paradisaean happiness and perfection. They have accomplished mighty deeds and wreathed themselves with immortal honors of which angels might be envious. We admire, we love, we "earnestly covet" their spirit; it is an "excellent gift." O may their mantle fall on us!

In both her Christians and their institutions we have confidence—a *fellowship*. We bid them God speed. But these institutions are not the British government; their spirit is not her grasping, over-reach-

ing policy. We know the distinction, and we intend to make it. In the one, we sympathize, approach to, and emulate; the other, we fear, recede from, and detest. The restless ambition of the one to subjugate the world to itself, and the burning zeal of the other for its salvation, are as wide of each other as the antipodes of the earth.

In view of all, we should say to England, as long as we have power to say, depart from us, and let us alone. We have heard from credible authorities of thy tender mercies. They are cruel. You imported our fathers to the American colonies. You burdened those colonies with difficulties in their struggles with which you now curse them. You are not too good to burden us also.

Why should we expect to meet with more gracious treatment than the hard-laboring operatives of your own island? With what show of wisdom should we, mostly dissenters, and in the eye of your national establishment *schismatics*, with our attention fixed upon recent High Church movements in Great Britain, consent to become a member of a State whose most gracious sovereign is clearly committed to such an establishment, and sympathizes in all its measures? Your monarchy no more than your hierarchy is offensive to us. But, by becoming your subjects in such a system of far-reaching political and ecclesiastical management, small as we are, we should be in danger, and most oppressively too, of feeling the power of both. No, England, we dare not, cannot trust you.

Appeal of the New York State Colonization Society.

THE following powerful appeal appeared in most of the New York papers prior to the 4th of July. It however did not reach us in time for our last number. We insert it now for two reasons, viz: 1st, the facts and arguments contained in it are all well expressed and sustained, and are appropriate at all times; 2d, many of our clerical friends have not yet complied with our requests made in May and June relative to 4th of July efforts, and may therefore possibly need a word of exhortation to bring the subject again to their remembrance. Of all such we ask a careful perusal of the "Appeal," and also of the appropriate remarks by the editor of the New York Sun, which precede and follow it:

AN APPEAL FOR AFRICA.—We are happy to learn by the annexed circular that the New York State Colonization Society are about to prosecute their noble work with increased vigor. Recent events have called public attention to the colonization enterprise. We commenced a series of articles a few months ago, showing the position of the government and people of the United States on this question; most interesting intelligence from Africa, confirming the positions we had assumed, soon after arrived. The press in every part of the country disseminated the intelligence, and but one voice is heard throughout the country on this question. The sympathies of all are excited. One hundred and fifty millions of benighted Africans are to be redeemed. A great continent is to be civilized, and to the people of the United States, and the descendants of Africans among us, the race of Ham

look for the blessings of Christianity and civilization. America commenced the good work, and triumphant success has attended our philanthropic efforts. The regeneration of Africa is no longer doubtful. Its entire practicability has been fully demonstrated, and the colonization enterprise now stands before the people as one that should commend their hearty co-operation.

Appeal of the New York Colonization Society, to the Ministers and Churches of all Denominations in the State.

"No enterprise of good can be successfully prosecuted without the favor and advocacy of the ministers of the gospel." This is the maxim of colonization, acted upon from the commencement of the enterprise. And in these days, when a portion of those who *profess* to be the friends of humanity, to care for the colored race, and to be the champions of human rights, are denouncing the Christian ministry and the Christian Church, and becoming affiliated with the avowed and unblushing infidelity of the land, *we* feel more than ever disposed to ally ourselves in closer intimacy with the Christian ministry, and the Christian churches of our country, and to invoke their counsels, their prayers, their sympathies and cordial co-operation with us, in carrying out and consummating the philanthropic and benevolent designs of the great scheme of African colonization. Through a spirit of most liberal, but we think mistaken concession, to the prejudices of some, our cause for the last few years has, to a great extent, been excluded from the place which ministers and churches have given to other benevolent objects. We have submitted to this severe exclusion without a murmur, or a word of reproach uttered against the ministry or the church. We have regretted it—our cause has greatly

suffered from it; but we have bowed in submission; hoped in God, and prayerfully awaited the evolutions of His providence to bring about a more calm and peaceful period, when our exiled cause would be welcomed back again into the bosom of the church as one of the blessed charities of the age. We think that at present we see the dawn of this happy period. That spirit which so sternly and relentlessly demanded our enterprise to be excluded from the churches because its own agitations could not be introduced, has shown most clearly that it has never been in the least conciliated by *this costly peace-offering*, but has now boldly determined to drive the ploughshare of ruin, if it *can*, over the churches themselves, rather than fail of carrying its own counsels in its own way. And thus Providence has laid upon the churches a necessity to take conservative ground, in this position of affairs, and to do what they can for the temporal and eternal well-being of the colored race, through some organization which shall not bring into their own pale the elements of a radicalism utterly uprooting and schismatical in all its tendencies. Through what existing organization can they do this more certainly than through that of colonization?

And may we not ask, too, what plan yet devised for the benefit of the colored people, has been equally safe to the church, and productive of benign, practical results, to the African race, as this enterprise? On this point "we court investigation," and challenge comparison.

In former years, and before colonization had been crowned with so ample success as lately—when there was less encouragement to give than at present—the churches very generally remembered this cause, by taking up contributions in aid of its funds, on or near the Fourth of July.

For the last few years these contributions, though more than ever NEEDED, have fallen off greatly in numbers and in amount; many churches making *no* collections at all, and others contributing less than one-fourth the sums they formerly gave. As the period of our great national celebration of independence is drawing nigh, the New York State Colonization Society would make a most respectful, earnest, urgent appeal to the ministers of the gospel and the Christian churches of all denominations in the State, to remember the cause of bleeding Africa, and to take up a collection in aid of our funds on the Sabbath preceding or succeeding the FOURTH OF JULY proximo, or as soon thereafter as practicable.

The providence of God, in crowning the enterprise of colonization with so unparalleled and unlooked for success recently, has imposed on us the imperious duty of making this appeal to the ministry and the churches of this State to take a *larger* share in the blessed work which our colonies are effecting for the colored race in two hemispheres. We urge this appeal by the following considerations:

1. *The efficient and powerful influence of the colonies of Liberia in suppressing the slave trade is now practically tested, and has been signally displayed within the last year.*

Notwithstanding the presence of the armed squadrons of Great Britain and the United States on the coast of Africa, two slave factories have been maintained in the comparative vicinity of the colonies, the one at New Sesters, and the other near little Cape Mount. The latter has been completely broken up by our colony, within the last six months; Gov. Roberts in person rescuing four of the ill-fated victims, lads from twelve to fifteen years of age, and bringing them home with him, and placing

them in the families of Christain colonists, to be taught the arts of civilization and the truths of Christianity. The former, that at New Sesters, would have been destroyed before this time, had not the slave traders bribed the natives, to prevent them from selling their territory to the government of Liberia.

The minds of the civilized world are now strongly turned on the *civilization and Christianization of Africa herself, as the only effectual means* of annihilating the slave trade.

Now this is precisely the work which our colonies are actually and rapidly effecting in Africa.

2. *The providence of God has so ordered, that within the last year there has been a close and critical historic examination of Colonization and Missions on the Western Coast of Africa, by which it has been demonstrated that Roman Catholic missions for three centuries, and Protestant missions for one century past, disconnected with civilized colonies on that coast, have been an entire failure.*

This examination has also shown that colonization has had the most marked and marvellous influence in protecting and sustaining Christian missions, and that, "in the colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia Proper, Sierra Leone, and on the Gambia, there are now more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. As the fruits of their labors, there are more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives perfectly accessible to missionary labors.

All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone, 1787, and *nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822.*" Thus the finger of God seems to be pointing to the existence of civilized colonies on the coast, as *the medium* through which Christian missionaries are to reach forth their redeeming influence on the hundred and fifty millions of benighted, bleeding Africa. Let pastors and churches seriously ponder this fact, and inquire whether it does not throw some light on *the method* by which they may begin in earnest to do something more efficient for the temporal and eternal well-being of the long neglected, Pagan millions of Africa.

3. *Within the last few months, the purchase of two considerable portions of territory by the Government of Liberia* (the Bassa country, and that of Sinoe) *has created a demand for more colonists to be sent out from this country, while the sums expended on the purchases have lessened the means of fitting out expeditions of emigrants to Liberia.*

It will strike any reflecting mind, how very important it is immediately to locate on these newly purchased portions of territory, so recently the theatres of slave-trading and savage life, a settlement of civilized, Christian colonists, who will pursue a legitimate trade and commerce there, and who will establish there the institutions of education and religion, to exert their benign influence on the contiguous native tribes of Africans. The large sums expended the last year for the purchase of territory, have limited the means of sending out emigrants from this country to a degree that is greatly perplexing, in the present juncture of affairs, to the American Colonization Society. In speaking of a contemplated expedition from Norfolk, Va., this summer, the Society remarks: "The time of

its departure is not yet fixed, but will be announced as soon as the necessary funds can be procured to meet the expenses. *The number of emigrants who will be sent out this time will depend on the amount of means which we can command.*" There are about *five hundred slaves* who have been offered their freedom, been trained and instructed with a view to fit them for worthy citizenship in Liberia, now ready to go, were the means at hand to send them. Will *these* be remembered when ministers and Christians thankfully celebrate the next anniversary of our national independence? In addition to these great objects of present and pressing necessity, the spirit of improvement, the thirst for knowledge, and the intellectual aspirations of the colonists already in Liberia, have rendered it *extremely desirable that we should assist them to establish, at Monrovia, a Female Academy, in which the higher branches of female education may be taught.*

In a recent letter Governor Roberts thus expresses himself on this subject: "Is it possible that nothing can be done to relieve us in this respect? Can no competent female teacher be induced to come to Liberia? If you can do anything for us in this way, you will confer a great blessing on the people of these colonies." We leave these facts to speak to the hearts of ministers and churches, as they exult in the rich blessings of civilization, liberty and Christianity, which they and their children enjoy in this favored land. And we would affectionately say to them, how can you better testify your gratitude to God for those inestimable blessings, of which the coming national anniversary so vividly reminds you, than by "sending portions to the poor," "breaking every yoke," remembering the down-trodden and oppressed, by giving liber-

ally, as God hath prospered you, the means of meliorating their condition for time, and of securing their best interests for eternity? If the Christian ministry and the Christian churches "shut up *their* bowels of mercy and kindness" from the colored race here and in Africa, *who* are to be the instruments of blessing that most forlorn portion of the human family, with all that can give a charm to the life that now is, or inspire hope for that which is to come? Who?—let the history of all that has ever been done effectively for man's mortal and immortal interests, answer. The ministry and the church of God *must* do it, if it ever be done by human instrumentality. To *them* we look, to *them* we now appeal, entreating them to "make up their lack of service" in this cause, and to cancel the neglect and large *arrears* of by-gone times, by contributing this year so liberally, as to bear some proportion to the intrinsic merits and real exigencies of our great enterprise.

All monies collected may be sent to Rev. D. L. Carroll, D. D., Corresponding Secretary; or to Moses Allen, Esq., Treasurer, New York city.

In behalf of the Board of Managers: D. L. CARROLL,

Cor. Secretary.

WITH ONE HEART LET US JOIN IN A COMMON PRAYER FOR AFRICA.—In celebrating the 4th of July our orators are much at a loss for new points of interest wherewith to gem their noble but well worn subject.—We will give them one. We have in our land—every where—throughout all our borders—an alien race with whom we cannot share the dearest and most intimate blessings of freedom. In the free States as in the slave-holding ones, the colored race does not mingle in marriage or participate in the higher social privi-

leges of the whites. Whether this is simply an unjust prejudice or a wise check on the deterioration of the favored caste, is not now the question. We only state the fact, and ask how shall we remedy this practical inequality, how elevate the abased, how "return the captive to the heritage of his fathers?" Colonization gives the answer in one word, and the only answer. On that day in which a whole nation, or rather a congregation of thirty nations, shall come together to return thanks to Heaven for the richest boon ever conferred on man, when they celebrate the courage and wisdom of the fathers who gave them such large wealth of civil, religious, and moral freedom, it will be right to show their gratitude by opening to the stranger, who was brought by force within their gates, a country in which he too can burn incense on altars really free.

Let every orator on the 4th of July say a word for the future republics of Africa. Let the whole nation speak on that day with one voice, and future nations will spring from it to call that union of effort blessed. It will give the impulse, and set in flow a tide of emigration which will not cease until Africa is redeemed. Here we have a homeless people—in Africa there is a splendid territory unpeopled. Here is work, home work, for the missionary, and a duty, a pressing duty, for the patriot. Let the coming anniversary of independence show that Christians and patriots are willing to give to it more than formal words, and it will mark a new era. Of the colored youth under fifteen, not one will consent to remain here under the degrading bondage of castes, when they become well informed of the high advantages which await them in Africa. As they become of age they will press in throngs to the land in which they can become men indeed.

Journal of an African Cruiser;

EDITED BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORN.

RARELY have we met with a book of travel, the perusal of which has interested us more than the one of which the above is the title. It is the production of an officer in our navy, who was on board one of our men-of-war during her cruise on the western coast of Africa. He visited all the places of interest among the Cape de Verds, Canary, Madeira and other islands, was frequently in the various ports and settlements of Liberia, saw whatever could be seen, and heard whatever could be heard, and has described the whole in the most graphic and enticing style. He met with sufficient incident to enliven the otherwise dull narration of facts. There is no dry detail, no long and labored essays on trifling topics. On the contrary, his statements of occurrences are short and natural; his remarks on men and things are candid; his conclusions are well drawn; his inferences show a well balanced mind; and the whole is pervaded with an air of modesty and unpretention, which in these times is truly refreshing and delightful.

The enterprising publishers, Wiley and Putnam, could not, we are sure, have selected any other work more adapted favorably to *lead off* in their "Library of American Books." If those which shall compose the remainder of the library are

all as readable, and at the same time *as well worthy of being read*, as the present one, we hesitate not to predict for them a wide and general circulation.

We hail the appearance of this book with pleasure, because it must be considered as bearing *impartial testimony* (whether favorable or the contrary,) to the present condition of LIBERIA. We have needed just such a book as it is. We have been anxious that some disinterested person with good sense and cool judgment, should visit Liberia, unconnected with the Society at home, uninfluenced by any party or personal considerations, and remain long enough on the coast and in the settlements to have his first impressions corrected or verified, and thoroughly to understand the whole machinery of colonization, and the actual present condition and reasonable prospects of the commonwealth of Liberia. In the present work and its author, we have this desideratum. The following remarks from the *preface*, show with what feelings and prepossessions he entered upon the work:

"If in any portion of the book, the author may hope to engage the attention of the public, it will probably be in those pages which treat of Liberia. The value of his evidence, as to the condition and prospects of that colony, must depend, not upon

any singular acuteness of observation or depth of reflection, but upon his freedom from partizan bias, and his consequent ability to perceive a certain degree of truth, and inclination to express it frankly. A Northern man, but not unacquainted with the slave institutions of our own and other countries—neither an abolitionist nor a colonizationist—without prejudice, as without prepossession—he felt himself thus far qualified to examine the great enterprise which he beheld in progress. He enjoyed, moreover, the advantage of comparing Liberia, as he now saw it, with a personal observation of its condition three years before, and could therefore mark its onward or retreating footsteps, and the better judge what was permanent, and what merely temporary or accidental. With these qualifications, he may at least hope to have spoke so much of truth as entirely to gratify neither the friends nor enemies of this interesting colony.

"The west coast of Africa is a fresher field for the scribbling tourist than most other parts of the world. Few visit it unless driven by stern necessity; and still fewer are disposed to struggle against the enervating influence of the climate, and keep up even so much of intellectual activity as may suffice to fill a diurnal page of journal or commonplace book. In his descriptions of the settlements of the various nations of Europe along that coast, and of the native tribes, and their trade and intercourse with the whites, the writer indulges the idea that he may add a trifle to the general information of the public."

We have space only for a few extracts from the work at the present time. We choose, therefore, to place in near relation to the preceding prefatory remarks, the conclu-

sion of what the author had to say of Liberia. His testimony is invaluable. We commend it to all who have any doubts that Liberia will succeed. We would that all the enemies of colonization would read this book. Not that they might not find some things in it which they might perhaps torture into arguments against the scheme. We have never pretended that Liberia was perfect. We know that it has its faults. We know that the citizens had to contend with many obstacles, and that there are yet many drawbacks to their advancement. But we contend that when all the circumstances are considered, there is nothing which should be ground of reasonable discouragement in regard to the ultimate success of the enterprise, and the immense good to the colored race and to Africa, which will accrue from it. But to the author's conclusion:

"It is now fourteen months since our ship first visited Monrovia. Within that period there has been a very perceptible improvement in its condition.

"The houses are in better repair; the gardens under superior cultivation. There is an abundant supply of cattle which have been purchased from the natives. More merchant vessels now make this their port, bringing goods hither, and creating a market for the commodities, live stock and vegetables of the colonists. An increased amount of money is in circulation; and the inhabitants find that they can dispose of the products of their industry for something better than the cloth and tobacco which they were formerly obliged to take in payment. The squadron of Uni-

ted States men-of-war, if it do no other good, will at least have an essential share in promoting the prosperity of Liberia. After having seen much, and reflected upon the subject even to weariness, I write down my opinion, that Liberia is firmly planted, and is destined to increase and prosper. That it will do, though all further support from the United States be discontinued. A large portion of the present population, it is true, are ignorant, and incompetent to place a just estimate on freedom, or even to comprehend what freedom really is. But they are generally improving in this respect; and there is already a sufficient intermixture of intelligent, enterprising and sagacious men, to give the proper tone to the colony, and insure its ultimate success. The great hope, however, is in the generation that will follow these original emigrants. Education is universally diffused among the children; and its advantages, now beginning to be very manifest, will, in a few years, place the destinies of this great enterprise in the hands of men born and bred in Africa. Then, and not till then, will the experiment of African colonization, and of the ability of the colonists for self-support and self-government, have been fairly tried. My belief is firm in a favorable result. Meantime, it would be wiser in the Colonization Society, and its more zealous members, to moderate their tone, and speak less strongly as to the advantages held out by Liberia. Unquestionably, it is a better country than America for the colored race. But they will find it very far from a paradise. Men who expect to become independent and respectable, can only achieve their object here on the same terms as every where else. They must cultivate their minds, be willing to exert themselves, and not look for

too easy or too rapid rise of fortune. One thing is certain. People of color have here their fair position in the comparative scale of mankind. The white man who visits Liberia, be he of what rank he may, and however imbued with the prejudice of home, associates with the colonist on terms of equality. This would be impossible (speaking not of individuals, but of the general intercourse between the two races,) in the United States. The colonist feels his advantage in this respect, and reckons it of greater weight in the balance than all the hardships to which he is obliged to submit, in an unwanted climate, and a strange country. He is reclaimed from ages of degradation and rises to the erect stature of humanity. On this soil, sun-parched though, he gives the laws; and the white men must obey them. In this point of view—as restoring to him his long-lost birth-right of equality, Liberia may indeed be called the black man's paradise. It is difficult to lay too great stress on the above considerations. When the white man sets his foot on the shore of Africa, he finds it necessary to throw off his former prejudices. For my own part, I have dined at the tables of many colored men in Liberia, have entertained them on shipboard, worshiped with them at church, walked, rode, and associated with them, as equal with equal, if not as friend with friend. Were I to meet those men in my own town, and among my own relations, I would treat them kindly and hospitably, as they have treated me. My position would give me confidence to do so. But in another city, where I might be known to few, should I follow the dictates of my head and heart, and there treat these colored men as brethren and equals, it would imply the exercise of greater moral courage than I have ever

been aware of possessing. This is sad ; but it shows forcibly what the colored race have to struggle against in America, and how vast an advantage is gained by removing to another soil."

In the sentiments of the preceding extracts, we most fully concur. We have generally been, and always mean to be, *moderate* in our remarks relating to the *immediate advantages* of a removal to Liberia. We have never held out to the colored people the idea that they were to become rich and happy and respectable by a mere *residence* in that commonwealth. By no means. But we confess we have been enthusiastic in praise of Liberia as a place where they could rise from under the depressing influences which rest upon them now in *this* country, and in contact with the white man—where they could place their children in a condition of superior advantage, and finally as a place where they could do much for their race, and for the world ! And all that our author has said in his preface and in his conclusion and throughout the work, on the subject, has tended to invigorate our previous sentiments in connection with this aspect of colonization.

We cannot refrain from publishing the following passage relating to *Missions* and *MISSIONARIES* in *Liberia*. It so entirely corresponds with our own sentiments, and withal, so commends itself to the good sense and judgment of every person who thinks at all upon the subject, that we should like to throw it upon the

wings of the wind and send it all over the land. We owe the author an infinite debt of thanks for aiding us so powerfully in our efforts to persuade our missionary societies to send none but colored missionaries to Africa, and thus make full experiments of what the colored man can do when placed in circumstances of any thing like a fair trial.

It will be remembered that there have at times been some difficulties existing between the missionaries and the authorities of Liberia. We think that the statement below will show to every mind what was the real cause of those difficulties, and the only means of preventing their recurrence in future :

"And here, without presuming to offer an opinion as respects their conduct at this particular juncture, I must be allowed to say, that the missionaries at Liberia have shown themselves systematically disposed to claim a position entirely independent of the colonies. They are supported by wealthy and powerful societies at home ; they have been accustomed to look upon their own race as superior to the colored people ; they are individually conscious, no doubt in many cases, of an intellectual standing above that of the persons prominent among the emigrants ; and they are not always careful to conceal their sense of such general or particular superiority. It is certain too, that the native Africans regard the whites with much greater respect than those of their own color. Hence it is almost impossible but that jealousy of missionary influence should exist in the minds of the colonial authorities. The latter perceive in the midst of

their commonwealth, an alien power, exercised by persons not entitled to citizenship, and to whom it was never intended to allow voice or action in public affairs. By such a state of things, the progress of Christianity and civilization must be rather retarded than advanced.

"There is reason, therefore, to doubt whether the labors of white missionaries in the territory over which the colonists exercise jurisdiction, is upon the whole beneficial. If removed beyond those limits and insulated among the natives, they may accomplish infinite good; but not while assuming an anomalous position of independence, and thwarting the great experiment which the friends of Liberia have in view. One grand object of these colonists, is to test the disputed and doubtful points, whether the colored race be capable of sustaining themselves without the aid or presence of the whites. In order to a fair trial of the question, it seems essential that none but colored missionaries should be sent hither. The difficulties between the government and the Methodist Episcopal mission confirm this view. At a former period that mission possessed power almost sufficient to subvert the colonial rule. Let it not be supposed that these remarks are offered in any spirit of hostility to missionaries. My intercourse with them in different parts of the world, has been of the most friendly nature. I owe much to their kindness, and can bear cheerful testimony to the laborious self-devoting spirit in which they do their duty. At Athens, I have seen them toiling unremittingly for years, to educate the ignorant and degraded descendants of the ancient Greeks, and was proud that my own country—in a hemisphere of which Plato never dreamed—should have sent back to Greece a holier wisdom than he diffused from thence.

"In the unhealthy Isle of Cyprus I have beheld them perishing without a murmur, and their places filled with new votaries, stepping over the graves of the departed, and not less ready to spend and be spent in the cause of their Divine Master. I have witnessed the flight of whole families from the mountains of Lebanon, where they had lingered until its cedars were prostrate beneath the storm of war, and only then came to shelter themselves under the flag of their country. Every where, the spirit of the American missionaries has been honorable to their native land; nor, whatever be their human imperfections, is it too much to term them holy in their lives, and often martyrs in their deaths. And none more so than the very men of whom I now speak, in these sickly regions of Africa, where I beheld them sinking more or less gradually, but with certainty, and destitute of almost every earthly comfort, into their graves. I criticise portions of their conduct, but reverence their purity of motive; and only regret that, while divesting themselves of so much that is worldly, they do not retain either more wisdom of this world, or less aptness to apply a disturbing influence to worldly affairs."

We close our extracts at the present time, with the following interesting remarks relating to the manners and customs of the natives of the country:

"*August 1st.* Anchored at Cape Palmas. We were boarded by Kroomen in eight or ten canoes. While the thermometer stood at 75 or 80 degrees, these naked boatmen were shivering, and seemed absolutely to suffer with cold; and such is the effect of the climate upon our own physical systems, that we find woollen garments comfortable at the same temperature.

"Before returning on board, we called on King Freeman, who received us, seated on a chair which was placed in front of his house. His majesty's royal robe was no other than an old uniform frock, which I had given him three years ago. We accepted the chairs which he offered us, and held a palaver, while some twenty of his subjects stood respectfully around. He remembered my former visit to the colony, and appeared very glad to see me again. His town was nearly deserted, the people having gone out to gather rice. About the royal residence and in the vicinity, I saw thirty or forty cattle, most of them young, and all of them remarkably small. It is said, and I believe it to be a fact, that cattle and even fowls, when brought from the interior, take the coast fever, and often perish with it. Certain it is, that they do not flourish.

"11th. King Freeman came on board, dressed in his uniform frock, with two epauletts, a red cap, and check trowsers. He received some powder and bread from the Commodore, and some trifles from the ward room.

"12th. Joe Davis brought his son on board to 'learn sense.' In pursuit of this laudible object, the young man is to make a cruise with us. The father particularly requested that his son might be flogged, saying: 'Spose you lick him, you gib him sense!' On such a system, a man-of-war is certainly no bad school of improvement.

"13th. A delightful day, clear sky and cool breeze. We sailed from Cape Palmas yesterday, cruising up the coast.

"I have been conversing with young Ben Johnson, one of our Kroomen, on the conjugal and other customs of his countrymen. These constitute quite a curious object of research. The Kroomen are indis-

pensable in carrying on the commerce and maritime business of the African coast. When a Kroo boat comes alongside, you may buy the canoe, hire the men at a moment's warning, and retain them in your service for months. They spend no time or trouble in providing their equipment, since it consists merely of a straw hat and a piece of white or colored cotton, girded about their loins. In their canoes, they deposit these girdles in the crown of their hats; nor is it unusual, when a shower threatens them on shore, to see them place this sole garment in the same convenient receptacle, and then make for shelter. When rowing a boat or paddling a canoe, it is their custom to sing; and as the music goes on, they seem to become invigorated, applying their strength cheerfully, and with limbs as unwearied as their voices. One of their number leads in recitative, and the whole company responds in the chorus. The subject of the air is a recital of the exploits of the men, their employments, their intended movements, the news of the coast, and the character of their employers. It is usual in these extemporaneous strains from the Kroomen attached to a man-of-war, to taunt with good humored satire, their friends who are more laboriously employed in merchant vessels, and not so well fed and paid.

"Their object in leaving home, and entering into the service of navigators, is generally to obtain the means of purchasing wives, the number of whom constitutes a man's importance. The sons of 'gentlemen,' (for there is such a distinction of rank among them,) never labor at home, but do not hesitate to go away for a year or two, and earn something to take to their families. On the return of these wanderers, not like the prodigal son, but bringing wealth to their kindred, great

rejoicings are instituted. A bullock is killed by the head of the family, guns are fired, and two or three days are spent in the performance of various plays and dances. The 'boy' gives all his earnings to his father and places himself again under the parental authority. The Krooman of mature age, on his return from an expedition of this kind, buys a wife, or perhaps more than one, and distributes the rest of his accumulated gains among his relatives; in a week he has nothing left but his wives and his house.

"Age is more respected by the Africans than by any other people. Even if the son be forty years old, he seldom seeks to emancipate himself from the parental government. If a young man falls in love, he, in the first place, consults his father. The latter makes proposition to the damsel's father, who, if his daughter agrees to the match, announces the terms of purchase. The price varies in different places, and is also influenced by other circumstances, such as the respectability and power of the family, and the beauty and behavior of the girl. The arrangements here described, are often made when the girl is only five or six years of age, in which case, she remains with her friends until womanhood, and then goes to the house of her bridegroom. Meantime, her family receives the stipulated price, and are responsible for her good behavior. Should she

prove faithless and run away, her purchase money must be refunded by her friends, who, in their turn, have a claim upon the family of him who seduces or harbors her. If prompt satisfaction be not made, (which, however, is generally the case,) there will be a long palaver, and a much heavier expense for damage and costs. If after the commencement of married life, the husband is displeased with his wife's conduct, he complains to her father, who either takes her back or repays the dower, or more frequently advises that she be flogged. In the latter alternative, she is tied, starved, and severely beaten,—a mode of conjugal discipline which generally produces the desired effect.

"Should the wife be suspected of infidelity, the husband may charge her with it, and demand that she should drink the poisonous decoction of sassy wood, which is used as a test of guilt or innocence, in all cases that are considered too uncertain for human judgment. If her stomach free itself from the fatal draught by vomiting, she is declared innocent, and is taken back by her family without paying the dower. On the other hand, if the poison begin to take effect, she is pronounced guilty; an emetic is administered in the shape of common soap; and her husband may, at his option, either send her home or cut off her nose and ears."

Commander Jones's Letter.

H. B. M. SHIP "PENELope,"
Off Gallinas, Sept. 9th, 1844.

SIR:—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that I have received instructions to communicate to you, for your information, the views taken by the British government in relation to the settlement of "Liberia," under your administration.

The interest which is felt in Great Britain, in the success of every attempt for the civilization and welfare of Africa, has naturally excited attention to the

proceedings of a Society, whose professed principles and objects, and the respectable sources from which it emanated, afforded well grounded hopes that its benevolent purposes would finally be realized. Accordingly, the progress of amelioration, hitherto, has been remarked with sympathy and cordial satisfaction; and it is sincerely hoped that the prosperity of the infant settlement of "Liberia," may not be in any manner retarded. I am commanded to assure you, that the Liberian authorities may reckon upon

the good will and protection of Her Majesty's government, whenever they may be needed, in furtherance of these sentiments. But while the British government is thus amicably disposed towards the settlers of Liberia, it deems it expedient to explain with precision the views at which it has arrived, on a subject on which it is highly desirable that there should be no doubt or misunderstanding. The complaints of certain British subjects, who had, under agreement, and according to the custom on the coast, formed settlements and acquired property, have brought to the knowledge of the British government the unpleasant fact, that the "Liberian settlers" have asserted rights over the British subjects alluded to, which appear to be unjust as relating to the prior rights of others, and inadmissible on the grounds on which the Liberian settlers endeavor to found them.

For, the rights in question, those of imposing custom duties, and limiting the trade of foreigners by restrictions, are sovereign rights, which can only be lawfully exercised by sovereign and independent states, within their own recognized borders and dominions.

I need not remind your Excellency that this description does not yet apply to "Liberia," which is not recognized as a subsisting state, even by the government of the country from which its settlers have emigrated: still less is it necessary to remind you, that no association of private individuals, however respectable, in any country, can delegate an authority which they do not possess themselves, or depute their agents to exercise power affecting the rights of persons not their subjects, and established in prior possession of property to which they can have no claim. The rights of property on this coast, as they may appear to be acquired by purchase, will be fully recognized by us; but we cannot admit that property so acquired, can confer sovereign rights upon a private association, or justify the imposition of state duties, or the exclusion of British commerce from its

accustomed resorts. These observations have a particular reference to the disputes at Grand Bassa; and I need not go into detail on a subject which is fully known to you; but, I may be permitted to express my earnest hope, that your Excellency will exert your influence to give due effect to this exposition of the views and intentions of the British government, dictated as it is by the sincerest friendship and regard for your community; and only limited by the imperative necessity of asserting the just rights of British subjects.

You may rest assured that we shall never attempt to extend these beyond the limits prescribed by the consent of the civilized world. If your Society had been long established, great or powerful, the complaints of our fellow subjects would have been brought into earlier notice, but the reverse of the position has, in connection with the peculiarity of your claims upon British sympathy, in other respects, delayed the representation, which your Excellency will now be pleased to receive as well-considered and final.

I am commanded to send an officer with this representation to "Liberia," who may be fully competent to make any explanation which you may desire upon the subject. For this purpose I have selected Commander Buckle, of Her Majesty's sloop the "Growler," the senior officer of the Sierra Leone division of this station, to wait upon your Excellency. I beg leave to introduce Commander Buckle to you as an officer who possesses my entire confidence, and to whom you may freely communicate any representation which you may think fit to address to Her Majesty's government in reference to this communication.

I have the honor to be, with great

Respect and consideration, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. JONES,

Capt. and senior officer, comd'g the British squadron.

To His EXCELLENCY, the Gov. of "Liberia."

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 24th May, to the 22nd July, 1845.

MAINE.			
Bangor—George W. Pickering..	8	50	J. W. Smith, each \$1, cash 35
VERMONT.			cts., L. Bacon, 50 cts., Dr.
By Dea. Samuel Tracy:			Worcester, 75 cts.....
Chester—Dea. Heald.....	75		West Bethel—Daniel Weston, 50
Ludlow—Otis Ross.....	37		cts., cash 12 cts.....
Woodstock—Hon. Charles Marsh,			Waitsfield—Hon. J. Carpenter... 1 00
Hon. Jacob Collamer, each \$3,			Burlington—R. G. Cole, Dea. S.
Hon. Daniel Pierce, E. Ladd,			Hickok, J. Wheeler, D. D.,
N. Cushing, each \$1, Esq.			cash, each \$5, Guy Catlin,
Demmon, 25 cts.....	9	25	\$3 50, Hon. Geo. P. Marsh,
Sharon—C. Baster.....	5	00	cash, W. H. Wilkins, each \$3,
Royalton—Mrs. Francis, \$10,			Col. A. W. Hide, \$2 50, Prof.
Daniel Rix, 2d, \$1, Dr. Rix,			F. N. Benedict, Prof. J. Tor-
25 cts.....	11	25	ray, Dr. Spooner, Mrs. H.
Chelsea—J. Steel, A. O. Hunter,			Wheeler, H. Larenworth, each
			\$2, Mrs. Paine, Prof. C. Pease,

Wm. Warner, each \$1, J. M. Buel, 50 cts.	48 50	Milford Mills—Mrs. Orra Hender- son, per Rev. Mr. Towles.	1 00
Vergennes—Cash	25	Norfolk—By Edgar Janvier:—S. W. Paul, \$10, cash, \$5, cash, \$1, E. S. Pegram, \$5, Benj. Pollard, \$10, several persons together, \$5, Fourth July col- lection in M. E. Church, per Rev. Edward Wadsworth, pas- tor, \$21 47.	57 47
Royalton—Mrs. S. Washburn.	1 00	Amelia Co.—Miss Martha Booker, per Rev. J. S. Bacon, D. D.	10 00
Middlebury—Hon. P. Starr, \$5, C. Elmer, \$3, A. Wilcox, Hon. S. Swift, President Labaree, each \$2, Rev. S. Coe, Prof. A. Twining, C. Birge, H. Seymour, each \$1	18 00		
Brideport—Cash	50		
East Rutland—Wm. Page, \$5, R. Pierpoint, T. W. Hopkins, each \$1, H. T. White, 50 cts.	7 50		
West Rutland—Abner Mead,	5 00		
Pittsford—A. Leach, \$3 50, Dr. R. Winslow, \$1.	4 50		
	118 09		
NEW HAMPSHIRE.		GEORGIA.	
Cornish—J. Hall.	1 00	Augusta—Robert Campbell.	23 50
Plainfield—Rev. Jacob Scaler, Capt. J. Wead, each \$1.	2 00	TENNESSEE.	
Meriden—S. B. Duncan, \$2, C. S. Richards, A. Wood, each \$1 25, Mrs. Rowel, Mrs. Kim- ball, Dea. Morrill, each \$1.	7 50	Nashville—James J. Murphrey, \$5 37½, Robert Germany, \$5, Christian Hoover, P. Moore, T. Clinton, each \$1, cash, 62½ cts.	14 00
	10 50	KENTUCKY.	
MASSACHUSETTS.		By Rev. Alexander M. Cowan:	
By Rev. Joseph Tracy:		Franklin Co.—Thomas Page, \$10, George W. Lewis, \$5.	15 00
Charlestown Colonization Socie- ty, \$150, a female friend, for the purchase of territory, \$100.	250 00	Woodford Co.—D. C. Humphreys, Robert Adams, each \$20, Dr. Lewis, Henry B. Lewis, each \$5.	50 00
RHODE ISLAND.		Scott Co.—Thomas Martin.	5 00
Neuport—From two ladies, to constitute William Guild, Esq., a life member of the A. C. S.	30 00	Shelby Co.—Wilson Thomas.	5 00
CONNECTICUT.		Weyette Co.—James S. Berryman.	10 00
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	55 00	Boyle Co.—Nathaniel Winn, to constitute himself a life-mem- ber, \$30, J. A. Jacobs, Mrs. S. W. Jacobs, Jesse Smith, John G. Talbott, J. C. McDowell, Charles Caldwell, J. S. Hop- kins, E. B. Owsley, Dr. Wm. Craig, Thomas Barba, D. A. Russell, each \$20, A. G. Cald- well, Dr. Daniel Yieser, Col. Evans Rogers, Dr. P. B. Mason, C. H. Rochester, each \$10, Mrs. Lucinda Yieser, Mrs. Nancy J. Zedlock, Mrs. J. Foy, Miss Elizabeth Cowan, J. T. Boyle, each \$5, N. Shields, \$3 75, Mrs. Witherspoon, \$2, J. S. Taylor, \$1.	331 75
NEW YORK.		Bath Co.—A friend, \$100, Rev. J. Gordon, \$5.	105 00
Albany—Collection in 1st Presby- terian Church, \$30, Peter Boyd, Esq., \$10.	40 00		
VIRGINIA.			
Halifax C. H.—James C. Bruce, Esq., per Rev. J. Grammer, \$50, contribution by the Roa- noke Parish, per Rev. John T. Clark, rector, \$15.	65 00		
Albermarle Co.—Mrs. Ann J. Da- vis, Mrs. P. Minor, Mrs. P. Gil- mer, each \$5, per Rev. R. K. Mead.	15 00		
Big Lick—Gen. Watts, his annual subscription.	10 00		
Thompson's Roads—Miss Kitty T. Minor, for purchase of ter- ritory.	10 00		
Woodstock—Fourth July col- lection in Rev. George G. Brooke's Church.	2 00		
		OHIO.	
		By Rev. H. L. Hosmer:	
		Lebanon—Perry Tuttle, \$1, As- berry Frazer, 25 cts.	1 25
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			538 75

J. Eaton, R. Faris, each 50 cts., Daniel Hubbard, T. F. Case, each 25 cts.	4 50
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<i>Tiffin</i> —L. A. Hall, H. Cronise, O. Cowdery, J. Stem, Rev. J. Campbell, R. G. Pennington, each \$1	6 00
<i>Ashland</i> —J. P. Resnor, \$2, F. Graham, Rev. J. Robinson, J. Wesson, W. C. Mason, each \$1.	6 00
	32 50

INDIANA.

<i>N. Hanover</i> —Fourth July collec- tion, per Rev. J. Finley Crowe,	10 00
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MISSOURI.

<i>St. Charles</i> —From the estate of the late Thomas Lindsay, by George C. Sibley, executor....	400 63
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Total Contributions.....\$1,791 31

FOR REPOSITORY.

MAINE. — <i>Bangor</i> —George W. Pickering, to Jan., '45, \$1 50. <i>Minot</i> —James L. Washburn, to 1 Sept., '47, \$3	4 50
NEW HAMPSHIRE. — <i>Monk Fer- non</i> —J. A. Starrett, to Jan., '46, \$2. <i>Portsmouth</i> —Horatio Bridge, to Nov., '47, \$2. <i>Compt- on</i> —Miss H. Cook, to May, '47, \$5. <i>Menden</i> —C. S. Rich- ards, A. Wood, jointly, \$1 50.	10 50
VERMONT. —By Samuel Tracy— <i>Chester</i> —Dr. P. Edson, \$1 50. <i>Ludlow</i> —Dea. F. White, \$1 50. <i>Windsor</i> —Hon. Coolidge, \$1 50. <i>Woodstock</i> —L. A. Marsh, Esq., for Benj. Swan, \$1 50. <i>Roy- alton</i> —Dr. J. A. Denison, \$3. <i>Randolph</i> —Wm. Nutting, D. Chase, each \$6. <i>Burlington</i> — Guy Catlin, to Jan., '46, \$11 50. H. Bradley, \$3 50, Herman Aller's estate, to Jan., '46, \$11 50, Hon. M. L. Bennet, \$5, on account, Hon. Geo. P. Marsh, \$11 50, to Jan., '46, Col. A. W. Hyde, \$1 50, W. H. Wilkins, \$1 50. <i>Castleton</i> — Dr. J. Perkins, to Jan., '46, \$11 50, Hon. Z. Howe, \$1 50, <i>New Haven</i> —Rev. J. Meacham, to Jan., '46, 75 cts. <i>Bridport</i> — Rev. D. Lamb, Dea. Clays, \$1 50. <i>West Poultney</i> —Win. Wheeler, \$1 50. <i>Pittsford</i> —	

Andrew Leach, Asa Nourse, Dea. Tottingham, each \$1 50. <i>Brandon</i> —Rev. Wm. Shedd, \$1 50, more, \$3	89 75
MASSACHUSETTS. — <i>Hatfield</i> —Levi Graves, Samuel Graves, each \$1 50. <i>Williamsburg</i> —Dr. Daniel Collins, Elisha Hubbard, Esq., Capt. Wm. A. Nash, each \$1 50. <i>Webster</i> —R. O. Storrs, Dr. John W. Tenney, James J. R. Robinson, each \$1 50. <i>West Newton</i> —Adolphus Smith, \$1 50. <i>Beverly</i> —Henry Lar- kon, \$1 50, Albert Thorndike, to April, '45, \$1 50, Dea. John Safford, to 1 July, '46, \$1 50, Edward Burley, \$1 50. <i>Rock- port</i> —Dea. J. R. Gott, to July, '46, Dr. Benj. Haskee, to July, '46, each \$1 50. <i>Manchester</i> — Capt. Richard Traske, to July, '46, \$1 50. <i>South Hadley</i> — Dea. Moses Montague, to July, '46, \$1 50	25 50
RHODE ISLAND. — <i>Bristol</i> —Benj. Hall, to Jan., '47	1 50
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NEW YORK. — <i>Wampsville</i> —Ira Shepherd, in full, \$3 75. <i>New Rochelle</i> —Dr. Watson Smith, in full, \$3	6 75
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MISSOURI. —Missouri Coloniza- tion Society, per Rev. R. S. Finley	50 00
ARKANSAS. — <i>Dwight Mission</i> , <i>Cherokee Nation</i> , George Free- man, to June, '45	2 00
Total Repository	235 25
Total Contributions	1,701 31

Aggregate Amount.....\$1,936 56

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER, 1845.

[No. 9.]

Despatches from Liberia.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, June 18, 1845.

SIR:—Since my last communication to you, by the barque “*Madonna*,” I have received information that the schooner “*John Seys*,” seized in the harbor of Grand Bassa, has been taken to Sierra Leone and entered in the courts for adjudication. Captain Buckle, of her Majesty’s steamer “*Growler*,” called in here a few days ago, and I learned from him “that she was seized on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade—the captain having found on board a quantity of lumber, boards, and a number of water casks, which had not had oil in them, and such as are used on board slave ships.” On this information, I immediately wrote to Mr. Benson to inquire respecting the quantity of lumber and casks said to be found on board his vessel, requesting him to explain and account for the use he intended to make of them. In reply, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of this letter, Mr. Benson denies most positively that she had any lumber on board, and not more than four casks, which might not have had oil in them. This statement of Mr. B. is corroborated by the testimony of several respectable and intelligent

persons, who had an opportunity of knowing what was on board the vessel at the time of her capture.

I have no doubt every effort will be made to have her condemned, and perhaps on the suspicion of having been engaged in the slave trade, if their jurisdiction can be made to extend so far. I am decidedly of opinion, however, though they are not disposed to avow it, that the vessel was seized in consequence of the seizure of Davidson’s goods at Grand Bassa, for harbor dues, and not in consequence of any such suspicion.

But whatever character they give to her, to suit their purpose, Mr. Benson stands above suspicion for integrity and moral worth. No man in the colony stands higher, nor do I believe he could be induced to engage in any way, however remote, in the slave trade. For full particulars of the seizure, I beg to refer you to the statement of the mate of the vessel, published in the *Liberia Herald and Africa’s Luminary*.

We are waiting with much anxiety to hear from you to learn what action the Board has taken in regard to the subject of our jurisdiction. British traders are continuing their annoyances, and are determined, if possible, to draw us into difficulty.

Since the adoption of the regulation, requiring colonists to abstain from all intercourse with British traders, at any of the ports in the colony, until such traders shall have complied with the regulations of the port, we have had no difficulty on the score of harbor dues, especially at the ports of Monrovia and Grand Bassa; but at Sinou the colonists continue to be annoyed. British traders anchor in their harbor—refuse to pay anchorage—land their goods at the settlement, and supply the natives with any amount, encouraging them to acts of hostility against the colonists, should any attempt be made to restrict their intercourse. Tasko, of whom I spoke in my last, is again out, and doing all he can to prejudice the Fishmen, resident at Sinou, against the colonists. I received yesterday a communication signed by a number of the citizens of Greenville, complaining, in strong language, of the conduct of Tasko; of his violation of the regulations of the harbor; and his efforts to incite the natives, particularly the Fishmen, to acts of violence; and that the Fishmen, notwithstanding their agreement, entered into in March last, not to engage in trade with foreigners, or to land goods in the colony on which the duties had not been paid, have received a large supply from Tasko, at whose suggestion they refuse their duties, and are determined to resist any attempt to force payment. I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to visit Sinou, and remove those Fishmen from the territory of the colony—further indulgence is unsafe; for so long as they remain there, they will be made the tools of the enemies of the colony to annoy and trouble us.

In conversation with Capt. Buckle, I endeavored to draw from him some expression that would give me some

idea of the real object and intentions of the British government in respect to these colonies. He, however, was very guarded in his remarks,—in fact told me he was not authorized to enter upon any discussion of the subject. He, however, gave me to understand that his Government would not, so long as the colony remained dependent or subject to the Colonization Society, relinquish one foot of the ground assumed by Commander Jones.

I am happy to be able to inform you that we have succeeded in settling all difficulties with the chiefs in Grand Bassa, and happily without being compelled to resort to force. Bob Grey and Young Bob surrendered themselves, and have agreed to reimburse the colonists for a part of the losses, and to have restored the property stolen from the school-house on Factory Island.

Sofly John has withdrawn his demand for the slave that escaped and took refuge in the colony. Thus tranquillity is again restored, and peace and harmony prevail.

In consequence of the almost unparalleled quantity of rain that has fallen within the last few weeks, we have made but little progress in the way of erecting buildings. As soon as the weather becomes a little open we hope to commence with renewed vigor, and push forward the work as rapidly as our means will allow.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

To Rev. Wm. McLain,
Sec. Am. Col. Society,
Washington City, D. C.

BASSA COVE,

May 26, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter of the 19th inst. on the 21st. I am

thankful for the information therein afforded.

I have not as yet written to Sierra Leone. My object has been to hear from there ere I took any steps; and since the reception of your letter I have partly concluded to go up there with Mr. Machada, who expects to leave this place in about twelve or fifteen days, for the windward. I am much averse to leaving home this season of the year; but I suppose it is expedient I should go in order to correct the false statements of the captors, as well as to bring matters to a focus, so that I may see the issue of their adjudication, and know what in future to depend on.

Their statement about the plank found on board of her is altogether false, and it can be proved to be false by the gentleman who accompanied me down to Young Sess a week previous to her capture, as well as by Dr. James Stevens, who came up from Sinou in her, and was to have sailed in her for the same place the day after she was captured. There was only one plank on board to our knowledge, which the men used to roll oil casks over the hatch, in order to empty the oil in the palm oil tub. As to their water leaguers, this is all false. There was some shooks sent out by Mr. Fisk to Mr. Hening, which I bought of him, and had put up, and sent on board. I don't remember whether or not they had had train oil in them, and if any of them had not had palm oil in them, the number must have been very small, say three or four. But suppose there were fifty casks on board that had never had oil in them, and some thousand feet of plank, surely they had no business with it, unless they had found her out of her own port, destitute of a manifest or clearance from the collector, specifying these things.

It is really too bad for those peo-

ple to resort to downright lying and intrigue to defraud me out of my property, and to extricate themselves from the predicament in which their ambition has led them. They first resort to one thing and then another in order to effect her condemnation.

Should you think it best to write instead of going up, I will do so; and should I receive a letter to that effect from you, ere Machada comes and leaves, I will decline going, but prepare my papers, and forward up by him.

I conclude by subscribing myself your excellency's obedient servant,

STEPHEN A. BENSON.

His Excellency, J. J. ROBERTS.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,
June 20, 1845.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—An opportunity being afforded of sending letters to the United States, I embrace it to let you know at least that I am still among the living.

I arrived at this place from Bexley about the last of April, after an absence of nearly four months. I left one of my students at Bexley in charge of the emigrants from Kentucky, with whom I went to that place. He will remain with them until the expiration of six months from the time of their arrival. I received a letter from him a few weeks ago, in which he stated that they were all doing well, except the man to whom I think I alluded in my last letter as having an incurable affection of the lungs, and who died on the day after I left.

During the first three months of the year an epidemic disease (the measles) prevailed very extensively throughout the colony. It attacked old and young alike; and, although some persons were very sick with it, yet, fortunately, it did not prove fatal

in any instances, except in a few young children. Since my return to the metropolis, the people in this part of the colony have had more sickness than usual; and in consequence of having to be a good deal exposed, and having to endure a good deal of fatigue in visiting the sick, my own health has not been as good as usual during the last few weeks. The "sear and yellow" countenance might afford a strong presumptive proof to a stranger, that I have resided for some time in a tropical climate; and the irregular attacks of intermittent fever are demonstrative evidences, to myself at least, that my physical system has not yet become altogether adapted to this "sunny region." But I do not feel discouraged nor homesick. My mission to Liberia has not yet been completed. I wish to remain in the colony, if possible, until my students shall be able to fill the station which I now occupy.

I have been up the river several times since my return; and although quite a number of the settlers at Millsburg, Caldwell, and New Georgia have been sick, yet at present they are in a better condition in regard to health. But some of them are rather bad off in regard to good, wholesome, substantial diet, which, in some cases, is the principal cause of their sickness; and which, in a great measure, is their own fault, for I am satisfied that, with industry, economy, and prudence, and a tolerable degree of health, it is not a hard matter to live, and to live comfortably, in Liberia.

The settlers at Grand Bassa are ahead of those in this part of the colony in agricultural improvements, especially in raising coffee. Several persons at Edina, Bassa Cove, and Bexley, have turned their attention to the cultivation of coffee trees, and many small coffee plantations may

be seen with the trees bearing luxuriantly. I have been endeavoring to urge the people in all the settlements to give more attention to the cultivation of this useful and profitable article, and they all seem to be satisfied of its importance and necessity; but many of them are lamentably deficient in patience, energy, and perseverance. In conversation with one of the colonists, a man of considerable influence, a short time ago, I was trying to represent to him the pecuniary advantages he might derive, in a few years, by the cultivation of coffee; and he answered me by saying, that he would not give himself any trouble in raising coffee, because he did not expect to live long enough to enjoy the fruits of his labor. This, I fear, is the feeling of many others, and this feeling must yield to others of a more noble character, before there will be much permanent improvement in agriculture or anything else. The people must not live for the good of themselves alone, but for the good of the whole community, and for the prosperity and happiness of the rising generation.

You will doubtless have received information, before this letter shall have arrived, relative to the unjustifiable seizure of Major Benson's schooner, by the commander of one of H. B. Majesty's cruisers on this coast. A full account of the particulars may be found in the communication of Mr. Benson, which was published in both of our papers. You may rely in the truth of the statements therein contained. Mr. Benson is one of the best and most enterprising men in the colony, and the loss of his schooner (for we have no doubt that she will be condemned as a slaver, by foul means and false representations) will be a heavy blow to him. His loss will not be much short of \$5,000. I need not make

any comments on this piratical exhibition of sympathy and philanthropy, alias tyranny and oppression. I may state, however, that I was at Bassa at the time the schooner was taken, and that I boarded the "Lily" with a view of ascertaining the circumstances, and of giving the commander a statement of facts, relative to the schooner as the property of Mr. Benson. But I found that the officers of the cruiser were all green-hands, just out from England, and that they were determined to try to get a little prize money by taking the vessel to Sierra Leone, and have her condemned as a slaver. We have not yet heard from Sierra Leone, consequently we do not know what has been the fate of the vessel. It seems to me that there is a mystery hanging over that foul act which time will reveal.

We are anxiously awaiting the arrival of a vessel from the United States. We have not received any news since the arrival of the Jamestown, early in February.

My anxiety respecting my two students induces me to call your attention again to the subject of their visiting the United States to attend lectures in some medical institution, preparatory to their taking charge of the medical department of the colony. Will you write me definitely on this subject, and let me know whether arrangements can be made by which they may be able to get admission into some medical school or college?

They are both making rapid progress in their studies; and, as I have endeavored to instruct them practically, as well as theoretically—at the bedside of the sick, as well as in the office—they are both already pretty good practitioners, and they are of

considerable assistance to me. I believe that Mr. Roberts attended to as much practice, and was as successful, as any other practitioner in the colony (myself included) during my absence from Monrovia; and Mr. Smith has exhibited uncommon skill and judgment in several very bad cases of which he had the charge, at different times, when I was prevented by sickness from seeing the patients. They have both mastered the most difficult parts of the study, and they have altogether exceeded my most sanguine expectations. I would not recommend their staying in the United States longer than a sufficient length of time to attend *one course* of medical lectures; and I hope that some kind of arrangements will be made by which they may enjoy this privilege. If they can visit the United States next year, so as to attend a course of lectures in the summer of '46, or in the winter of '46-7, I will endeavor to remain until their return to the colony.

I think it would be a good thing if two or three young men could pursue the study of law in order to practice in the colony; for we are worse off for *lawyers* than for *doctors*—indeed, two of the regular lawyers are practicing physicians. There are young men in the colony who might become very respectable lawyers if they had one or more good teachers to direct and instruct them in their studies. There is talent enough in the colony; but it requires proper training and direction.

The rain is now coming down in torrents.

Yours truly,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

Rev. WM. McLAIN,
Secretary and Treasurer
of the Am. Col. Society.

[From the Liberia Herald.]

Statement of Jeffry Horace, Mate of the Schooner John Sigs.

MR. EDITOR:—In my communication to you some time last week, I endeavored to acquaint your readers with some of the facts which cause our grievances as a body of people, imposed upon merely because we are incapable of seeking and demanding redress. As my schooner was beating or drifting about opposite our harbor, when I closed my former article, and communication on board from us was forbidden at our peril, I could not have been fully apprized of the particulars of her illegal seizure, nor of the subsequent transactions on board, and consequently could not give you this information which I am certain every well-wisher of Liberia is anxious to hear. I know not a more correct and better way to do this than by giving you the statement of the mate, who was on board when she was boarded on the 15th inst., and escaped for his life on the following Friday:

"We were out of water on the morning of the 15th inst., and as the bar was too bad for the large boat to come off as had been intended, I made a special signal for the captain to have water sent off from the beach. This special signal was up when the man-of-war boat had approached sufficiently near for me to conclude, from the number of men on board, that she must be a man-of-war boat. I immediately took down the special signal and hoisted colonial colors. The boat soon sailed up and the men boarded the schooner. The papers were demanded by the commanding officer, and I immediately got them and handed them to him one at a time. He then asked me all the particulars about the vessel, and looked at the papers

and said to me, 'I thought you said the vessel belonged to Bassa Cove; how is it, it says Liberia here?' I said to him read, and likely you will see Stephen A. Benson, of Bassa Cove, mentioned in them.

"He then blundered along some how or other and said at last, 'I see it.' The vessel was overhauled by them, and the cargo turned out, among which were found satin stripes, tom coffees, blue basts, romauls, bleached and unbleached cottons, prints, brass kettles, tin pans, powder, guns, tobacco, pipes, iron bars, &c. &c.

"I told him those were such goods as were used in the oil trade—that they were intended for that purpose, and that I could show him papers then on board communicated from Mr. Edward Morris, Sinou, to the captain when at Sinou, in proof that the same kinds of goods were sold for oil the last voyage. The officer then said to me, 'I can't believe you. I believe you to be a slaver from your kettles and pans you have on board;' and then turned to his men and said, 'Men, I think I'll take her, any how, will you all bear me out?' 'Yes,' was the answer. He then commanded the sails to be loosed and the anchor weighed.

"Very soon after this a canoe was seen coming off from towards Bassa Cove. So soon as it got pretty near, I told the officer the captain of the schooner was coming off, and he would be able to give fuller explanations if necessary; and also see to the vessel's cargo, in case he persisted in carrying her to Sierra Leone. But when the canoe approached a little nearer the officer jumped upon the hencoop aft with

his double barreled gun, and motioned with his hand, saying, 'Go off; go back; or I will put a ball through your canoe.' There were two others, one on each side, who really put up their guns in the position of shooting. The canoe stopped; the Kroomen seemed affrighted, and after halting some time, put back for the shore.

"The schooner continued sailing off. I tried to prevail on the officer to let the captain come on board, or even to admit him alongside; as justice could not be done to the owners unless the captain was on board the vessel, not only to keep an eye to everything on board, but also to make the requisite statements, and give explanations before whatever court action might be taken on the case. I told him that one canoe with only two or three Americans in it could not retake the vessel.

"After Captain Horace had almost got ashore, the officer seemed to be in deep meditation, as if conscious of an error, and said to me, 'Why did not your captain come on board? there was no occasion for his return.' I said to him, have you forgot that you forbade his approach by motioning with your hand for him to return, and saying at the same time that you would blow a hole through the canoe if he approached any nearer? 'Oh,' said he, 'it was not my intention to shoot; that is the English mode of making a complimentary bow, and giving a hearty welcome. I meant no more.' I said to him that though I was ignorant, I was not mistaken in what I heard him say and saw him do, nor what it all indicated. He then said to me very sharply, with an oath, 'I don't care what you saw and heard, and further, if you do not mind, I will put a pistol ball through your head.' He then asked me if I did not have another set of papers,

which question he repeated very frequently, and teased me to say 'yes.' After he found he could not prevail, he then said, 'You have no manifest or clearance on board to show your cargo and where you were bound. This shows that you are in an illegal trade.'

"I asked him if he did not perceive in the papers that the vessel belonged to and hailed from the port of Bassa Cove, Grand Bassa? and did he not know that the schooner was lying in her own port, not a league from shore, when he boarded and took her? did he know in any British port, vessels to procure and have on board their manifest and clearance before they had finished taking in cargo, and ready for sea? If he did, he must have known more than any other man of common sense. 'Well,' said he, 'I don't recognize your colors, you are no nation; neither are you under the patronage of any nation. The authority that granted your papers is not a recognized one; and what right have the damned Yankees to place colonies on the coast any how? Your colors I deem good for nothing.' I gave him to understand he might do as he pleased about that and stand the consequences—that the colonial flag had been used for years, and it had been respected by the vessels of all nations whether naval or merchantmen; and that other men-of-war had boarded the schooner—that the Rapid's boat had boarded her several times within the last week or so—and she had no more in her now to condemn her than then; and why did not their ambition for fame and promotion induce them to take her? Moreover, he would hardly find an English trader on the coast that did not have the same kinds of goods.

"He then seemed to manifest some uneasiness;—which I thought arose

from a consciousness of having acted too fast in taking the vessel. Meanwhile, he said to me, 'Step here forward with me: I want to have a word with you.' I wondered what he could want with me, and while reflecting, he said to me, 'Look here: if you will only say that this vessel is engaged in the slave trade, I will give you a doubloon. You need not let the other men hear you; they have nothing to do with what passes between you and me.' I got angry immediately, to see such an exhibition of meanness, and said to him, rather abruptly, if this is what you are up to I will have no more to say to you on the subject. You know you have illegally taken the vessel; you begin to fear consequences, and now you wish to bribe me to tell a lie. I will answer no more of your questions. If you intend carrying us to Sierra Leone, I will go and say what I have to say there. I know she will be cleared, for there are scores there who both know the vessel and the owner too.

"They continued beating about off the harbor the remainder of the day, but made little headway. They appeared to be somewhat intoxicated, or at least to have been drinking too much. The officer frequently jumped on deck and acted like one partly crazy, and would say, 'I told them that I would take the first prize.' They were so far out of their right element that they could not properly work the vessel. They injured her leeward sails by sheeting them aft, and bracing them, as if they were hauling on the deck tackle or something else that would require several horse-power to move it. They also split some of the blocks and carried away rigging; and the first night they had her in charge there was quite a severe blow of wind, and the sails were flying and flapping all night, for they were only

loosely clued at the leeward. They punched a hole through her bulwarks with their boats also. When Mr. Lawrence, of the brig *Ellen Jenkinson*, of Liverpool, (who well knows the schooner, and is also well acquainted with the legality of the trade in which she is engaged,) came from the leeward and anchored at Trade Town, where they had conveyed the schooner, I was told by the gunner that he (Mr. L.) told the officer that he had done wrong in taking the vessel, or interfering with her at all—that he was just as liable to be taken as we were, for he had the same kinds of kettles on board which were said to amount to such strong suspicion in our vessel, and that Mr. Lawrence sent for one and showed it, and the officer had to confess it was the same.

"The gunner further said to me that in case he had had his way about it, he would not have interfered with the vessel at first; and when the officer came on board I heard him and the gunner talking aft, and I heard him (the officer) say, 'I am sorry that I ever interfered with this vessel; I wish I had let her alone.' After this, he said to me, 'Do you know what the expenses of this vessel are estimated at per day?' I told him no, the owner only could tell. A little while after this he said to me, 'If I don't have you tried as a slaver, I will have you tried as a pirate, and you will then be hung, which will be much worse for you than if you were tried for the slave trade. Now you had better give up, and acknowledge that you are in the slave trade, and join our brig, the *Lily*, when she comes; and I will procure you the station of pilot on board of her, which will be better employment than you can find in the colony. You are well acquainted with the coast, are you not?' I did not answer so abruptly this time as

I did before, when he offered me the doubloon, but said to him, I did not know what I might do when the Lily came. My object for answering so calmly this time was, that I began to be alarmed in consequence of what I conceived a fuller developement of their true character in the free and unrestrained use they made of Mr. Benson's goods on board, just as if they had bought the vessel and cargo; and I thought that if this, together with their former course of proceeding, did not amount to piracy, it would be more difficult for the most discriminating man to show the difference than for me to split a hair; and as such, I considered my life in danger.

"For they were just as much justified for interfering with the one as the other. I therefore concluded to give them as soft answers as possible, and to make my escape for my life the first chance. I saw them open the tobacco cask, and not only *use*, but *sell* it. I also saw them sell his clothes, &c. They split his camwoods to burn. They used his pans and kettles, that belonged to the cargo, and his goods were placed in a position where they were exposed to the rain.

"So eager were they to make away with the goods that he said, 'We must keep the colonial colors flying, so that the natives might know the vessel, and be induced to think that she is not taken, so that they may bring off trade to sell to us.' I told him there was no need of that, for Mr. Benson had factories for buying oil at Tobaccanell, Young Sess and Trade Town, and the natives well knew the vessel and legality of the trade in which she is engaged, and that they will hardly fear to come off, for they know she can't be legally condemned, and therefore no need of resorting to that stratagem.

"This served to confirm me the

more in the belief that my life was unsafe, and of the propriety of resorting to some stratagem for escape.

"On Friday I proposed to them to let me go fishing in a fish canoe, in company with a small fish boy, who was steward on board the vessel with me. They asked me if any good fishing ground was near. I said yes. They said, 'You can go; I know you will not and cannot run away.' So the little boy and myself got in the canoe; we were hardly in before she capsized. This confirmed them in the belief, no doubt, that we were poor canoe men; and thought that in consequence thereof it would be folly for us to attempt to escape while they had the pinnace there. The capsizing was quite amusing to them. However, we managed to get in again and pulled directly out to sea, until I perceived we were sufficiently distant to reach the shore, in a diagonal direction, before the pinnace could overtake us, and at the same time to be beyond musket shot;—we made the attempt. As soon as they discovered us heading toward shore, the pinnace put in chase after us, and fired several guns, but all in vain—we reached shore, and were at Bassa the following day."

Mr. Benson, the owner of the John Seys, adds the following remarks to the preceding narrative:

Though I cannot say positively, for I may be mistaken, yet I have been, was then, and am still more and more under the impression, that the English, or a part at least, have concerted a deep plan for the accomplishment of a certain object. A part of their plan I believe to be this: to make use of such means in their intercourse with us, either at sea or on land, as will have a tendency to show and make us feel our weakness—our want of recognition—our want of protection—till we are *necessitated* to petition them for this protection and

recognition—thus have the object accomplished of having us in their insatiable clutches, or aggravate us by their incessant impositions, till we are constrained to commit acts of violence on some of their subjects, which will be for them a justifiable plea for taking possession of the place.

A few more facts in support of this opinion, and I will leave, with a few remarks about the schooner:

On Sunday, which was the day following the day after the first brig anchored, another man-of-war, the *Water Witch*, came in and anchored there. There was no communication with the shore that day to my knowledge. From what I could see with the glass I thought some of their boats were sounding the harbor. The following morning the schooner was off for Sierra Leone; and six men-of-war boats soon after came into the river in successive order. Some went to Edina; some went to Bexley; and some came to Bassa Cove. Some of the *Lily's* officers were among these that visited Bassa Cove. I introduced the subject of the illegal seizure or capture of the vessel; and thought if I could not be allowed to go on board to give explanation relative to the schooner, I might venture to do so on shore. But I soon found that the officer who took her had made up a false tale to report to his commander, as I expected: for notwithstanding three Americans were in the canoe besides the Kroomen, all of whom testify the same thing, and we who were spying with our glasses could almost see every movement, yet that officer, whoever he was, declared to his commander that he never forbade the approach of the canoe. And moreover, the mate of the schooner, after his escape, upon his first arrival, made the same statement that the captain and these men made before

he had had any private interview with them.

The officers with whom I was in conversation, said repeatedly, in the presence of Messrs. John Hanson, James H. Stevens, S. S. Merring, A. W. Gardiner, and a number more besides myself, that the papers and colors under which my vessel sailed were useless and illegal; because the authority that granted them is not recognized. This he repeated in conversation, to my knowledge, three times; until asked by the officers of the *Water Witch*, whether the authority of the colony was not really recognized to his certain knowledge. About this time it was brought to his mind that he had told us previously that he knew nothing about these colonies or their existence before he left England; and that he was direct from England, with the exception that the commander had had an interview with Commander Jones at the windward. But as to himself he had no knowledge of the existence of these colonies, until he arrived here.

Now whence could he have procured his information relative to the colonial authority not being recognized? He did not learn it on shore, for he had just landed. He knew nothing about it when he left home, and thus he found himself brought into straits to tell where he got his information from, and was forced to retract, so far as to deny having spoken positively, but said it was his apprehension. But how we may account for this discrepancy, I cannot say positively, but I can think, and I leave others to think. Nothing need be more evident to me, than this information was received about the time of his "*interview with the commander at the windward.*" And it is not unreasonable to suppose that this information was intimately connected with instructions that were

given prior to coming down the coast. So that it seems that their whole course of procedure is *premeditated*;—was entered upon under advice; and arranged for the accomplishment of some specific object.

The officers asked many questions about the colony; its limits; the line of coast it embraces; the relation this place sustains to Monrovia; to the United States; asked whether we had the United States flag here, and whether allowed to use it. The gentleman from the Lily remarked several times, "What a pleasant place this is! how desirable a situation! Surely you have little sickness here. How superior this to Ascension! I would like to live here very well." I told him we were very well satisfied with our home, and would feel ourselves a happy people if they would only let us occupy and enjoy it unmolested: which excited their laughter very much, and induced them to reply by saying, "That all this would have a tendency to bring about a better understanding between Great Britain and the colony."

I mentioned that six boats came in—some of these came for water, others for vegetables and fish—one was the flag boat which preceded, I think, the one in which the two commanders came ashore. The commanders did not tarry at the lower settlements long, but proceeded to Bexley—returned in the afternoon and went on board. I am told that they were both very civil and gentlemanly. The commander of the Water Witch, especially, was very highly spoken of by those who visited them.

It was something quite novel with us at Bassa, who seldom see a man-of-war, to see so many boats in our river at once, and for commanding officers to manifest so much interest for our colony as to ascend seven miles to visit the upper settlements.

As to my schooner, I am told she is sent to Sierra Leone, of course it would be folly to take her to Monrovia where there is no recognized authority. Well, then, I think we had as well make wrapping paper of our colonial laws, and send no more representatives to make laws for us, if we are not to be tried by them—if England is to be lawgiver.

All the authority used in our courts too, is illegal, for our courts are instituted by this same authority that is not recognized. I hope British subjects will remember this, and not have the effrontery to seek any redress in our colony (whether the case be civil or criminal) until they recognize the authority that instituted these courts through which they seek this redress.

Now I ask the question, what chance is there for my vessel to be cleared at Sierra Leone, even were it right for her to be taken there? In the first place they forbid the captain and others from going on board, who should appear as evidences in behalf of the schooner, and who should be on board to prevent any thing from being smuggled on board in order to condemn her. Again, it is likely that some of the very things consumed or confiscated by that officer and his crew, would have proven a most powerful evidence in favor of the schooner.

And again, can we doubt for a moment that a man, who was mean enough to try and bribe my mate to tell a lie, in order to exonerate him from a difficulty in which, after he had got sober, he found his ambition had led him, would, when he found the vessel in his own hands, and no one to inform on him, do any and every thing to effect her condemnation?—this is too evident to admit of a doubt.

Again, I am told that such has become the desire to condemn the

vessel thus taken to Sierra Leone, as that the most dishonest intrigues are resorted to at times to effect this, and that by some of whom such a thing should not be expected. Mr. Anthony W. Gardiner, who left this place last January on a visit to Sierra Leone, and returned a few weeks ago, informs us for a fact, that on the week he arrived there, they put a fellow in prison for conveying slave irons on board a vessel they had been trying to condemn for sometime but could not find sufficient evidence. This poor fellow had to bear the blame, but it is certain that he would not have derived so much benefit from her condemnation, (yet he bore the blame.) Now, taking these things under consideration, would it not be miraculous for her to escape condemnation, (should they consider themselves justifiable in trying her,) and is it not too much for freemen to be thus imposed upon—to labor so hard for the accumulation of prop-

erty and have it thus confiscated? I had nearly all the trade goods I possessed on board, besides some freight to Sinou for some Americans; but this is not all, I have thousands of gallons of oil at the leeward which will be sold to the first English vessel that calls there, after they hear of the schooner's capture, and as soon as the oil season is over I can never get it in afterward. But it is folly for any man to imagine that I will suffer my property to be thus squandered without seeking and having redress, should my life be spared long enough. We wish those who are so fond of falsely styling Liberians a banditti of robbers, and take delight in their misrepresenting our characters in England, to speak now, and do too, or else forever hereafter hold your peace.

Yours truly,
STEPHEN A. BENSON.

BASSA COVE,
Grand Bassa county.

Remarks on the preceding Despatches from Liberia.

By the arrival of the "California," at Boston, we have received advices from LIBERIA up to the 20th June, extracts from which will be found in the preceding pages. The absorbing topic seems to have been the seizure of the "John Seys," and the various considerations growing out of it. The citizens of Liberia were very much excited by what they considered a wanton outrage upon the property of one of their citizens, and also upon their existence as a people.

It now appears, as we predicted it

would, that the British authorities pretend that the "John Seys" was seized on suspicion of her being a *slaver*. It is not necessary for us to remark on the extreme unlikeliness of this story. It is a sheer contrivance to shield themselves from the censure which they know they deserve. There is not the shadow of proof that they had any such suspicion. Look at the character of the men on board of the "Lily" as given by Dr. Lugenbeel. He went on board after they had taken the John Seys, for the purpose of making a

representation to the officers about the ownership and character of the vessel. But he found it utterly useless, owing to the character and condition of the men on board. It is perfectly absurd to talk of such men having *suspicions*. They were incapable of rising to that dignity! It is, therefore, utterly useless for them to attempt to gull the public by pretending that they *suspected* the "John Seys" was a *slaver*. They might as well have suspected that the Rev. gentleman after whom she was named was her commander, and carrying on that horrid traffic! No! this will not answer. Still less can the authorities at Sierra Leone justify themselves in the course they have pursued. Nothing could be more easy than to ascertain the true character of the John Seys. She was known all along the coast—known doubtless to the very men who composed the court at Sierra Leone, as a commercial trader, being engaged in lawful business, and having no connection with the slave trade, or even with the slave trading establishments.

And yet we learn, indirectly, that they *condemned* her as a *slaver*! Whether this is *certainly known*, we cannot ascertain at present; but our opinion is that they would condemn her, as the only means in their power of extricating themselves from a most odious and shameful predicament.

The following paragraph has gone the rounds of the papers, on what authority we know not:

"Explicit instructions are said to have been issued by Com. Jones, amounting to an assurance that the vessels of the colonists shall be free from further wanton molestation."

We earnestly hope this is true. But as Governor Roberts makes no mention of it, we fear it is without sufficient foundation.

It is also stated that regrets have been expressed in high places, at Sierra Leone, that the vessel was seized at all. We think this a more probable story than the other. But if they really did *regret* it as a wrong done to an unoffending individual, and to the commonwealth of Liberia, why did they not stop *there*, and not, to justify the perpetrators of the wrong, go on to add "insult to injury," and do all in their power to fix on Mr. Benson the most infamous character in the universe? It will be remembered that the "Lily" is the same man-of-war that committed the outrage on the United States barque "Madonna" a few months since. The authorities at Sierra Leone knew this. Do they intend to let the officers of this same "Lily" (we could mention the name of a *flower* that would suit her character better) go on committing misdemeanors unrebuked, and "of justice unwhipped?"

We shall not dwell longer on this case at the present time. We trust our readers will carefully peruse the preceding statements. We shall wait with some anxiety to know what the government of Great Britain will do in the premises: and

from the character of their treatment of this "palaver," we shall be able to understand pretty well the policy which they propose to adopt with reference to the future existence and prospects of Liberia.

The following remarks are by the editor of the Liberia Herald :

"The captors of Benson's schooner have sent her to Sierra Leone. They say she is a *bona fide* prize on two grounds : first, she had no papers on board ; and, secondly, because the flag was not to be found in the book of national flags which they have for their guide. Both reasons are rotten, equally so, and the whole affair is a mean insult to the people of these colonies. Who ever heard of a vessel's papers being on board while she is in harbor unlading or receiving her cargo ? And as to the flag, the

vessel, where she was, wanted none, being in the waters of the colony, under its cognizance and amenable to its laws. The right to punish such an insult exists in every people, and we feel confident that the insult would not have been offered if the captors had not been assured of our feebleness. It will be a capital subject for the prize courts to exercise their wit upon. What is the charge against her ? Why, she had neither papers nor flag. How is that known ? We searched her. By what authority ? Was she not in the harbor of the Liberian colony, under its jurisdiction, and as such exempt from the jurisdiction of any other power ? The very act of search was unlawful. But after all the boasted philanthropy of the day, *might makes right.*"

[For the African Repository.]

Virginia in Africa.

VIRGINIA ! what son of thine but loves thee ? Where e'er he is, he remembers thy people, and cares for thy character. Thou hast a name in the Union great and worthy. Thou hast stood forth in the time of peril for human rights, and expended thy money and blood to secure the blessings of freedom. Not only for thy sons and daughters hast thou cared, but thou hast been foremost in acting that the *freed* African within thy jurisdiction might enjoy his freedom. In 1800 thy voice was uttered, asking of the President of the United States whether that class of persons might not have a part of the south-

western territory appropriated for their settlement, where they might enjoy their freedom. When it was thought not expedient to grant this request, in 1804, through the same channel, the President was inquired of whether the treaty making power could not be used with Spain to obtain from her a portion of her territory, on the south of the United States, for the same purpose. When that measure did not carry, in 1816, you requested of the President to instruct the minister at London to obtain permission of the British government to have the free blacks taken to Sierra Leone. When denied of

this prospect of bettering their condition, thy citizens have nobly aided in forming and sustaining the American Colonization Society, to take them away to the western coast of Africa. There Liberia has risen, and is rising in beauty and strength as a Republic, moulded after thine own institutions, and those of thy sister States. Thou hast done well in every part of thy "dominion" in this cause. The increase, and the present number of thy free blacks, with the increased disposition of thy citizens to set their slaves free, still urge thee on to this course of humanity and benevolence. It is a charity that benefits Africa—the free blacks—the slave—and the master. And thou art able, and it is thy character to show thine ability in doing more nobly and effectually in this kind of good deeds. Thy daughter, Kentucky, is about finishing the raising of \$5,000 to purchase forty miles on the coast, with the same distance interior, within the territorial limits of Liberia, for her 8,000 free blacks. Cannot the mother rise in her greater strength, and send an agent through her bounds to collect \$5,000, to enable the American Colonization Society to purchase Nefou,

or some other tract within the limits of Liberia, now owned by the natives? Or pay over \$5,000, and have some tract already purchased, appropriated to Virginia, and be called Virginia? As many of thy citizens are every year setting free their slaves to go to Liberia, and as many of the free blacks should go there, all right appeals, which are great, and numerous, and powerful, can then be brought to this definite point:—Go, and dwell in *Virginia in Africa*. The American Colonization Society can use the money to purchase other territory, yet to be bought of the natives, should you take some already purchased. Let this plan be executed, and Virginia will have a Virginia in Africa in that day when Africa will exhibit a free and independent republic with States, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and the like names dear to American citizens. Virginia can accomplish this scheme. Brother Virginian, as you read this, have you not concluded it can be done? Yes, and you are ready to give. Let an agent make a personal appeal, and my opinion of the "Old Dominion" will be found to be correct.

A VIRGINIAN.

Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society.

THE Massachusetts Colonization Society held its Fourth Annual Meeting, for the transaction of business, at the Society's Office, on Wednesday, May 28, at 12 o'clock at noon; ALBERT FEARING, Esq., in the chair. Letters were read from the Rev. Dr. BURGESS and Capt. BENJ. WHIPPLE, declining re-election. The following officers were then elected for the ensuing year:

PRESIDENT:

HON. DANIEL WALDO.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

REV. LEONARD WOODS, D. D.,
REV. E. S. GANNETT, D. D.,
HON. SIMON GREENLEAF,
R. A. CHAPMAN, Esq.,

REV. WILLIAM M. ROGERS,
REV. WILLIAM HAGUE,
REV. CHARLES BROOKS,
REV. B. B. EDWARDS, D. D.

SECRETARY AND GENERAL AGENT:

REV. JOSEPH TRACY.

TREASURER:

ELIPHALET KIMBALL, Esq.

AUDITOR:

JAMES BUTLER, Esq.

MANAGERS:

REV. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D.,
 REV. G. W. BLAGDEN,
 DR. J. V. C. SMITH,
 HENRY EDWARDS, Esq.,
 ALBERT FEARING, Esq.,

T. R. MARVIN, Esq.,
 JAMES HAYWARD, Esq.,
 JAMES C. DUNN, Esq.,
 DR. ABRAHAM R. THOMPSON.

The Treasurer's account was received, and referred to the Board of Managers. Adjourned, to meet at the Central Church, at 3 o'clock P. M., for public exercises.

AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment; the Hon. SIMON GREENLEAF, Vice President, in the chair.

The Annual Report was read, and, on motion of the Rev. B. B. EDWARDS, D. D., seconded by Mr. OLIVER PARSONS, was accepted, and ordered to be printed under the direction of the managers.

After remarks by the Rev. CHARLES BROOKS, on motion of the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, of Philadelphia, seconded by the Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D., of New York, it was

Resolved, That the success of our cause, for the past and in preceding years, as developed in the Report just read, demands sincere gratitude to God, and should encourage its friends to renewed and increased efforts.

Resolved, That the objects of the American Colonization Society have never been changed; and that the strongest arguments may be urged in its favor, from its beneficial influences, political, commercial, philanthropic and religious.

On motion of the Rev. R. A. MILLER, it was

Resolved, That pastors, throughout the State, friendly to African Colonization, be requested, if in their judgment it is expedient, to take up collections in behalf of this Society, on or near the anniversary of our national independence.

The Society then adjourned.

Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society.

THE Massachusetts Colonization Society was organized May 26, 1841. At the close of the first year of its existence, the managers had nothing to report, except their fruitless endeavors to fill the office of corresponding secretary and general agent. Individual friends of the cause had forwarded something through other channels to the Parent Society; but the amount is not known.

At the annual meeting in 1842, a

secretary and general agent was elected. Early in August, an office was opened for the transaction of business. At the anniversary in 1843, we were able to report that we had raised funds to the amount of \$735 96; and that other funds had been contributed in this State and received by the Parent Society without passing through our treasury, to the amount of \$1,088 17; making a total of \$1,824 13. The Parent Society also received \$203 50 for

the African Repository; making a total income, to the cause of colonization, of \$2,027 63. For want of funds, the annual report was only published in the African Repository.

At the annual meeting in May, 1844, we reported that the Parent Society had received from us, and other sources in Massachusetts, \$1,830 07; collected here, but not remitted, \$440 20; receipts of the Parent Society for the Repository, \$393 25; total amount from Massachusetts, \$2,663 52.

During the year now ending, the receipts of this Society have been \$5,143; donations made directly to the Parent Society, from this State, \$425 35; total of donations and subscriptions, \$5,568 35; receipts for the African Repository, \$456; total of receipts from Massachusetts, \$6,024 35. And future donations have been secured, one quarter part of them in pledges of definite sums, to the amount of nearly \$1,000.

This increased prosperity is the result of several causes, some of which it may be well to mention.

1. The first is a more efficient system of agencies.

Just before the commencement of the year, the Rev. Dr. Tenney, was permitted, by his own health and that of his family, to resume his labors in various parts of the State; and they have been continued, with very little interruption, to the present time. He has collected funds in more than seventy towns or parishes, many of which have been repeatedly visited. In consequence of his labors, nearly thirty pastors and others have been made life members of this or the Parent Society; and funds, not yet paid in, have been pledged, to the amount of more than \$500.

Capt. George Barker, after laboring as an agent a few days, soon after the last annual meeting, was ne-

cessarily absent till December 5, when he commenced his agency in Boston and vicinity. His labors were continued to March 4, during which time he collected \$702 07. Had he been allowed to complete his collections, there is reason to believe that the amount would have been nearly or quite doubled. But his services seemed to be still more necessary in New York. He accordingly engaged in the service of that society, where he has since labored with very gratifying success.

2. The definite and encouraging accounts from Liberia, given in the annual report of last year, and in other publications, have contributed to our success. Of that report, 1,500 copies were printed: nearly all of which have been judiciously distributed in this State. The more important portions of it were also published in the African Repository for September, and some of its statistics have appeared in many of the newspapers. The Repository, circulating in increased numbers for the last two years, has added its influence. The authentic information thus diffused, of palpable good accomplished, and of extensive fields for useful labors, open and inviting, has begun to produce something of its appropriate effect.

3. We have also derived advantage from the termination of all difficulties between Colonization Societies and Boards of Missions.

In Liberia Proper, and among the allied tribes, the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian Missions are laboring without obstruction, and with encouraging success. No controversy is known to exist between the missionaries and the Liberian authorities, or between the Boards that employ them and the Colonization Society. For the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, we are in no degree responsible, as it is a distinct republic,

having no political connection with us, and under the patronage of the Maryland Colonization Society, which is not auxiliary to the American. Still, it may be well to state that the last difficulty between that government and any Board of Missions is fully settled. The Report of the Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions, for the year 1844, says:—"The relations between the colonists and the missionaries at Cape Palmas, during the year past, appear to have been of a friendly character; and as the desire of the latter to promote, so far as in them lies, the moral and religious interests of the colonists, becomes more and more apparent, it is believed that no obstacles to the beneficial influence of the mission will be interposed."

Of the complaints of individual missionaries, in their private correspondence, against the conduct of emigrants in whose neighborhood they reside, we have heard but little during the year; but doubtless such complaints are made, and will continue to be made. The pastors of the best churches in New England have frequent reason to complain that their comfort is disturbed and their usefulness impeded, by the inconsistencies of Christians, and the bad influence of worldly men. In a community of lately emancipated and very imperfectly educated slaves, and others whose opportunities for improvement have been not much superior to theirs, such grounds for complaint must be still more numerous. The white missionary, worn down with labor, debilitated by the climate, with nerves made irritable by the coast fever, disconsolate, perhaps, from the inroads of death upon his family, harassed with anxiety, often disappointed in his fondest hopes—for all these trials attend even a successful mission in such a country—the white missionary, thus afflicted, must

be expected to seek relief by imparting the story of his trials to sympathizing friends at home. It would be cruel to deny him that solace. Such natural complainings will doubtless still continue to be written and uttered, and will produce some effect, both on feeble and on hostile minds; but candid and sensible people will know how to appreciate them, and they will do little injury. Meanwhile, we have profited, and shall continue to profit, by the cessation of all difficulties between Colonization Societies and Missionary Boards.

4. The bearings of colonization on the evangelization of Africa have come to be better understood. Among the means of information on this subject, we may mention "A Historical Examination of the state of society in Western Africa, as formed by Paganism and Muhammedanism, slavery, the slave trade, and piracy; and of the remedial influence of Colonization and Missions." This "Examination" was published by the Board of Managers last autumn, in a pamphlet of 40 pages. It gives the principal facts in the moral history of that part of the world, from the earliest notice of Guinea by the Arabian geographers, in the tenth century, to the present time; including the numerous efforts that have been made to plant missions in that dark region, by the Roman Catholics, from the year 1482 to 1723, and by Protestants of various communions, from 1736 to 1844, with their results; showing, by the experience of four centuries, the importance of Christian colonies of colored men, in order to the conversion and civilization of Africa.

Of this work the managers have published four editions, amounting to 3,500 copies, nearly all of which have been carefully distributed in this and other States; and it has

been copied almost entire into several periodicals, so that its whole circulation has probably amounted to 10,000 copies.

5. We have derived important advantage from the extrication of the Society from the false position which it had been made to occupy in many minds, in respect to slavery.

The Colonization Society is not, in its nature, its design, or its legitimate operation, the antagonist or the rival of any other form of effort for the benefit of any portion of the human race. There is no good reason why it should be brought into collision with any other Society. Its state of controversy with societies instituted to promote the abolition of slavery, has been an artificial evil, unjustifiably produced, and injuriously prolonged. In stating the origin of this warfare, we shall only give information, of which many intelligent men have avowed their want.

It commenced by an attack on the Society and its founders and friends, by William L. Garrison, soon after the establishment of his *Liberator*, and by the publication, about the same time, of his "Thoughts on Colonization." His avowed purpose was, not to reform the Colonization Society, but to destroy it; and at a later day he boasted that he had destroyed it. In the "Thoughts on Colonization," the worst of principles and motives were ascribed to the Society, its founders, and its officers. How far he deceived himself into the belief of his own representations, we have no inclination to inquire. We only state the fact, that his pretended quotations from the documents of the Society are in the highest degree garbled, unfair and deceptive, and worthy of no confidence whatever. By applying to one subject what the Society had said of another; by giving a part of a sentence as if it were the whole, and other similar arts, he constructed apparent docu-

mentary proofs of the truth of his accusations. Up to that time he had been rather favorably known to the religious community in the northern States. Very few suspected that he would quote unfairly; and still fewer had the means of comparing his professed quotations with the documents from which he professed to take them. The favor, too, with which many regarded his new enterprise, led them to adopt his views of colonization the more readily. The Society felt constrained to take the field in self-defence, and thus the parties were brought into controversy with each other. Meanwhile, the country became agitated on the subject of slavery. Numbers, on awaking from their long sleep, seeing two combatants in the field, and learning that one of them was "Anti-Slavery," readily inferred that the other must be "Pro-Slavery." The excitement increased. Politicians—demagogues, rather—attempted to take advantage of it. Public meetings, and even mobs of men, who never cared for colonization before or since, and who then knew nothing of it, except that certain men opposed it, passed resolutions in its favor, and thus confirmed good men in their prejudices against it.

Early in the progress of this controversy, a public debate was held in Park street meeting-house. In the opinion of the members of that church, that debate was conducted in a style and spirit utterly unfit to be used in any house of worship. They therefore resolved to exclude, in future, all discussions on Abolition or Colonization from their house. For similar reasons, the same course was pursued by the greater part of the churches; while many of the remainder had embraced the views of Mr. Garrison. Thus the Society was excluded from nearly every pulpit in Massachusetts.

From this complication of diffi-

culties we are at length extricated. From the commencement of our active operations, we have resolutely acted on the principle, that opposing the efforts of others for the benefit of the colored people is no part of our work. Even if we deem some of those efforts injudicious in their plan, and injurious in their operation, it is not our business as a Society to oppose them. While we ask the privilege of doing good in what appears to us the best way, we readily concede the same privilege to others, leaving them to bear the responsibility for their own doings. When attacks have been made on colonization, we have endeavored to repel them promptly and effectually. But in such cases we have carefully confined ourselves to the defensive; and when assailants have laid themselves open to retaliatory attacks on their own systems, we have abstained from availing ourselves of their indiscretion. By steadily adhering to this policy for a course of years, we have at length made our true position to be understood. It is now generally seen and admitted, that none who desire the abolition of slavery, have any good reason for opposing us. The war is at an end; and during the year we have received aid from not a few who were formerly reckoned among our opponents. Our agent, Dr. Tenney, has found access to more pulpits than he has been able to occupy. In his judgment, another suitable agent might have found full employment, in congregations where he would have been welcome. And we invite particular and grateful attention to the fact, that in no instance has the peace of any church or society been disturbed by our operations; and we have reason to believe that in many instances they have exerted a decided influence, though silently and indirectly, of a contrary character.

6. In this connection it would be unjust as well as ungrateful not to mention the liberality of a few distinguished friends. We have received from the Hon. Daniel Waldo, of Worcester, \$1,000; from his two sisters, \$500 each; and from "a gentleman in Hampshire County," \$500; making \$2,500 from four donors. These sums were all given for the purchase of territory in Africa, and have been remitted to the Parent Society for that purpose.

Our expenditure for agencies the past year, including the secretary's salary, has been about \$1,300. For the year to come, and perhaps still longer, a judicious economy will require it to be increased rather than diminished. If our whole field could have been as thoroughly cultivated the past year as some parts of it have been, it is a moderate estimate to say that our receipts would have been twice as great. And it seems a duty to keep up a vigorous system of agencies, till the claims of colonization have been brought distinctly and intelligibly before the minds of the whole giving population of this commonwealth. When this has been done so effectually that those who think well of our enterprise will remember and aid us without solicitation, we may dispense with agencies.

Meanwhile, we hope our decided and well-informed friends, in different parts of the State, will do what they can to relieve us of this expense. We hope that many pastors will bring the subject before their congregations, and take up collections. There is an appropriateness in doing it about the time of the anniversary of our national independence. The thoughts which then occupy all minds more or less, are favorable to acts of generosity towards a rising republic. Gratitude for our own freedom prompts us to remember the

slave whom our bounty may emancipate. And there is something animating in the thought that we may give, while thousands of kindred spirit are giving for the same object. That season, too, is probably as free as any that can be selected, from other applications. In some cases, however, it may be advisable to transfer the collection to some other day.

Individual friends, of either sex, may easily render us important aid, by diffusing information and collecting funds in their own immediate neighborhoods. A gentleman or lady who collects and forwards to us twenty-five or fifty dollars, not only saves us a sum equal to the salary of an agent while raising that amount, but also leaves the agent at liberty to raise an equal or perhaps a greater amount elsewhere; so that, while we are obliged to employ agents at all, the pecuniary advantage of raising funds by the voluntary efforts of individuals, rather than by the visit of an agent, is equal to the whole amount thus raised.

Of the mode of proceeding best adapted to each place, our friends residing there are the best judges. In some places, it may be advisable to form auxiliaries. In others, a few friends may meet and agree to act in concert, without a formal organization. In others still, a single individual, self-moved, will prove the most efficient agency.

With the aid afforded in these and similar modes, we may hope that our receipts will not fall off for the year to come, even if we should receive no large donations, such as have swelled the amount for the year now closing. We hope, however, that the liberal will not cease to devise liberal things, and that many, whom the Great Dispenser of wealth has made responsible for its judicious employment in promoting human

welfare, will appreciate the opportunities for doing good, which our enterprise presents. Of the intentions of some, we have already been informed. * * *

Sometime last summer, a gentleman of New York offered to be one of fifteen who would give \$1,000, each, to complete the purchase of the whole sea-board of Liberia—an object which is indispensable to the entire and permanent exclusion of the slave trade, the uniform administration of the revenue laws, and the highest good, both of the emigrant and the native population, and which cannot be delayed, without danger that some portions of the coast will pass into foreign and unfriendly hands. It was thought that \$15,000, in addition to the means that might be derived from other sources, would be sufficient to meet the expense of the purchase. The subscriptions to this fund now amount at least to \$10,000, of which \$2,500, subscribed in this State, and some other portions, have been paid; but a large part remains contingent on the filling up of the subscription. We confidently expect that the whole amount will be raised; but in order to do it, very possibly some of our wealthy and liberal friends in this State may be obliged to subscribe for some of the last thousands, and thus bind the bargain with former subscribers.

The receipts of the Parent Society for the year 1844, exceeded those of the previous year by the sum of \$1,096 17; and the present year promises a much larger increase. The New York State Society, under the able and energetic administration of its present secretary, is fast recovering from its depression. Its income for the year just ended, was \$5,751 93, being \$2,707 27 greater than the previous year. The Pennsylvania Society is believed to be equally prosperous. The Societies

in Connecticut, New Jersey, Kentucky, and Mississippi, are acting with increased vigor; those of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Missouri, which had become inactive, have been re-organized.* A State Society has been formed in Illinois, and agents have been appointed for Virginia, Alabama, Indiana, Ohio, and Vermont, and have entered upon their labors.

The condition of Liberia remains nearly the same as last year, though some important changes have been in prospect.

The old difficulties with the British government, growing out of the seizure of certain goods, valued at about \$300, which had been landed by a British subject in violation of the revenue laws, have been revived, in a form somewhat threatening; but as that government shows, on the whole, a friendly disposition, and appears not inclined to push matters rashly to a crisis, and as its late action is evidently founded on a misapprehension of some important facts, we hope for an amicable and honorable adjustment.

The chiefs of Little Bassa have agreed to sell the remaining part of their territory, which gives us an uninterrupted line of coast from the St. Paul's river to the St. John's, inclusive. The chiefs of New Sesters, where is the only slave factory remaining on the 300 miles of coast which we hope to possess, have found that the slave trade is depopulating their country, and rendering them unable to defend themselves against the surrounding tribes. They, therefore, about the beginning of December, expressed the wish that the Liberian government would purchase their country. A commissioner was sent to treat with them, but

the slave traders managed so as to defeat the negotiation. Gov. Roberts, however, still expected soon to effect the purchase.

Attempts have been made, by the New Sesters slave traders, to re-establish the trade among the allied tribes which have abolished it by treaty. By the agency of a few Kroomen in their service, they opened factories among the Dey people at Digby, near Little Cape Mount—a place where the factories had been broken up and the traffic suppressed by Mr. Ashmun, in 1825. The marshal of Liberia was sent, with a suitable force, to apprehend them, and break up their establishment. The traders, hearing of his approach, escaped, with nearly all their effects. But instead of quitting the country, one of them opened another factory in the same neighborhood. Learning this fact, Governor Roberts sent an embassy to the kings and chiefs of the Dey, requiring them to deliver up the offender according to treaty. The kings acknowledged their obligation, and apologized for what had been done; but before there was time to deliver up the trader, he made his escape, leaving four boys, whom he had bought, in his factory. These boys were readily given up, and have been placed in Liberian families. The kings renewed their engagement, never to allow the slave trade to be revived in their territory, either directly or indirectly, by their own people or by foreigners.

These events are important, as they prove that the exclusion of the slave trade from that coast is the effect of the present and constantly exerted influence of the people and government of Liberia, and not of any change which has come over the

* Since this Report was presented, the New Hampshire Colonization Society has also been re-organized with encouraging prospects.

natives, independently of colonization. The Deys are the next neighbors of the Liberians. Cape Mesurado originally belonged to their territory. The first treaties for the suppression of the slave trade were made with them. And yet, if they were left to themselves, slave traders might persuade them to permit the establishment of factories all along their coast. They know the evil of the traffic, but they have not moral principle enough to resist the temptations of immediate gain which slave traders present to them. And so it is, we have every reason to believe, on all that coast. If the influence of the emigrants from America could be removed, the trade would every where revive; the numerous factories which formerly infested every creek and bay and roadstead, would be re-opened, and universal war among the petty tribes for the capture of slaves would embroil all hands in blood.

Through the influence of Liberia, the allied tribes have enjoyed uninterrupted peace; and the wars which have raged for five years among the tribes on the north, and furnished the slave traders at Gallinas with so many cargoes of victims, have been brought to a close. During these wars, commerce with the interior in that direction has been nearly annihilated. It may now be expected to resume its former activity. The termination of these wars will probably be followed, also, by treaties of alliance with the tribes on the north and northeast, and the establishment of missions among them. Indeed, we know that a mission at Grand Cape Mount had been projected and attempted; but it was found necessary to defer its commencement till the end of the war.

Some progress has been made in carrying into effect the law for the establishment of primary schools.

In addition to those before existing, schools have been opened in Marshall, Edina, and Bassa Cove, and are reported by their respective committees as well attended and prosperous. There is reason to hope that this law will soon be carried into effect in all parts of the commonwealth, and thus the people will be relieved from their dependence on missionary societies and the voluntary efforts of individuals.

The receipts into the treasury of the commonwealth of Liberia, for the year 1844, were \$8,175; of which \$6,383 were derived from duties on imports, \$519 from anchorage and light duties, and \$919 from merchants' licenses. The disbursements amounted to \$6,947, of which \$2,940 was for the erection of public buildings. The balance in the treasury was \$1,228, which was sufficient to pay all outstanding claims against the government, amounting to \$1,027, and leave a surplus of \$201.

Hitherto, the Colonization Society has paid the salaries of the governor and secretary, who have devoted much of their time to the management of its pecuniary concerns. But as the ordinary revenue of the commonwealth is now sufficient to meet all its current expenses, it is probable that some new arrangement will be made, by which the whole pecuniary burden of the government will be thrown upon its own treasury.

The route for a canal, to connect the waters of the Mesurado river with the ocean, at a point south of Cape Mesurado, has been surveyed, but the state of the treasury has not been such as to warrant the commencement of the work.

The amount of imports for two years, previous to the census of 1843, was \$157,829. For 1844, in order to yield a revenue of \$6,383 at 5 per cent., it must have been

\$127,660—almost equal to the two years before the census.

Such are the principal facts in the history of the year. In view of them we may well be encouraged. New reverses may await us, but there is no apparent reason to expect them. The judgment to which the public is evidently coming, after hearing and considering objections for a quarter of a century, will not probably be reversed. In Africa, the most formidable difficulties have been overcome. Both there and here, the lessons of experience will enable us to avoid some errors, which were natural, and almost inevitable, in the earlier stages of our career. We have reason, then, to hope for continued success. We may commence the labors of another year with the hope that, before its close, many emancipated slaves shall thank us for their freedom, and many Africans, redeemed from barbarism and bloody superstition, shall rejoice in the fruit of our works.

NOTE.—Funds are wanted.—1st. To complete the subscription of fifteen thousand dollars for the purchase of territory. A few more subscriptions of \$1,000 each are needed, in order to bind those who have already subscribed. The first offer towards this fund was, to "be one of fifteen, who should give one thousand dollars each," for this purpose. Donations of smaller sums, to the amount of \$5,000 or more, are needed to complete the purchase; but cannot be counted towards the fifteen subscriptions of \$1,000 each.

2d. To colonize emancipated slaves. This is now our most pressing and immediate want. Two expeditions, of about 200 each, ought to be sent out this fall; requiring an outlay, in various ways, of more than \$20,000. The money is yet to be raised. Many of the slaves must go this fall, or revert into perpetual slavery. Their welfare will be most effectually promoted, by giving for the general purposes of the Society; as, in order to secure their freedom and their prosperity in Africa, the Society will be subjected to various incidental expenses, besides their passage and acclimation. Funds for such purposes are always needed.

Donations may be remitted to the treasurer, E. Kimball, Esq., No. 83 Milk street; or to the secretary and general agent, No. 26 Joy's Building, Boston.

British Law on Slave Trading.

In an article on the *Slave Trade*, in our June number, we gave an account of the trial of Don Pedro de Zulueta, in London, for fitting out the *Augusta*, to be engaged in the slave trade, and of his acquittal. The *Augusta* was bought, ostensibly, by Thomas Jennings, who had been, for eight or ten years, at least, in the employment of Don Pedro Martinez, of Cadiz, who is one of the most extensive and notorious slave traders in the world. The money for purchasing and fitting out the vessel was advanced to Jennings by Zulue-

ta & Co., on account of Martinez. The *Augusta* cleared at Liverpool, for Gallinas; and before sailing, Jennings received orders, from a person in the employment of Martinez, to send "the letters" on shore the first thing on arriving at the port. On leaving the Irish channel, a storm came on; the ship leaked, the crew thought it dangerous to proceed, and insisted on putting back into Cork, only 100 miles distant, with a fair wind, but, at the risk of a mutiny, Jennings pressed on, against adverse winds, for nineteen days; deviated

from his course, thereby forfeiting his insurance, and arrived at Cadiz on the 6th December. Here he took on board "the letters," concerning which he had received orders before leaving England. These letters were from Martinez to three notorious slave traders at Gallinas, who acted as his agents, and to whom the *Augusta* was consigned. They contained minute directions concerning slave trading operations, and especially concerning the means to be used to get 300 slaves, then on board, to Cuba. One of them authorized the agent of Martinez at Gallinas to employ the *Augusta* in the service of the slave factory there, either in carrying goods to Havana, or in returning to England for another cargo of such articles as the factory might need, and added:—"You may also employ the aforesaid vessel in any matter of extreme urgency; and in the service of that factory; for I feel assured that the master will object to nothing." On arriving at Gallinas, the *Augusta* was seized by a British cruiser, "the letters" were found, she was taken to Sierra Leone, and condemned as a slaver. Indeed the case was so clear, that Jennings did not attempt to defend her. Jennings escaped at the time; but a reward was privately offered for his discovery, and he was finally arrested.

"The letters" were opened as evidence against Zulueta, at his trial; but as it was not proved that they were written or put on board with his knowledge, they were objected to,

and ruled out; and from a failure to prove his knowledge of the facts disclosed in those letters, Zulueta was acquitted.

In view of these facts, the reader will be somewhat surprised on reading the following article, from the "European Times" of July 4th:—

"TRIAL ON A CHARGE OF DEALING IN SLAVES.—On the 20th June, at the Central Criminal Court, Thomas Jennings, master mariner, was tried on a charge of having feloniously manned, equipped, &c., the brig *Augusta* for the purpose of dealing in slaves. The facts of the case were similar to those elicited in the trial of Zulueta, in 1843, who was acquitted. The prisoner was tried at Sierra Leone, and acquitted. He has surrendered several times to take his trial, but the case has always been postponed, in order, as alleged, to secure the attendance of Captain Hill, of her Majesty's ship *Saracen*, who captured the *Augusta*. It appears by the evidence, that the *Augusta*, under the command of the prisoner, sailed from Liverpool, in November, 1840, with a cargo of tobacco, fire-arms, looking-glasses, gunpowder, &c. In the year 1839, Captain Hill, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Gold Coast, captured a vessel under the Russian flag, called the *Golupchick*, and sent her to England. This vessel was sold to the prisoner, Thomas Jennings, in September, 1840, for £650, and, subsequently, chartered by a house at Cadiz. In February, 1841, Captain Hill again captured the *Golupchick* in the Gallinas Roads. She was then sailing under the name of the *Augusta*, and was commanded by the prisoner. Believing that none but slave traders frequented that coast, and finding that she was consigned to two persons whom he believed to be slave dealers, he seized her and sent her papers to Sierra Leone. A great body of evidence was submitted, and it appeared that no slave implements had been found in the

vessel when seized. The jury acquitted the prisoner, and he was immediately discharged."

It seems, then, that according to British law, a man may enter the service of a known slave trader, buy a ship for him, fill her with goods, such as are needed in the slave trade, sail her to his employer's slave factory, consigned to his slave trading agents there, and under obligation, after delivering his cargo, to perform any service which said agents may require of him, even that of carrying a cargo of slaves to Cuba; and, after all, if there are no "slave implements" on board when he is seized, he is "not guilty."

So much for the laws which restrain British subjects from participating in the slave trade!

Do they extend the same mercy to others? If "*slave implements*" on board are necessary to convict a person of being engaged in the slave trade, by what law do they condemn a vessel without any such implements on board? For example, the "*John Seys*." Who can answer?

We wish just to place in contrast with the preceding, the following sentence passed on Captain Flowrey, by a United States Court, for participating in the slave trade, and let every person draw his own inferences:

"U. S. CIRCUIT COURT,

"Boston, August 1, 1844.

"Sentence of Captain Peter Flowrey, of the slaver *Spitfire*.—The opinion of the court on the motion for a new trial in the case of Capt. Flowrey, was announced this morn-

ing, Judges Story and Sprague being present. In it were recapitulated the main facts proved on the trial, and the reasons for admitting the evidence by which they were proved, after objections raised by the counsel for the prisoner. It was held, that the district attorney was right in putting in evidence to prove the previous character of the *Spitfire*, and that the sale to Flowrey was fictitious; and that he was justified in arguing, from the circumstances, that he knew her previous character; also, that he was justified in arguing that Don Scorsar, the apparent charterer of the schooner, was engaged in the slave trade.

"In passing sentence, Judge Sprague addressed the prisoner upon the subject of his offence, and reminded him that he had been convicted of having aided in fitting out a vessel to be engaged in the slave trade. His honor remarked, that he did not see how any intelligent jury, upon the evidence submitted to them, could have arrived at any other conclusion than that of his guilt. The slave trade, he said, presented to every well regulated mind, an aggregate of horrors. The offence was not committed under any sudden temptation, like many ordinary offences, which follow the temptation without time for reflection. The criminal voyage was contemplated at Havana, and steadily pursued, through various stages, from Havana to Key West; thence to New Orleans, thence back to Havana, and from there to the river Pongo, on the coast of Africa; and if the prisoner had proceeded but one step further, and taken slaves on board, his life would have been forfeited to the laws of his country.

"The origin of his offence was a cold, deliberate calculation of pecuniary gain. He could scarcely see a palliating circumstance in the whole transaction. It was above the medium of guilt contemplated in the statute, the maximum of punishment being seven years' imprisonment and a fine of \$5,000, and the minimum three years and \$1,000. But the jury had recommended the prisoner to mercy, and that recommenda-

tion was entitled to respect, and therefore a medium punishment only would be awarded. His honor then announced the sentence to be five years' imprisonment and a fine of \$2,000.

"Mr. Rogers suggested that on account of the unhealthy nature of the Boston jail, the

sentence might be executed in some other jail, and he named the one at Salem. The district attorney acceded to the suggestion; the prisoner was accordingly ordered to be committed to the Salem jail, and he was declared to be in the custody of the United States marshal."

Items of Intelligence.

A VESSEL will sail from Norfolk or Baltimore on the 1st of November next, with emigrants for Liberia, under the patronage of this Society. Persons intending to take passage in her will please make all their arrangements so as to be ready in time.

If any masters have servants whom they intend to send to Liberia this fall, they are requested to communicate the facts to us as soon as possible.

CONTEMPLATED EXPEDITION FROM N. ORLEANS.—We shall send a vessel from New Orleans to Liberia in November or December, provided a sufficient number of emigrants, say 200, can be gotten ready in Kentucky at that time. We have instructed Governor Roberts to have a tract of country, on the north side of the St. Paul's river, laid off for the location of a new settlement, to be called KENTUCKY, and to be commenced by emigrants from that State. They will enjoy all the advantages of the Liberia Government, and have the same privileges that they would have in any settlement in the commonwealth. They will be provided with houses, to reside in for six months after their arrival, in some of the adjacent villages, until they can erect houses for themselves on their own land. Those who cannot pay their own expenses will be provided for by funds raised in Kentucky. It is important that the vessel should not sail later than the 10th of December.

It will be seen from the list of our receipts, that our agent, the Rev. Alex. M.

Cowan, is succeeding in Kentucky beyond our most sanguine expectations. In addition to the amount acknowledged as received from him, he has a large number of subscriptions payable at a future time; and he speaks of the interest in the subject as continually on the increase, and he thinks the State will very soon embark in the enterprise with an unusual liberality, and very soon send emigrants enough to form a strong and interesting settlement.

EMIGRANTS from Illinois, Tennessee, and Mississippi, our friends in those States will remark, can go out in the vessel from *New Orleans*. We hope, therefore, that they will at once give us information of such as will then be ready, or ought to go at that time.

MUNIFICENT BEQUESTS.—Probate was granted on the will of the late Daniel Waldo at the Probate Court in this town yesterday. The following is an accurate list of the munificent public donations, bequeathed by this will:

To the Calvinist Society in Worcester, dwelling house and vestry, valued at	\$7,000
To the Massachusetts General Hospital	40,000
To the Massachusetts Medical Society in Worcester County, for the purpose of erecting a Hospital in Worcester	6,000
To the American Board of Foreign Missions	40,000
To the American Board of Domestic Missions	10,000
To the American Tract Society	6,000
To the American Bible Society	10,000

To the American Education Society	6,000
To the American Colonization Society	10,000
To the Leicester Academy	6,000
To the Worcester County Horticultural Society	3,000
To the Prison Discipline Society	6,000
To the Seaman's Friend Society in New York	6,000
To the Seaman's Friend Society in Boston	6,000
To the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary	6,000
To the Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine	6,000
To the Windsor Theological Seminary in Connecticut	6,000
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	\$180,000

In addition to the above, he gave during his life time, to the Calvinist Society, a meeting-house, and the lot on which it stood, valued at about \$14,000, and sundry large donations to various public literary and charitable institutions.—*Worcester Spy*, 6th.

Mr. W.'s sister, Rebecca Waldo, who died in 1840, made the following public bequests, which have been paid:

To the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	\$1,000
To the American Home Missionary Society	4,000
To the American Tract Society	2,000
To the Theological Institute of Connecticut	5,000
To the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts	2,000
To the Massachusetts Missionary Society	1,000
To the American Seaman's Friend Society at Boston	2,000
To be paid after the decease of her sisters:	
To the Theological Institute of Connecticut	6,000
To the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts	5,000
To the American Home Missionary Society	5,000
To the American Seaman's Friend Society, Boston	5,000
To the American Tract Society	3,000
To the American Bible Society	5,000
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	\$49,000

The residue of her property she gave to her brother Daniel, if he should be living

at the time of the decease of both of her sisters; but if he should not then be living, the residue was given to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Her brother having deceased, leaving her sisters alive, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions become her residuary legatees to the amount of about \$12,000.—*Worcester Egis*.

SIX OR SEVEN HUNDRED SLAVES TO BE SENT TO LIBERIA.—The late *Stephen Henderson*, of Louisiana, left by his will some six or seven hundred slaves to be sent to Liberia in the following manner. Five years after his death, they were to draw lots, and ten on whom the lots should fall, were to be sent to Liberia then; five years after this, ten more were to be sent, also by lot, and in twenty-five years the whole of the residue were to be sent. Suit was brought by the heirs against the executors, to break the will. This suit having been lost in the lower court, it was last June tried in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and was decided in favor of the will, which establishes its provisions and requires the slaves to be sent to Liberia.

Mr. Henderson died about six years ago, so that the "first ten" may be expected to sail for Liberia in the first vessel from New Orleans.

TWO MEN FOR LIBERIA.—Read their statement below. If we mistake not they have taken a correct view of the subject. We commend it to others of their race, well fitted to be useful in Liberia, but wasting their days in this country.

THE COLONIZATION ENTERPRISE.—Mr. Hall, in his address on Sunday last, stated some very interesting facts in reference to the influence of colonization upon missionary efforts in Africa. It is remarkable, that every attempt to establish missionary stations in Africa for the period of near four hundred years previous to the planting of the colony of Sierra Leone, resulted in failure and disappointment. During the last half century much progress has been made in opening a communication with the natives, and in obtaining their consent to

the residence of missionaries among them.

Liberia is pointed to as exercising an influence which is without parallel. Scarcely 23 years have elapsed since the colony was planted. And now this miniature republic, its institutions bearing the impress of our own, is highly prosperous, and rapidly increasing in commerce, wealth, and all else that promises greatness or usefulness. Through the instrumentality of its government and people, the slave trade has been banished from 300 miles of coast—a most salutary influence exercised over many of the natives, the result of which is manifested by an abandonment of their heathenish practices, and their desire to be instructed in the arts of civilized life. Nearly 100 missionaries are now successfully laboring among the benighted Africans, which were sent forth from this single colony, and are sustained in their work by its influence and encouragement.

With this evidence that, under Providence, the agency of the work of Christianizing and civilizing the heathen millions of Africa, must be accomplished by the agency of her own children, who can help looking with absorbing interest upon the scheme of colonization, and lending it efficient aid and support?

Some idea may be formed of the awakened feeling on the subject in Dayton, by a statement of the fact that more than \$600 have been contributed by many citizens to the funds of the Colonization Society during the past twelve months.

As connected with the subject of this article, we append the letter of Messrs. Abney and Ware, the colored men who desire to emigrate to Liberia, and which was read at the meeting on Sunday last. No one can read it without being forcibly impressed with the intelligence and independence of which it shows the writers to be possessed. The letter we are assured is entirely their own production, and is published precisely as written, with the exception of the punctuation, and a very few errors in spelling. It required no more preparation for the compositor than is usual with most manuscripts furnished for publication. It is well enough to add here, that Mr. Ware was recently married, and his wife shares his feelings in emigration. All three are professors of religion.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF DAYTON.

Gentlemen and Ladies:—In asking aid of you to enable us to visit Africa, the home of our fathers, we deem it proper to state to you the motives by which we are actuated, or the considerations which have operated most weightily on our minds, in bring-

ing us to the resolution to leave America, the land of our birth—a land of light, civilization and Christianity—the land that contains, dead or alive, all our relations, friends and acquaintances—the land which contains every object which former acquaintance and familiarity hath rendered dear to us. To state, we say, our reasons for wishing to leave such a home, such a country—so blessed, so prosperous, and receive in exchange a home in Africa, a land that can boast neither of Christianity nor any of the advantages of civilization. For although we esteem the advantages of civilized and Christian society as much as any persons ought, yet there are circumstances connected with our condition in this country which justify us in renouncing or forgoing the small share of these advantages which we should be permitted to enjoy by remaining here, and taking up our abode where these blessings, if they exist at all, are but in embryo.

For it is a fact known to all, both white and colored, who know any thing about it, that notwithstanding free, civil and religious institutions exist here in this country in as great perfection, or perhaps greater than in any other part of the globe, and these benefits are more generally shared by all classes of the white population than they are any where else, yet the colored race, in the midst of all the superior advantages enjoyed by the whites, are excluded from all participation in any of them; so that their existence in this blessed state of society, under the circumstances in which they are placed, instead of adding to their happiness, improvement and prosperity, detracts from their happiness and retards their improvement and prosperity.

1st. It detracts from their happiness by holding up to their view constantly those advantages without permitting them to participate in the benefits of any of them, thus constantly exciting a desire in them to share in these advantages, while they are as constantly denied the privilege.

And secondly; This retards their improvement by discouraging them from making any effort to improve themselves.

This, then, is a strong motive with us, as individuals, belonging to this proscribed race, for wishing to leave this, to us, land of proscription and oppression, and being willing to take up our abode in any part of the habitable earth, where we shall be free from those restrictions and embarrassments, and where, though society may never yet have assumed any definite form of organization, we shall have the privilege of participating in its formation or organization, and of enjoying the benefits resulting therefrom. In short, gentlemen and ladies, "our being's end and aim" is liberty, and the enjoyment

of it, and our home that country where we can have the greatest portion of it.

We are aware, that to all the arguments which may be brought forward in favor of emigrating to Africa, to all the advantages that can be pointed out as necessarily resulting, or likely to result from the scheme of colonization, our people, and many of our misguided friends among the whites, return the following answer, viz:—that no matter what advantages may result from going to Africa, we are in justice and right entitled to the enjoyment of them here; and that nothing but injustice and wrong can at all render it necessary or expedient that we should go to Africa, or any where else, in order to become free men and enjoy the rights of freemen.

Now, in regard to the assertion that we have a right by the law of God, both natural and revealed, to civil citizenship in this or any other country, in which by birth or in any other way our lots may be cast, we most fully admit; and we believe that it is now pretty generally admitted by all the friends of colonization; nor is it pretended to be urged upon colored people by colonizationists generally, of the present day, that they should go to Africa, or leave this country, because they have not the right to remain here, and enjoy all the rights of citizenship, but because they do not and cannot enjoy them here. So that on this point there is no difference between the colored people and the colonizationists. Nor do we, as individuals, propose to go because we do not think that we have the right to stay here, but because we believe that by going we can better our condition; because we think by going, we shall transform ourselves from slaves, or something not much better, into free and independent men—and this of itself is, with us, and we think should be with every colored man or woman, sufficient reason for going.

There is one more objection, which is urged by colored people and many of their friends, to going to Africa, viz:—that in consequence of the change of climate and unhealthiness of the country, great mortality must ensue among those who go there. Now with us this objection has no weight, even if it were true; for we believe that no people whose condition has been reduced so low as ours, was ever raised again to a proper level in society without confronting danger and death in some shape—some by facing the cannon's mouth, the musket, the bayonet, or the sword. Nor are we willing to be thought more cowardly or less willing to endure hardship for the sake of liberty, or our people's liberty, than other men.

But besides all the motives which arise from the self-interest of emigration, there are other considerations which we think ought to form strong inducements to colored

men to emigrate to Liberia—such as forming a civilized government in Africa, and through it dispensing the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the natives, aiding in suppressing the slave trade, &c.

We have thus stated a few of the many reasons we have for going to Africa. If now, gentlemen and ladies, you think that our motives are high enough, if you think that we will be of sufficient benefit to the colony to justify you in contributing any thing towards aiding us in going to Africa, we shall most sincerely thank you for so doing.

WILLIAM ABNEY,
THOMAS WARE.

July 10, 1845.

[From Liberian papers.]

THE U. S. ship *Jamestown*, Commander Cunningham, sailed for the windward April 27th; the *Yorktown*, Commander Bell, same destination, on the 27th of May.

WE have lately paid a visit to the settlements of Edina, and Bassa Cove. These places have evidently made some improvement since we were last there. A spirit of activity and bustle indicates business, and an air of comfort seems to say that the business of some at least is profitable.

Our business there was to attend the first Union meeting appointed by our association. We saw no immediate remarkable good achieved by the meeting, but we believe good will result in the restoration of some who have been for a time estranged from the church.

ANOTHER missionary station, in South Africa, has been broken up by savage warfare. The mission at Phillipolis has been abandoned. The war between the Boers and the Griquas was of the most atrocious character, each party murdering the prisoners taken from the other. The *Graham's Town Journal* of April 24th, says: "The whole country is in arms; the farmers declaring they will follow the soldiers over, the moment they cross the Orange river; and there is not the least doubt but 2,000 Boers are ready to go over."

Our readers will recollect that the mission commenced, a few years since, by the American Board, in South Eastern Africa, was broken up by similar scenes of violence.

THE British cruisers captured twenty-eight slavers—Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian—during the five months ending 31st May last.

The U. S. Brig *Truxtun* had captured an American slaver, the name of which is not mentioned. She was fitted out at New Orleans, and was found in the Rio Nunez, a notorious haunt for slavers.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,
From the 26th July, to the 18th August, 1845.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts Colonization Society,—through Deacon E. Kimball, Treasurer.....	500 00
Falmouth—4th July collection, per Rev. H. B. Hooker.....	15 00
Wareham—Collection in Congregational Church.....	5 00
	520 00

CONNECTICUT.

Fairfield—Mrs. Elizabeth Sherman, to constitute Dea. Charles Bennet a life member of the A. C. S., \$30, 4th July collection in the First Cong. Church, by their pastor, \$17 33.....	47 33
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NEW YORK.

New York City—Messrs. Hale & Hallock.....	25 00
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NEW JERSEY.

Woodbridge—4th July collection in the Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. Wm. B. Barton, pastor, \$15 00.....	15 00
Fairfield—Rev. Ethan Osborn... \$10 00.....	10 00
Cedarville—Collection in Presbyterian Church.....	3 00
	28 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington—4th July collection in Christ Church, per Rev. Mr. Bean, rector, \$10 44; 4th July collection in the Wesley Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, \$6. 16 44.....	16 44
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VIRGINIA.

Norfolk—4th July collection in M. E. Church, by Rev. Edward Wadsworth, pastor.....	21 47
Occoquan—Joseph Janney, his annual subscription.....	10 00
Fredericksburg—Collection in the Episcopal Church, per Rev. E. C. McGuire, D. D., \$20 50, Female Colonization Society, of which \$30 is to constitute the Rev. George W. McPhail a life member of the A. C. S., per Miss C. E. Lomax, Treas. 108 35.....	108 35
Winchester—4th July collection in the Rev. Mr. Atkinson's Church, \$11 35, 4th July collection in the Rev. Mr. Boyd's Church, \$2 08, 4th July collection in the Rev. Mr. Smith's Church, \$8 97.....	22 35
Shepherdstown—4th July collection in Trinity Church, viz: B. T. Towner, E. J. Lee, John H. McEndree, Maj. J. F. Hamtramck, W. L. Webb, Alexan-	

der R. Boterer, and Rev. C. W. Andrews, each \$5, Thos Hammond, M. D., \$2, Mary A. Popham, \$1, Miss Virginia T. Van Swearingen, \$1, from sundry persons, \$4 94, Michael Hensell of the German Reformed Church, \$3.....	46 94
Orange C. H.—4th July collection in St. Thomas Church, by the Rev. J. Earnest, rector.....	18 37
Charlestown—Collection in Zion Church, per Rev. A. Jones, rector.....	18 27
Heathersville—4th July collection, per Rev. B. Burgess.....	8 00
Warrenton—Collection in James Church, per Rev. George Lemon.....	10 00
Leesburg—4th July collection in the Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Mr. Adie.....	25 00
	309 25

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Lindo—Rev. W. R. Hemphill, \$10, Mr. Archibald Kennedy, \$5....	15 00
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KENTUCKY.

Henderson—4th July collection in St. Paul's Church, by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, rector.....	15 00
Boyle Co.—By Rev. Alexander M. Cowan:—John Wheelan, \$20, Henry J. Cowan, Dr. John Todd, John McClane, and David Bell, each \$10, Mrs. Tabitha Cock, and A. Snud, each \$5, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Irvine, \$1, Capt. Jesse Smith, \$2.....	73 00
Lincoln Co.—Thomas Helm, \$20, George Carpenter, Hugh Hays, John B. Swope, and Henry Owsley, each \$10, Robert Miller, Walter Anderson, Carrol Bailey, James Blair, George B. Anderson, J. A. Fisher, D. W. Jones, George W. Welsh, David Williams, Ephraim Pennington, William Whitley, and John Owsley, each \$5, S. O. Middleton, \$2 50, John H. Hutchison, and John G. Jordan, each \$2, Philip L. Hockler, Mrs. M. S. Owsley, each \$1, Miss M. Owsley, 50 cts., Amanda and Mary Jane Owsley, each 10 cts., Ann Maria, Ellen W. and Elvira Owsley, each 6c. 129 38.....	129 38
Garrard Co.—Oliver Terrill, \$20, A. Beeker, Judge Sam'l Luak,	

R. A. McKee, Rev. R. A. Johnston, William Kinnard, Rev. Carey A. Wylie, John W. Walker, W. N. Fishback, Lylle Royston, Spilman & Brown, and James Royston, each \$5, Fountain Rothwell, \$2 50, Jas. W. Bates, \$1.....	78 50	M. E. Church, per Rev. W. H. Roper.....	5 00
<i>Madison Co.</i> —Squire Turner, Curtis Field, Caldwell Campbell, Wm. Moran, and Mrs. Anne J. Wallace, each \$20, Judge Daniel Breck, D. W. R. Letcher, Thomas H. Irvin, Thompson Burnam, and David Irvin, each \$10, E. H. Field, W. R. Green, Samuel H. Stevenson, Humphrey Jones, E. L. Shackelford, C. F. Burnam, Thomas Royston, Rev. James C. Barnes, Joseph Turner, Allen Anderson, David McChord, Daniel F. Green, Wm. Hawkins, Cyrus Turner, L. D. Bennett, William Shearer, Elias Moberley, Samuel Campbell, William Moise, and Robert Cochran, each \$5, Jackson Davis, \$3, A. W. Dinsmore, \$1...	254 00	<i>Cambridge</i> —4th July collection in Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. William Wallace.....	5 00
<i>Clark Co.</i> —James Wornell, John W. Redmon, and Stephen D. Lewis, each \$20.....	60 00	<i>Putnam and Zanesville</i> —Auxiliary Colonization Society, per H. Safford, Secretary & Treasurer.....	137 50
<i>Bourbon Co.</i> —Geo. W. Williams, A. H. Wright, E. S. Dudley, H. Clay, jr., John R. Thornton, Robert Clark, James R. Wright, John L. Hickman, Henry Boyer, Jeremiah Duncan, H. Clay, sen., D. P. Beelinger, John Hedges, and Thos. L. Cunningham, each \$20, W. C. Lyle, Jesse Kennedy, Algernon S. Smith, Benj. F. Bedford, and John Gass, each \$10, W. Talbott, Samuel Brooks, C. P. Talbott, S. D. Talbott, and John Clay, each \$5, Collection 4th of July in Christian Church, Paris, \$315, Collection 4th of July in St. Peter's Church, Paris, \$10.....	368 15	<i>Chillicothe</i> —4th July collection in St. Paul's Church, per Rev. Jas. B. Britton.....	10 00
<i>Fayette Co.</i> —Owen D. Winn, Robert Marshall, James Valandingham, John Gess, Richard Spurr, and Thomas H. Shelby, each \$30, Waller Bullock, Edmund Bullock, E. R. Sayre, Isaac P. Shelby, A. H. Armstrong, and W. C. Prewitt, each \$20...	300 00	<i>Pleasant Hill and Norwich</i> —4th July collections.....	7 00
	1,278 03	<i>Green Co.</i> —Colonization Society, per James Goody, Treasurer...	5 00
			176 00
		INDIANA.	
		<i>Lawrenceburg</i> —4th July collection in Trinity Church, per G. H. Dunn, Esq.....	10 00
		ILLINOIS.	
		<i>Vandalia</i> —4th July collection at Union meeting, by different denominations, per Rev. D. D. McKee.....	8 00
		<i>Peoria</i> —4th July collection in Presby. Church, (Old School,) per Rev. Isaac Kellar, pastor...	10 00
			18 00
		Total Contributions.....	\$2,443 05
		FOR REPOSITORY.	
		NEW HAMPSHIRE.— <i>Concord</i> —George Hutchinson.....	1 00
		MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>West Bradford</i> —Rev. Nathan Monroe, \$2. <i>West Amesbury</i> —Rev. H. B. Smith, \$1 50. <i>Amesbury</i> —Wm. Chase, \$3. <i>Georgetown</i> —Richmond Dole, Mrs. P. Nelson, Dea. Asa Nelson, each \$1 50. <i>Essex</i> —Hon. David Choate, \$1 50. <i>Salem</i> —Hon. D. A. White, \$1 50, Rev. S. M. Worcester, \$3. <i>New Bedford</i> —Simpson Hart, \$1 50, James Monroe, \$3, W. R. Rodman, \$1 50.....	23 00
		CONNECTICUT.— <i>Hartford</i> —S. H. Woodruff.....	1 00
		VIRGINIA.— <i>Staunton</i> —Robert S. Brooke, in full.....	5 00
		KENTUCKY.— <i>Sharpsburg</i> —G. Gordon, to be sent to Rev. R. F. Caldwell and Thomas Hill, Esq.	3 00
		OHIO.— <i>Hillsboro'</i> —Sam'l Linn, sen.....	1 50
		Total Repository.....	34 00
		Total Contributions.....	2,443 05
		Aggregate Amount.....	\$2,477 05
OHIO.			
<i>Hillsboro'</i> —Samuel Linn, sen., \$3 50, Rev. James McD. Matthews, \$3.....	6 50		
<i>Bellbrooke</i> —4th July collection in			

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER, 1845.

[No. 10.]

[For the African Repository.]

The Colored Population of Massachusetts.

THE colored population of Massachusetts embrace not only the pure blacks of the African race, and their various mixtures with the whites, commonly called *mulattoes*, but also some mixtures of the whites, and others with some of the Indian tribes, particularly at Marshpee. The number of those who are the pure descendants of the African race, is believed to constitute but a very small part of the colored population in this Commonwealth, while most of them are a mixed breed of whites with Indians and negroes, and have been so, to a great degree, for the last fifty years or more.

In 1840, according to the United States census, Marshpee contained 9 white males and 6 white females; 146 colored males and 148 colored females; total, 15 whites and 294 colored persons. According to the

preceding censuses, the colored greatly preponderated over the white population in Marshpee. The colored persons are, at present, mostly mixtures of Indians and negroes in that place.

According to a Provincial census, finished in 1765, the colored population in the returns of 182 towns, was 4,978; to which if we add 147, the number according to the United States census for 16 towns in 1790, which were not returned in 1765, and 74 for their number in Newbury and Newburyport, whose returns in 1765 did not specify the color—this last number being in proportion to the number in those towns in 1790—the estimated number of the colored population in Massachusetts in 1765, would be 5,199; and accordingly, with the aid of the United States censuses, we construct tables I and II.

TABLE I—*Exhibiting the number of the colored population and their proportion to the whites, in Massachusetts, according to the censuses.*

Census.	COLORED POPULATION.		Total.	PROPORTION TO THE WHITES.	
	Males.	Females.		Per cent.	Ratio.
In 1765	—	—	5,199	2.17	1 to 45.96
" 1790	—	—	5,463	1.46	1 to 68.33
" 1800	—	—	6,452	1.54	1 to 64.53
" 1810	—	—	6,737	1.44	1 to 69.06
" 1820	3,308	3,432	6,740	1.30	1 to 76.59
" 1830	3,360	3,685	7,045	1.16	1 to 85.64
" 1840	4,654	4,015	8,669	1.18	1 to 84.09

TABLE II—Exhibiting the number of the whites, of the colored, and of the whole population, according to the censuses, together with their increase during six periods.

Census.	NUMBER.			INCREASE DURING THE PERIODS.					
	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.	Whites.		Blacks.		Total.	
				Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
In 1765	238,950	5,199	244,149						
" 1790	373,324	5,463	378,787	134,374	56.23	264	5.07	134,538	55.14
" 1800	416,393	6,452	422,845	43,069	11.53	989	18.10	41,058	11.63
" 1810	465,303	6,737	472,040	48,910	11.74	285	4.41	49,195	11.63
" 1820	516,547	6,740	523,287	51,244	11.01	3	.04	51,247	10.85
" 1830	603,363	7,045	610,408	86,816	16.80	305	4.52	87,121	16.64
" 1840	729,031	8,669	737,700	125,668	20.58	1,624	23.05	127,292	20.85

It is apparent that the increase of the colored population during the several periods has been very unequal, and also that it has been much less than that of the whites, with two exceptions, namely, from 1790 to 1800, and from 1830 to 1840. These exceptions may have been, in part at least, owing to the immigration of blacks from other States.

The increase of the blacks during the 75 years from 1765 to 1840, was 3,470, or 66.74 *per cent.*: which is less than one-third of that (205.09 *per cent.*) of the whites. During the 25 years from 1765 to 1790, it was only 264, or 5.07 *per cent.*: which is not one-eleventh part of that (56.23 *per cent.*) of the whites. During the 50 years from 1790 to 1840, it was 3,206, or 58.66 *per cent.*: which is a little more than three-fifths of 95.28 *per cent.* that of the whites.

The small increase of the colored population from 1765 to 1790, being only 264, or 5.07 *per cent.*, while that of the whites was 56.23 *per cent.*, or over eleven times as great, we ascribe chiefly to the effects of the revolutionary war on that class, conjoined with their degraded condition among the whites. Before the war, most of them were substantially in the condition of slaves. Public senti-

ment, however, partly by the advance of a correct moral sentiment in the community, and partly by the increasing sentiment for freedom from British rule, which stimulated the colonists to gain their own freedom, had been, to a great degree, awakened to the right and propriety of the blacks enjoying their freedom; and, accordingly, in 1776, slavery was virtually abolished in Massachusetts by an act of the legislature, after having existed there about a century. During the revolutionary war many of the slaves were offered their freedom on condition of their enlisting in the army. Medical men, attached to the army, have expressed their full conviction that the mortality was much greater among the blacks than among the whites, in the army of the revolution. This is to be expected, from their degraded condition, among a population in which the whites so greatly predominated, in a time of war no less than in a time of peace.

The great increase of the whites during these 25 years, being nearly as great as that during any period of 30 years since, is to be referred to the settlement of the western part of the commonwealth, which, in 1765, was almost a wilderness.

During the 10 years from 1790 to 1800, the increase of the blacks was 989, or 18.10 *per cent.*; which is more than one and a half times that of the whites in Massachusetts, and yet this was only about half the average increase of the whole population of the United States. This increase of 18 *per cent.* of the blacks is undoubtedly less than their natural increase would be under the most favorable circumstances of society; but when we consider their condition—chiefly as servants, with some few in almost every town, and subjected to many disadvantages unfavorable to their physical comfort and enjoyment, to their moral improvement, and even to life—among the predominant class, the whites, even this increase of theirs was probably owing, in part at least, to emigration into Massachusetts, now made *free to them*, virtually by the legislature in 1776, and absolutely by the State Constitution in 1790. But, in 1796, the territory of Massachusetts was mostly divided into incorporated towns, and from that time we may consider the emigration of the *whites* out of the State as commencing, which has continued since, especially for about a quarter of a century. This accounts for the small increase of the whites from 1790 to 1800.

From 1800 to 1810, the increase of the blacks was only 285, or 4.41 *per cent.*; which is less than half that of the whites, who emigrated out of the State in large numbers, and with them probably a portion of the blacks.

From 1810 to 1820, the increase of the blacks was only 3, or 0.4 *per cent.*, which is less than one 222d part of that of the whites. This very small increase may be very much accounted for by the three following causes:

1. In 1813 and in 1817, important changes were made in the laws of New York, by which slavery was

substantially or prospectively abolished in that State, and the blacks were admitted to nearly equal privileges with the whites, which they have enjoyed ever since. The consequence was, that some blacks who had, before 1810, left New York, then a *slave State*, and settled in Massachusetts, a *free State*, were known during these 10 years to return to New York, their native State, after it became free, thus reducing the number of blacks in Massachusetts in 1820.

2. During the war of 1812 to 1815, some colored persons joined the army, and never returned; the mortality of the blacks in the army being presumed to have been much greater than that of the whites. At least one company of blacks was formed in Boston during the war of 1812, and placed under the command of Capt. Macintosh. Major ———, who was in the service during the whole of that war, thinks that the mortality of the blacks in the army was three times as great as that of the whites during that war.

3. The third cause was the emigration of the blacks out of the commonwealth. The American Colonization Society was formed at Washington in 1816. "In 1817, two agents were sent by the Society to examine the western coast of Africa, for a suitable spot for the colony.— They selected a position on the Sherbro, and in February, 1820, the first vessel was despatched, with 88 colonists." We are unable to say whether this expedition affected the number of the colored population in Massachusetts during this period. But it is stated in the third Annual Report of the Colonization Society, of the date of February 8, 1820, that "it is but a few years since Capt. Paul Cuffee (who was born in New Bedford, and who for many years sailed out of Westport in his own vessel on various voyages) carried thirty-eight

from *Boston* to *Sierra Leone*, chiefly at his own expense; and in a letter, written after his voyage, he declares that he could have obtained the consent of the greater part of the free people of color in that city and its vicinity to remove to Africa. And, let it not be forgotten that of those, whom he actually carried, there was not one disposed to return with him to America." During these 10 years, also, upon the invitation of the Emperor of Hayti, some colored persons left Massachusetts, as well as other parts of the United States, and removed to St. Domingo.

From 1820 to 1830, the increase of the blacks was 305, or 4.52 *per cent.*, which is a little more than one-quarter of that of the whites; and this is probably full as great as their average decennial increase has been during the whole 75 years, considering their condition among the whites as the predominant class of the population. Some have doubted whether their natural increase in Massachusetts has equalled their mortality, and the number who have emigrated out of the State during the last 50 or 75 years; and some have even supposed that, without emigration, and without mixture with the whites, the whole race would, in a few years, be extinct in this commonwealth.

The increase of the blacks from 1830 to 1840, was 1,624, or 23.05 *per cent.*, according to the censuses of these years, which is nearly 2½ (2.47) *per cent.* more than that of the whites, though this was 3.78 *per cent.* more than it had been in any 10 years since 1790. This increase of the blacks is more than half their whole increase during the 50 years from 1790 to 1840, and deserves explanation. Nearly four-fifths of this increase were *males*, and only about one-fifth *females*; that of the females being 330, or 8.95 *per cent.*, and that of the males 1,294, or 38.51 *per cent.*

A great part of the whole increase of 23.05 *per cent.* is clearly to be traced to the effect of emigration from abroad.

We feel sure that the increase of the colored population, from natural causes, and exclusive of immigration, averaged not more than 5 *per cent.*, during each 10 years from 1765 to 1840, and less than half of 1 *per cent.* per annum. It is also apparent that their increase, exclusive of immigration, during each 10 years from 1790 to 1840, cannot have averaged over 7 *per cent.*, while that of the whole population has averaged over 14 *per cent.*; and, owing to the emigration of the whites out of the State, this last average has been less than half of that of the United States.

In 1820, the number of the colored females was 124 more, and in 1830, 325 more, than that of the males; but in 1840, the males were 639 more than the females; so that the proportion of the sexes was materially changed during these last 10 years. In other words, the proportion of the females to the males in 1820, was as 100 to 96.38; in 1830, as 100 to 91.18; and in 1840, as 100 to 115.91. This change in the proportion of the sexes, from 1830 to 1840, can hardly be ascribed to natural causes, and suggests the idea of emigration from other places as the cause. We should expect this as the cause, from the well known interest that has been felt very extensively over the whole country, respecting the condition of the colored population during these 10 years. We are confirmed in the correctness of this idea, when we examine more closely the *ages* and the *residences* of the males, especially, according to the censuses of 1830 and 1840, as exhibited in tables III and IV.; from which it appears that the increase of the colored persons under 10 years was, of females 91, and of males 114; or as 100 to 125.27; of 10 years and under 24, of females

92, and of males 230; or as 100 to 250; of 24 years and under 36, of females 52, and of males 719; or as 100 to 1382.69; of 36 years and under 55, of females 110, and of males 245, or as 100 to 222.72; of 55 years and under 100, there was an *increase* of 23 females, and a *decrease* of 10 males; and of 100 years and upwards, there was a *decrease* of both sexes. We leave out of the account the last two columns of ages, as unimportant in this comparison.

It is evident the preponderance of the increase of the males over that of the females, during the 10 years from 1830 to 1840, has been of those in *middle* and *active* life, especially of the age of 24 years and under 36 years—a result which is not surprising, when we consider the discussions which have taken place during this period in various parts of the country, respecting the municipal regulations of some of the States.—Those of the *male* sex, and in *active* and *middle* life, would be most likely, under the circumstances, to have emigrated from other States into Massachusetts.

Undoubtedly there is an error in the census of Erving's Grant in 1830, in Franklin county, and incorporated as a town in 1838. It is very singular that there should have been, in 1830, exactly 17 colored males and 17 colored females under 100 years, and also 34 colored females and no colored males, of 100 years and upwards, in Erving's Grant in 1830, and no colored person in that town in 1840. The census for Erving stood thus at the two dates—

Census of 1830.

White males	-	-	215
" females	-	-	205
Total whites	-	-	420
Colored males under 100 y'rs	17		
" females	"	17	
Total colored	"	34	

Colored males of 100 years and upwards	-	-	00
Colored females of 100 years and upwards	-	-	34
Total colored of all ages	-	-	68
Total population	-	-	488

Census of 1840.

White males	-	-	156
" females	-	-	153
Total whites	-	-	309
Colored males under 100 y'rs	00		
" females	"	00	
Total colored	"	00	
Colored males of 100 years and upwards	-	-	00
Colored females of 100 years and upwards	-	-	00
Total colored	-	-	00
Total population	-	-	309

The increase of the blacks from 1830 to 1840, was 1,624, or 23.05 *per cent.*, according to the census; if we correct the census by rejecting 68 put down as belonging to Erving's Grant, in 1830, the number in that year would be (7,045-68,) 6,977, and the increase in 10 years, 1,692, or 24.23 *per cent.*, which is 3.65 *per cent.* more than that of the whites during the same period. But Marshpee was wholly omitted in the census of 1830, and contained 294 colored persons in 1840, and is more than an offset to the presumed error for Erving in 1830. Adding 294, which may be supposed to have been the number of colored persons in Marshpee in 1830, to 6,977, and we have 7,271 as the estimated number of blacks in 1830, instead of 7,045; and consequently the increase from 1830 to 1840, will be (8,669-7,271=) 1,398, or 19.21 *per cent.*, which, is

1.64 per cent. less than that of the whites. This increase should, perhaps, be reduced some 452 on account of over-numbering, particularly of sea-faring persons, in Ward 2 in the city of Boston. By deducting 452 from 1,398, we have 946, or 13.01 per cent., as the estimated increase of blacks in Massachusetts from 1830 to 1840, which is 7.57 per cent. less than that of the whites. We cannot depend upon those general censuses for minute details in small localities; they serve for general comparisons for large districts. We conclude that the increase of the blacks from 1830 to 1840 was considerably larger than their average during the preceding decennial periods; and yet, though aided by emigration from other States, was not more than two-thirds that of the whites.

According to the State census of May 1, 1840, the whole population of Boston, except "State paupers and convicts in the State prison," was 83,629; to which if the 348 State paupers were added, we have 83,977 as the population, May 1, 1840; but according to the United States census, June 1, 1840, one month later, it was 93,383, or 9,406 more. Ac-

cording to the United States census, the number in Ward 2, was 15,282, or 8,465 more than the number in the State census. 7,683 are put down in this Ward as "employed in the navigation of the ocean," which is undoubtedly too large a number.—From the loose manner in which the United States census was taken in this city—such as sailor boarding-houses containing over a thousand persons in a single family—this census represents the population of Boston to have been at least some 8,000 more than it actually was in 1840. A portion of this over-enumeration were undoubtedly colored persons in the United States census of 1840.

In the views which we propose to give in this article of the colored population in Massachusetts, we shall follow the numbers as they stand in the censuses, and the inferences which we draw respecting their condition and prospects, will require but little modification from the slight errors which may exist in the censuses themselves.

The two following tables exhibit the colored population of Boston, according to the United States censuses of 1830 and 1840:

Census of the colored population of Boston in 1830.

Wards.	MALES.						FEMALES.								
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	Total.
1	9	5	29	14	3	—	60	10	9	15	10	3	—	47	107
2	16	6	62	18	2	—	104	19	19	30	17	—	—	89	193
3	2	5	10	4	1	—	22	2	2	12	3	—	—	20	42
4	—	9	3	6	—	—	19	3	11	8	5	—	—	27	46
5	12	17	18	23	1	—	70	21	31	37	22	4	—	115	185
6	65	55	55	77	17	—	269	69	83	80	77	27	—	336	605
7	49	49	48	45	15	—	206	47	65	58	52	22	—	244	450
8	2	5	7	5	—	—	19	1	6	7	5	—	—	19	38
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	2	1	1	—	—	7	11
10	3	8	5	5	5	—	26	8	13	11	4	2	—	38	61
11	3	1	4	—	—	—	8	2	7	8	3	—	—	20	38
12	17	11	8	11	11	—	58	10	10	11	11	5	1	48	106
Increase in 10 years	178	173	250	307	57	—	865	194	258	278	210	69	1	1,910	1,979
10 years -	27	39	364	111	—8	1	531	17	—4	1	5	—	—1	18	652

Census of the colored population of Boston in 1840.

Wards.	MALES.							FEMALES.						
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.
1	10	22	25	16	9	—	82	12	22	16	15	1	—	66
2	14	26	403	133	6	—	582	23	40	24	19	5	—	111
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	7	15	39	16	4	—	81	1	8	19	14	1	—	57
5	25	24	29	16	5	1	91	25	25	20	22	9	—	111
6	137	95	116	127	14	—	489	139	120	164	130	46	—	599
7	—	4	6	—	—	—	10	—	5	1	1	—	—	16
8	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	4
9	—	2	—	—	1	—	3	1	3	4	5	1	—	14
10	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	3	7	1	4	2	—	17	—	8	2	2	2	—	15
12	9	14	3	5	8	—	39	2	6	12	5	2	—	27
	205	212	614	318	49	1	1,399	211	254	279	215	69	—	1,028
														2,427

By comparing the census of the colored population of Boston in 1830 with that in 1840, we see that their increase in Ward 2, in these years, was 500, of whom 478 were males and 22 females. We have no reason for supposing that there was any material increase in this ward during the time. The reason of the great increase, according to the census, was probably this: that those who were employed in taking the United States census of 1840, included all the colored persons who were reported to them as having been for several years previously residents in families, especially in sailor boarding-houses, instead of including those only who actually had their residence in that Ward, June 1, 1840, as appears to have been the case in taking the United States census of the population of that Ward generally.

From 1830 to 1840 the increase of the males in Ward 2, was 478, while that of the females was only 22, according to the United States census; of this increase of the males, 456 were of 24 and under 55 years of age, and amount to within 96 of 552, the increase in all the wards. In Ward 2 there were 502 colored

persons "employed in the navigation of the ocean." There was also a large increase in Ward 6, in which a large portion of the colored population have resided for many years. In explanation of the great increase in Ward 6, and the great decrease in Ward 7, during the 10 years, it may be remarked that by a new division of the wards of the city in 1838, a portion of Ward 7, the most densely populated with blacks of any, was annexed to Ward 6; and it will be perceived that the aggregate of the two Wards, 6 and 7, is nearly the same in the two censuses. Also, previous to 1838, Ward 12 constituted most of the present Wards 11 and 12. In the remaining 7 wards, the numbers of the colored people were nearly the same at both epochs. After making allowances for the probable over-numbering of the inhabitants in Ward 2, it is fair to suppose that the increase of the colored population of Boston was very small during these 10 years, and had they not been sustained by immigration, there would in all probability have been a decrease.

If we reduce the number of the colored population in the United States census of 1840, four or five

hundred, on account of over-numbering in Boston, the increase for the whole State will be only about two-thirds that of the whites; and thus reduced, it has been sustained very evidently by means of emigration from abroad; and without such emigration the increase would have been very small from 1830 to 1840. And we may presume, that without emigration from abroad, the colored population, by suffering occasional emigration out of the State, will at length decrease, and finally become extinct as a distinct race.

According to the United States census of 1840, the proportion of the blacks to the whites in Massachusetts was as 1 to 84.09. It may be interesting to see the proportion in the State of New York at the same time. In the northern district, the number of the colored males was 6,435, females 6,428—total colored, 12,863; and that of the whites, of both sexes, 1,670,205, or in the proportion of 1 colored person to 129.84 whites.

In the southern district, the number of colored males was 17,374, females 19,790—total free colored, 37,164; and that of the whites, of both sexes, 708,685, or in the proportion of 1 free colored to 19 whites.

Total free colored, 50,027; to which add 4 female slaves, and we have 50,031 for the whole number of colored persons, while the whites amounted to 2,378,890. The proportion of the colored to the whites in the State was as 1 to 47.55, or nearly twice as great as it was in Massachusetts at that date, and nearly 45.96, the proportion in Massachusetts 75 years before.

The number of colored males in New York was 23,809, and of females, including 4 slaves, was 26,222, showing an excess of females of 2,413. This gives the proportion of females to males of 100 to 90.80, a

result very different from what it was in Massachusetts, and indicating the absence of the kind of emigration to New York, which obviously took place in Massachusetts.

From the peculiarities of the blacks, and their position among the whites in Massachusetts—their color giving rise to prejudices against them, fixed and immoveable—their servile and degraded condition among the whites, their small numbers, their poverty and dependence, their want of sympathy not merely with the whites, but on account of their scattered position—there being 228 towns, out of 309, in 1840, containing some of them—their want of sympathy and of easy intercourse with each other, by which they are deprived of social enjoyments, and are far distant from the means of mental improvement, which give a zest and a value to life, and add years to its duration; from these circumstances we expect their localities to be more changeful, and their increase less regular from year to year than that of the predominant class. We find that in 8 counties, namely, *Essex, Middlesex, Hampshire, Hampden, Franklin, Norfolk, Plymouth, and Dukes*, there was a decrease of the blacks of 294, or 12.10 per cent., from 1830 to 1840.—In *Franklin* and *Dukes* counties the number was diminished one-half. In the other 6 counties, namely, *Suffolk, Worcester, Berkshire, Bristol, Barnstable and Nantucket*, as will appear from tables V and VI, there was an increase of 1,918, or 41.54 per cent., a number sufficient not merely to off-set the decrease in the 8 counties, but to make the proportion of their increase in the State exceed that of the whites. Of these 1,918, 1,396 were males, and 522 were females or in the proportion of 100 females to 267.43 males. The large proportion of the increase of the males in these 6 counties, confirm us in the

opinion of their emigration from other States.

In the 8 counties in which there was a decrease of 294 persons, according to the censuses, it will be seen by Table VII that of this decrease 102 were males, and 192 were females.*

Thus the number of males in the 8 counties, exclusive of Erving,

would be 1,150, or 60 less than that of the females in 1830, and only 4 less in 1840. At each of the dates the sexes were very nearly equal.—The causes, apart from the peculiar immigration during these 10 years, which affect the increase or decrease of the colored population, seem to have been remarkably free to operate in these 8 counties. In the coun-

*If we omit the colored people for Erving, in Franklin county, in 1830, on account of probable error in the census, the number of males in these 8 counties, in 1830, would be 1,150, and their decrease in 10 years, 85; and that of the females 1,210, and of their decrease in the 10 years, 141; and the total decrease 226, instead of 294, as will appear from the following table:

	MALES.							FEMALES.							
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	Total.
Franklin county in 1830, according to census	29	14	14	20	8	—	85	26	22	9	13	—	34	100	191
Erving - - -	7	—	3	6	1	—	17	7	6	2	2	—	34	51	68
Franklin county exclusive of Erving -	22	14	11	14	7	—	68	19	16	7	11	2	—	55	123
Decrease in Franklin county in 10 years, exclusive of Erving -	14	*7	*1	9	2	*1	16	15	3	1	4	*4	—	19	35
Franklin county in 1840, according to the census	8	21	12	5	5	1	52	4	13	6	7	6	—	36	88
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8 counties in 1830, according to census -	274	327	208	204	148	6	1,167	274	306	239	227	179	36	1,261	2,428
Erving - - -	7	—	3	6	1	—	17	7	6	2	2	—	34	51	68
8 counties exclusive of Erving -	267	327	205	198	147	6	1,150	267	300	237	225	179	2	1,210	2,360
Decrease in 8 counties exclusive of Erving -	90	19	*26	21	48	3	85	17	25	41	9	48	1	141	226
8 counties in 1840, according to the census	247	308	231	177	99	3	1,065	250	275	196	216	131	1	1,069	2,134

* Showing an increase.

ty of Middlesex, there was an increase of 22 males, while the decrease of females was 46, as will appear from the following table, exhibiting the decrease in these 8 counties :

Counties.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Essex	9	6	15
Middlesex	22	46	24
Hampshire	7	15	22
Hampden	22	13	35
Franklin, exclusive of Erving	16	19	35
Norfolk	6	3	9
Plymouth	33	25	58
Dukes	14	14	28
	85	141	226

It is obvious that natural causes of increase had not sustained the number of blacks in these counties, and that there was a decided tendency to a decrease of their number during these 10 years.

In two of the 6 counties in which there was an increase of the blacks, namely, in *Worcester* and *Barnstable*, the females preponderated over the males in 1830 and in 1840, but the increase of each sex was 237, and the whole increase 474, or 88.43 per cent., as appears from table VIII. In the 4 remaining counties, the whole increase of the blacks was 1,444, or 35.36 per cent., of whom 285 only were females, and 1,159 were males, or in the proportion of 100 to 406.66, which is over 4 males to 1 female, and differs very little from the proportion of increase in the whole State, where the females were 330 and the males 1,294, or as 100 to 392.12.

We perceive by inspecting table IX, that in two of these 4 counties, namely, in *Berkshire* and *Bristol*, the proportion of the sexes was not materially different at the two dates, and the increase of the males was 331, or 34.87 per cent., and that of the females 259, or 26.70 per cent.; that of the whole being 590, or 29.70 per cent. These numbers of increase give the proportion of 100 females to

127.79 males, which differs from the usual law of a near equality of the sexes from natural causes alone, and must arise from immigration. But when we examine the increase in *Suffolk* and *Nantucket* counties, the difference of increase in the proportion of the sexes becomes much more manifest, and indicates much more strongly the influence of foreign causes. Here we find the increase of the males 828, or 82.63 per cent., of females only 26, or 2.24 per cent.; and of both sexes 854, or 39.50 per cent. These numbers give the proportion of 100 females to 3,184.61 males.

Table X exhibits a comparative view of the increase of the colored population of *Suffolk* and *Nantucket* counties with the other 12 counties in 10 years, together with the numbers of both sexes in each division in 1830 and in 1840; from which it appears that the increase in these two counties was greater, especially of the males, than in any of the other counties during the last decennial period.

The proportions of the number of the free colored persons under the several ages, in the United States, was very nearly the same in 1830 and in 1840, and may be regarded as the standard proportions with which to compare those in any one of the States. They differ considerably

from those in Massachusetts at the two dates.

The change in the proportions of the colored population in Massachusetts was very perceptible; that of the males being 6 *per cent.* more, and that of the females 6 *per cent.* less, in 1840 than in 1830; and this is even less than what belonged to the males alone of 24 years and under 36. The proportion of the increase of the males was nearly 4 times that of the whites during these 10 years, or as 79.68 to 20.32 *per cent.*, showing the great disproportion in the increase of the sexes.

As we examine the *parts* of the commonwealth, we notice some changes in the proportions of the people of color from 1830 to 1840. In the 8 counties in which there was a decrease of the people of color, the proportions generally were not much altered during the period, that of the females being 1.85 *per cent.* more in 1830 than in 1840. But the proportion of the decrease of the females in these counties was over 30 *per cent.* more than that of the males.

The increase of the colored population in the 6 counties of *Suffolk*, *Worcester*, *Berkshire*, *Bristol*, *Barnstable*, and *Nantucket*, was 1,918, or 41.54 *per cent.*, during the 10 years. The proportion of the males in 1840, was 7.42 *per cent.* greater than in 1830. The proportion of the increase of the males was 72.78 *per cent.*, and that of the females only 27.22 *per cent.*

In the counties of *Worcester* and *Barnstable*, the increase of the males and of the females was equal, namely, 237, during this period; but the proportions were changed, both of

the sexes and of the ages. The proportions of the increase of the sexes differed from each other, and from the proportions of the census at each epoch.

In the 4 remaining counties of *Suffolk*, *Berkshire*, *Bristol*, and *Nantucket*, the whole increase was 1,444, and the proportions very much altered. The increase was, of males, 80.26 *per cent.*, and of females, 19.74 *per cent.*

In *Berkshire* and *Bristol*, the whole increase was 590, of which that of the males was 56.10, and that of the females 43.90 *per cent.*, of the whole. The increase was especially of the males of the age of 36 and under 55 years.

Finally, the most extraordinary change in the proportions was in *Suffolk* and *Nantucket*. The whole increase was 854, or 39.50 *per cent.*, of whom 828 were males, and 26 females, amounting to 96.96, and 3.04 *per cent.*, respectively, the former being nearly 32 times that of the latter.

In Boston, the increase in the 10 years of males was 534, and of females 18; and in Nantucket, of males 291, and of females only 8. In Boston the increase of the males was 29 times, and in Nantucket 36 times that of the females.

Thus, we find there was a decrease of the colored population of Massachusetts from 1830 to 1840, in 8 counties, and an increase in the 6 counties of *Suffolk*, *Worcester*, *Berkshire*, *Bristol*, *Barnstable*, and *Nantucket*. The increase of the males in these counties and in the State, greatly preponderated over that of the females. In *Worcester* and *Barnstable* the increase of the two sexes

*The great increase of the colored population of Barnstable county, in the 10 years, is owing to the omission of *Marshpee*, in the census of 1830, but in 1840 it contained 146 males and 148 females—total, 294. Omitting *Marshpee*, there was a loss of 26, or 14.88 *per cent.*, so that, really, there was an increase in only 5 counties, and a decrease in 9 counties. The increase of the colored population from 1830 to 1840, according to the censuses, was as follows :

was equal. In the 4 remaining counties, and especially in *Suffolk* and *Nantucket*, the increase of the males vastly preponderated over that of the females. The proportions of those under the several ages were also very much changed during these 10 years. These facts show clearly that other causes besides the natural increase, have had an effect in producing these changes. After making reasonable allowances for the presumed excess of numbers in the returns of Ward 2 in the city of Boston, we are confirmed by these results in the opinion, that immigration has been the principal cause in the increase of the people of color, and in the changes of the proportions during these 10 years. The increase has been mostly of *males from 24 to 55 years of age*, which embraces the period within which only even men would be likely to have emigrated from other States. Only a very small number of females would be expected to have emigrated at all.

The decrease of the blacks in the 8 counties, while the proportions by ages continued nearly the same, shows that the blacks are not likely to increase much in Massachusetts, situated as they are in the midst of, and dependent upon a predominant class of a different color, whose sympathies are vastly less fully in unison with the colored than with the white race.

According to the census of 1830, the number of colored males in the

State was - - - -	3,360
Of females - - - -	3,685

Of both sexes - - -	7,045
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To which add, from the census of 1840, under 10 years

of age, of males - -	908
Of females - - - -	900

Of both sexes - - -	1,808
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And we have of males -	4,268
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Of females - - - -	4,585
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Of both sexes - - -	8,843
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as the whole number possible on the supposition that these *censuses were correct*, and that *no death* nor immigration of colored persons into the commonwealth occurred during these 10 years. But according to the census of 1840, there were 4,654 males, 4,015 females, and 8,669 of both sexes; that is, there were 386 *more* males, and 570 *less* of females; and 184 less of both sexes, than is possible by the first position. Now, it is to be presumed that during this period not less than 570 deaths of colored females occurred in these 10 years, which is only 57 per annum, or 1 to 65 persons out of 3,685. A proportional number of deaths among the 3,360 males would be 520, which being taken from 4,268, the highest number possible by the first position, we have 3,748, and the number of both sexes, 7,763, without immigration, instead of 8,669 in the census. Thus it is clear that at least 906 of the colored population in 1840 must

In the State containing 7,045 colored in 1830, the increase was 1,624 or 23.05 per cent.

" 8 counties	" 2,428	" "	" decrease	" 294 or 12.10	" "
" 6	" 4,617	" "	" increase	" 1,918 or 41.32	" "
" 4	" 4,081	" "	" "	" 1,144 or 35.38	" "
Worcester & Barnstable	538	" "	" "	474 or 88.48	" "
Berkshire and Bristol	1,919	" "	" "	590 or 30.74	" "
Suffolk and Nantucket	2,162	" "	" "	854 or 39.49	" "

The increase of Worcester county was 205 or 55.70 per cent., and that of Barnstable county 269, or 160.11 per cent., but, exclusive of Marshpee, there was a decrease in that county of 25, or 14.88 per cent. The increase of Worcester and Barnstable counties, exclusive of Marshpee, was 180, or 34.69 per cent.

have been immigrants into the State during the preceding 10 years; 908 deducted from 1,294, the increase of the males, give 388 as their increase, apart from immigration during the time, which is 58 only more than that of the females, giving the proportion of 100 females to 117.57 males.

The following will show the immigration of colored persons into Boston during the 10 years, according to the census:

The census of 1830 contained,			
Of males	-	-	865
Of females	-	-	1,010
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And of both sexes	-	-	1,875
To which add, from census			
of 1840, males under 10			
years of age	-	-	205
Of females	-	-	211
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Of both sexes	-	-	416
And we have of males	-	-	1,070
Of females	-	-	1,221
<hr/>			

Of both sexes - - - 2,291 as the highest possible number in 1840, on the supposition there was no immigration or deaths during the 10 years. But according to the census of 1840, the number was, of males 1,399, of females 1,028, and of both sexes 2,427. The females in 1840 were actually less than their possible number was, by 193; which we may suppose to have been deaths in 10 years, averaging 19, or 1 in 52.33 *per annum*, on 1,010, and the proportional deaths among the males would be 165 in the 10 years, averaging 16½ *per annum*. These 165 taken from the highest possible number, 1,070, leave 885 as the highest number of males without immigration, being only 20 persons in 10 years; 885 added to 1,028, give 1,913 as the highest number of colored persons in Boston without immigration, which is 514 less than that of the census, and these 514 *must be*

males, and must be apportioned among the immigrants and those erroneously included in the census. We find that in Ward 2, in which we see no reason for supposing any material increase, there are 500 more in the census of 1840 than in that of 1830.

Table XI exhibits a summary of the censuses of the colored population from 1765 to 1840, by counties; together with the increase during each period, the number of each sex in the last three censuses, the increase from 1765 to 1840, and from 1790 to 1840, and the proportions of the colored to the white population in 1765, 1790, and 1840, the decrease being marked thus —. It appears that the proportion of the colored to the white population in Massachusetts has been *increased* in the counties of *Berkshire, Bristol* and *Nantucket*, during the 75 years from 1765 to 1840, in all the rest it has been *diminished*, and in the State it has been diminished nearly one-half.

From what has been said it is evident that, considering the degraded condition of the colored population in Massachusetts, *their increase, though aided by immigration, has been, during the whole period of 75 years, less than one-third that of the whites*, and we conclude that *without immigration this increase would have been very small*. This condition of theirs has arisen partly from the effects of slavery in this commonwealth for about a century previous to 1776, when it was virtually abolished by an act of the legislature. A prejudice has existed in the community, and still exists against them on account of their color, and on account of their being the descendants of slaves. They cannot obtain employment on equal terms with the whites, and wherever they go a sneer is passed upon them, as if this sportive inhumanity were an act of merit. They have been, and still are, mostly,

servants, or doomed to accept such menial employment as the whites decline. They have been, and are scattered over the commonwealth, one or more in over two-thirds of all the towns; they continue poor, with small means and opportunities for enjoying the social comforts and advantages which are so much at the command of the whites. Thus their condition is one of degradation and dependence, though their legal rights are the same as those of the whites, and renders existence less valuable, and impairs the duration of life itself.

2. We conclude, also, that *the increase of the colored population is not likely hereafter to keep pace with that of the whites in this commonwealth.* Past experience for 75 years indicates this. The proportion of the colored to the white population has been reduced during every period, and since 1765, in the State, from 2.17 to 1.18 *per cent.*, and in Boston, from 5.77 to 2.66 *per cent.*

The prejudices which are now felt in this commonwealth against the people of color, and the disadvantages under which they labor, unfavorable to their comfort, their increase, and their improvement, we can hardly expect will soon be removed.

They are excluded from the more honorable and profitable employments, and are likely to continue so. Owing to their color and the prejudice against them, they can hardly be said to receive that sympathy in sickness or in sorrow, *fresh from the heart* of the whites, which the whites would feel for each other, in this *free State*, nor even so cordial a sympathy as would be shown for them in a *slave State*, owing to their different position in society. This want of true sympathy, and this sense of degradation, must operate on their sensibility, and unfavorably affect their physical, moral, and social condition, and shorten to them the duration of life.

Most of the colored people in this commonwealth are a mixture of races, of Africans, Indians, and whites, in various degrees of purity, a circumstance regarded by physiologists as unfavorable to the increase of a healthy and hardy progeny, and predisposing them to an early maturity and an early decay of the physical and intellectual powers. It is said that a mulatto is seldom known to have survived 70 years in the West Indies, while pure blacks often live twice that age. It is remarked by those who have been conversant with the colored people who have been dependent on public charity for support, that a larger portion of the colored than of the whites are, even in early life, subjects of fatal disease, particularly of consumption.

The number of colored children born during the year next preceding May 1, 1844, in 288 towns, whose whole population was 593,876, and whose colored population was 5,710 in 1840, was, according to the returns of the town clerks, only 47, or 1 to 121.48 colored persons, while the number of white children was (14,757-47=) 14,710, or 1 to 39.98 white persons. After making due allowances for the imperfections of these returns, we are fully of the opinion that these returns strongly indicate the great inferiority of the proportion of the births of colored children to that of the whites.

We infer that there is to be expected but a small increase of the colored population in Massachusetts, from the large mortality among them, especially considering their degraded and dependent position among the predominant class of a different color. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, according to the bills of mortality, the deaths have been much more numerous among the free colored population than among the whites.

On the records of the superintendent of burials in Boston, 250 deaths are designated as of *colored* persons during the 4 years from 1841 to 1844, averaging $62\frac{1}{2}$ persons *per annum*. All the deaths of colored persons are not thus designated. These deaths give the proportion of 1 death to 38.84, or 2.57 *per cent.*, out of 2,427 colored persons. We believe, however, that their number could not have exceeded 1,975. This would give the proportion of 1 to 31.60, or 3.16 *per cent.* Of these 250, the males were 116, and the females 134, in 4 years, averaging 19 males and $33\frac{1}{2}$ females *per annum*, and giving the proportion of 100 females to 86.56 males. This proportion is very different from what we should expect from the great *pre-dominance* of the male sex, and may be accounted for by the supposition that some of the colored males are seafaring, and died abroad. Of these 250 deaths, 1 colored female died at the age of 101, and several colored persons at 80 and upwards. Some have concluded that the mortality of the colored people in Boston is as high as 1 to 15.

The whole number of deaths in Boston, in 1844, exclusive of 187 stillborn, was 2,054, according to the abstract of the bill of mortality, or 1 to 51.13, in a population estimated at 105,000, in 1844. Of these 2,054 deaths, 900 were of Catholics, mostly whites, in a population estimated at 24,000, or 1 in 26.67, and there will remain 1,154 deaths of the whites and blacks, in a population of 81,000, or 1 to 70.21. Of these 1,154 deaths, $62\frac{1}{2}$ are the reported average of the blacks for the 4 years, estimated at 2,427, giving a proportion of 1 to 38.84, or 2.57 *per cent.*; and there will remain 1,091 $\frac{1}{2}$ deaths of the Protestant whites, estimated at 79,087, giving the proportion of 1 to 71.99, or 1.38 *per cent.*, which is a little more than half the mortality of the blacks.

The small increase of the colored people in Massachusetts necessarily arises from their insulated and degraded position among the predominant class, the whites. Various circumstances connected with this position operate to the disadvantage of this class in all their relations in life. The effect is fully accounted for without supposing, as some may, that the condition of the colored population would be better in a state of slavery. Whatever might be their condition in a state of slavery, there does not seem to be any more right to reduce to slavery a body of human beings on account of their dark color, than on account of their white color. But at present, the current of public sentiment having its source in Revelation, and in the inspirations of the human mind, is now circulating throughout all the civilized nations of the earth, opposing and washing away the inhuman and barbarous relics of slavery among men, and is not likely to be spent till it has completed its work.

The increase of the people of color has very obviously been sustained in Massachusetts by emigrants from abroad; and without such aid it has been doubted whether there would have been any increase whatever. It is clear that their number can hardly be sustained by the natural increase of those now in the commonwealth alone, considering their insulated and degraded position among the whites. The mixed race of which they are now, and have been for 50 years mostly composed, are a feeble race; and a further mixture with the whites will, from time to time, cause a portion of them to be undistinguishable in the community from the whites themselves; so that the tendency seems to be ultimately to extinguish them as a distinct race, as has been the case with the more numerous, and, in many respects, more hardy tribes of Indians in this com-

monwealth, who have been displaced by the European emigrants. Many instances of similar displacement are to be found in history. The blacks, thus far, have been aided in retaining their numbers by means of emigration from abroad; while the Indians, now nearly extinct as a race, have received no accessions from that source since our first knowledge of them, though their blood, with scarcely distinguishable traces, still flows in the veins of some of our citizens.

TABLE III—Exhibiting the census of the free colored persons in Massachusetts, in 1830, by counties.

Counties.	MALES.							FEMALES.							Total.
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	
Suffolk	178	173	250	209	60	—	870	194	250	278	210	71	1	1,013	1,883
Essex	54	68	48	41	31	—	242	58	51	52	67	51	1	280	522
Middlesex	56	86	55	42	24	—	263	59	71	53	43	38	—	254	517
Worcester	37	52	31	19	25	—	164	47	67	35	33	32	—	204	368
Hampshire	32	37	13	13	15	3	113	27	31	23	15	10	1	110	223
Hampden	50	42	27	33	21	1	174	44	43	33	31	22	—	173	347
Franklin	29	14	14	20	8	—	85	25	22	9	13	2	34	106	191
Berkshire	156	118	82	86	42	—	484	142	136	103	73	59	1	507	991
Norfolk	13	17	11	13	15	—	69	15	22	20	21	22	—	100	169
Bristol	118	141	105	77	21	—	465	106	115	103	85	53	1	463	928
Plymouth	38	61	32	32	29	2	194	41	57	44	36	40	—	217	411
Barnstable	9	37	16	5	7	4	78	15	42	12	7	9	1	90	168
Dukes	2	2	8	10	5	—	27	4	6	5	2	4	—	31	48
Nantucket	22	41	33	26	10	—	132	31	40	44	22	10	—	147	279
Total in '30	794	889	725	636	316	10	3,360	809	965	816	661	394	40	3,685	7,045
Increase in 10 years	114	230	719	945	10	4	1,294	91	92	52	110	23	38	330	1,694
Total in '40	908	1,119	1,444	871	306	6	4,654	900	1,057	868	771	417	2	4,015	8,669

TABLE IV—Exhibiting the census of the free colored persons in Massachusetts, in 1840, by counties.

Counties.	MALES.							FEMALES.							Total.
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	
Suffolk	305	212	621	319	49	1	1,407	211	254	279	216	71	—	1,031	2,438
Essex	56	59	56	45	17	—	233	63	52	63	57	39	—	274	507
Middlesex	63	70	77	47	28	—	285	56	53	34	38	29	—	208	493
Worcester	68	71	46	47	29	—	261	77	80	72	54	29	—	312	573
Hampshire	30	39	10	17	9	1	106	24	32	10	23	6	—	95	201
Hampden	35	48	35	22	12	—	152	41	48	31	29	11	—	160	312
Franklin	8	21	12	5	5	1	52	4	13	6	7	6	—	36	88
Berkshire	178	199	108	102	65	2	654	168	170	112	101	72	1	624	1,278
Norfolk	11	19	12	10	11	—	63	17	33	12	21	13	—	97	160
Bristol	122	121	246	104	33	—	626	121	159	157	110	58	—	605	1,231
Plymouth	44	40	29	31	16	1	161	45	41	38	40	38	—	192	353
Barnstable	52	63	43	40	20	—	218	51	59	28	43	38	—	219	437
Dukes	—	12	—	—	1	—	13	—	3	2	1	1	—	7	20
Nantucket	36	145	149	82	11	—	423	23	60	24	31	18	—	155	578
Total in '40	908	1,119	1,444	871	306	6	4,654	900	1,057	868	771	417	2	4,015	8,669

TABLE V—*Exhibiting the census of the free colored population of six counties, in 1830.*

Counties.	MALES.							FEMALES.						
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.
Suffolk	178	173	250	309	60	—	870	194	259	278	210	71	1	1,013
Worcester	37	52	31	19	25	—	164	47	67	35	33	—	—	204
Berkshire	156	118	82	88	42	—	484	142	136	105	73	52	1	507
Bristol	118	141	105	77	24	—	465	106	115	103	85	53	1	463
Barnstable	9	37	16	5	7	—	78	15	42	12	11	9	—	90
Nantucket	22	41	33	36	10	—	132	31	40	44	22	10	—	147
Total in '30	520	569	517	422	108	4	2,193	535	659	577	434	215	4	2,424
Increase in ten years	141	249	696	272	39	—1	1,396	115	123	95	121	71	—3	522
Total in '40	661	811	1,213	694	207	3	3,589	650	782	672	555	286	1	2,946

TABLE VI—*Exhibiting the census of the free colored population of six counties, in 1840.*

Counties.	MALES.							FEMALES.						
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.
Suffolk	305	212	621	319	49	1	1,407	211	254	279	216	71	—	1,031
Worcester	68	71	46	47	29	—	261	77	80	72	54	29	—	312
Berkshire	178	199	108	102	65	—	654	168	170	112	101	72	1	624
Bristol	122	121	246	104	33	—	626	129	159	157	110	58	—	605
Barnstable	52	63	43	40	30	—	218	51	59	28	43	38	—	219
Nantucket	36	145	149	82	11	—	423	22	60	24	31	18	—	155
Total	661	811	1,213	694	207	3	3,589	650	782	672	555	286	1	2,946

TABLE VII—*Exhibiting a comparative view of the colored population of the eight counties which decreased from 1830 to 1840.*

	MALES.							FEMALES.						
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.
14 counties in 1830	794	889	725	636	316	10	3,360	809	965	816	661	394	40	3,685
6 counties in 1830	520	569	517	422	108	4	2,193	535	659	577	434	215	4	2,424
8 counties in 1830	274	327	208	204	148	6	1,167	274	306	239	227	179	36	1,261
14 counties in 1840	661	811	1,213	694	207	3	3,589	650	782	672	555	286	1	2,946
6 counties in 1840	211	254	279	216	71	—	1,031	211	254	279	216	71	—	1,031
8 counties in 1840	450	557	934	478	136	3	2,558	439	528	393	339	215	1	2,915

TABLE VII—Continued.

14 counties in 1840 -	908	1,119	1,444	871	306	6	4,654	900	1,057	868	771	417	2	4,015	8,669
6 counties in 1840 -	661	811	1,213	694	207	3	3,589	650	782	672	555	286	1	2,946	6,535
8 counties in 1840 -	247	308	231	177	99	3	1,065	250	275	196	216	131	1	1,069	2,134
Decrease of 8 counties in 10 years	27	19	*23	27	49	3	102	24	31	43	11	48	35	193	294

TABLE VIII—Exhibiting a comparative view of the colored population of the six counties which increased from 1830 to 1840.

	MALES.							FEMALES.						
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 36.	36 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.
Census of 6 counties in 1830 - -	520	562	517	422	168	4	2,193	535	659	577	434	215	4	2,424
Census of Worcester and Barnstable in 1830 - -	46	89	47	24	32	4	249	62	109	47	44	31	1	294
Census of 4 counties -	474	473	470	398	136	—	1,951	473	550	530	390	184	3	2,130
Increase of Worcester and Barnstable in 10 years - -	74	45	42	63	17	—4	237	66	30	53	53	36	—1	237
Census of Worcester and Barnstable in 1840 - -	120	134	89	87	49	—	479	128	139	100	97	67	—	531
Census of 6 counties in 1840 - -	661	811	1,213	694	207	3	3,589	650	782	672	555	286	1	2,946
Census of Worcester and Barnstable in 1840 - -	120	134	89	87	49	—	479	128	139	100	97	67	—	531
Census of 4 counties in 1840 - -	541	677	1,124	607	158	3	3,110	522	643	572	458	219	1	2,415
Census of 4 counties in 1830 - -	474	473	470	398	136	—	1,951	473	550	530	390	184	3	2,130
Increase of 4 counties in 10 years	67	204	654	209	22	3	1,159	49	93	42	68	35	—2	285

TABLE IX.—*Exhibiting a comparative view of the colored population of the four counties of Suffolk, Berkshire, Bristol, and Nantucket, from 1830 to 1840.**

	MALES.							FEMALES.							
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 35.	35 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 35.	35 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	Total.
Census of 4 counties in 1830 - -	474	473	470	398	136	—	1,951	473	550	530	390	184	3	2,130	4,081
Increase of 4 counties in 10 years - -	67	204	654	209	22	3	1,159	49	93	42	68	35	—2	285	1,444
Census of 4 counties in 1840 - -	541	677	1,124	607	158	3	3,110	522	643	572	458	219	1	2,415	5,525
Census of Berkshire and Bristol in 1830 - -	274	259	187	163	66	—	949	348	251	208	158	103	2	970	1,919
Increase of Berkshire and Bristol in 10 years - -	26	61	167	43	32	2	331	41	78	61	53	27	—1	259	590
Census of Berkshire and Bristol in 1840 - -	300	320	354	206	98	2	1,380	389	329	269	211	130	1	1,229	2,609
Census of Suffolk & Nantucket in 1830 - -	200	214	223	235	70	—	1,002	225	299	322	232	81	1	1,160	2,162
Increase of Suffolk & Nantucket in 10 years - -	41	143	427	166	—10	1	828	8	15	—19	15	8	—1	26	854
Census of Suffolk & Nantucket in 1840 - -	241	357	770	401	60	1	1,830	233	314	303	247	89	—	1,186	3,016

* EDITORIAL NOTE.—We trust no person will be deterred from a careful examination of this and the preceding and following tables. They are not mere dry calculation, but contain unanswerable argument. We have given up nearly the whole of the present number to this very able and interesting article, and we are sure that our readers will not fail to give it a careful perusal. It is not an article to be merely read; it ought to be *studied*; its various bearings duly considered, its moral lessons treasured up. It is replete with instruction. It bears upon its face the marks of a peculiar genius as its author. There is perhaps only one man in a generation who would or could prepare such an article. On this account, we have the pleasure of assuring our readers that they will find in its construction and mode of argument, something entirely original and unique!

We should like to know what the *intelligent* colored people of Massachusetts will say when they have read it. Will some one of them tell us what conclusions it forces upon them? What line of conduct it points out to them, as indispensable, to secure the welfare of themselves and their race?

TABLE X—*Exhibiting a comparative view of the colored population of the counties of Suffolk and Nantucket, with those of the other twelve counties, from 1830 to 1840.*

	MALES.							FEMALES.							
	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 35.	35 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total males.	Under 10 years.	10 and under 24.	24 and under 35.	35 and under 55.	55 and under 100.	100 and upwards.	Total females.	Total.
Increase of 14 counties in 10 years	114	230	719	245	—10	—4	1,394	91	92	52	110	23	—38	330	1,694
Increase of 12 counties	73	87	232	79	—	—5	466	83	77	71	95	15	—37	304	770
Increase of Suffolk & Nantucket	41	143	487	166	—10	1	828	8	15	—19	15	8	—1	26	654
Census of 14 counties in 1830 - -	794	889	725	626	316	10	3,360	809	965	816	661	394	40	3,685	7,045
Census of Suffolk & Nantucket in 1830 - -	200	214	283	235	70	—	1,002	225	299	322	232	81	1	1,160	2,162
Census of 12 counties in 1830 - -	594	675	442	391	246	10	2,358	584	666	494	429	313	39	2,525	4,883
Census of 14 counties in 1840 - -	908	1,119	1,444	871	306	6	4,654	900	1,057	868	771	417	2	4,015	8,669
Census of Suffolk & Nantucket in 1840 - -	341	357	770	401	60	1	1,830	333	314	303	247	89	—	1,185	3,016
Census of 12 counties in 1840 - -	667	762	674	470	246	5	2,824	667	743	565	524	328	2	2,899	5,633

TABLE XI.—Exhibiting a summary of the censuses of the colored population, from 1765 to 1840, by counties, together with the increase during each period; the number of each sex in the last three censuses, and the proportions of the colored to the white population, in 1765, 1790, and 1840, the decrease being marked thus —.

Counties.	Census, 1765.	Increase in 25 years.	Census, 1790.	Increase in 10 years.	Census, 1810.	Increase in 10 years.	Census, 1830, males.	Census, 1830, females.	Census, 1830, total.	Increase in 10 years.	Census, 1830, males.	Census, 1830, females.	Census, 1840, males.	Census, 1840, females.	Census, 1840, total.	Increase in 75 years, from 1765 to 1840.	Increase in 50 years, from 1790 to 1840.	Proportion of the colored to the white population in 1765.	Proportion of the colored to the white population in 1790.	Proportion of the colored to the white population in 1840.
Suffolk	891	104	787	407	1,194	290	774	592	1,266	157	870	1,013	1,407	1,001	2,408	1,547	1,651	16.93	22.57	38.39
Essex	1,051	171	890	305	1,464	293	328	327	655	133	242	290	293	274	567	1,544	1,651	40.41	64.81	186.35
Middlesex	910	213	597	137	374	41	213	203	415	103	103	254	285	208	493	417	104	37.39	70.58	215.24
Worcester	317	92	409	81	490	22	207	220	427	89	164	214	205	201	405	293	104	106.78	137.69	185.34
Hampshire	692	64	136	93	219	14	104	112	216	7	113	110	106	95	207	109	75	102.69	148.38	152.72
Hampden	113	33	943	28	215	88	106	140	206	41	174	173	152	100	313	580	69	79.54	77.99	118.68
Franklin	137	53	823	33	98	37	77	58	135	56	85	106	53	38	88	88	6	205.86	260.96	336.40
Berkshire	137	186	323	171	494	159	427	435	862	129	484	597	654	694	1,278	1,141	955	81.52	92.53	31.61
Norfolk	420	177	943	82	326	70	136	131	267	58	69	100	63	97	160	960	83	41.10	97.26	331.12
Bristol	590	61	529	28	501	81	378	430	798	120	465	463	303	695	1,231	880	502	52.11	42.49	47.87
Plymouth	253	139	372	109	263	27	198	190	388	53	194	217	101	192	353	237	176	42.65	59.00	133.20
Barnstable	46	13	373	169	262	46	97	97	197	13	78	90	218	219	437	204	85	52.11	45.85	73.48
Dukes	—	—	110	118	928	72	300	115	247	32	132	147	423	155	578	578	408	50.00	97.23	106.90
Nantucket	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41.00	14.59
Increase per cent.	5.199	264	5,463	969	6,452	285	3,308	2,432	6,740	305	3,300	3,085	4,654	4,015	8,669	3,470	3,206	45.96	68.33	84.09
	—	5.07	—	18.10	—	4.41	—	—	—	4.52	—	—	—	—	—	66.74	58.66	—	—	—

Report of Rev. J. B. Pinney's tour in New England.

WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT,

August 11th, 1845.

REV. WM. McLAIN:—*Dear Sir:* Your letter from the Valley met me at Hanover and was cheering. A day or two since I received a copy of the *African Repository*, (August number,) and must most heartily thank you for the excellent articles with which it abounds. Indeed I think the July and August numbers among the very best ever issued. The good tidings from Mr. Waldo, of Massachusetts, came at a most opportune season, and I hope his example will be effective on many who have property to dispose of at their death.

My tour through New England was not as productive of immediate results as I anticipated; owing, first, to a want of suitable plan and previous notices, and still more to the fact that the *State Agents* were expected to call, and this was made an excuse for putting off collections.

I have, however, delivered many addresses to large audiences, and trust no little renewal of confidence will be the result. The following is a brief synopsis of my summer tour:

From Philadelphia to Guilford, employed two days, and I rested there one Sabbath, leaving my wife and Agnes. I then by public conveyance hastened to Boston to the Anniversary meeting. No arrangements had been made for any but the *one* meeting, and the whole week was thus used up in idleness, except my activity in Marlboro' Chapel in opposition to the infidel Abolitionism of that place.

On Saturday, I proceeded to Concord, New Hampshire, according to previous arrangements, where I preached on Sabbath, in the South Church, and lectured three times on colonization, assisting in the reorgani-

zation of the State Society. In Judge Upham, I found a warm and active friend of our cause, in whose family I was hospitably entertained nearly a week.

On Wednesday, he accompanied me to Manchester, and aided in making arrangements for a lecture there on my way Friday. In both of those places I received some little aid, and in Manchester was informed that a society should be formed. On Saturday I returned to Hartford, Connecticut, and improved the Sabbath in a sermon, in Dr. Hawe's church, which, on the subsequent Monday, was succeeded by a lecture on colonization. Brother Gallaudett and Mr. Hosmer, seemed to rejoice that so much had been yielded, as to secure an audience from Dr. H.'s congregation, with his consent.

My wife came on from Guilford, and met me there, and owing to her ill health and desire to secure the medical advice of an old friend, Dr. Pierson, of Windsor, I was detained from meeting my intended visits to N. London and Norwich, the preceding Sabbath. I am happy to say that the prescriptions then received have had a most beneficial effect, and a terrible erysipelas is almost cured.

The next Tuesday, June 17th, I met the General Association of Connecticut, and after two days' stay there, obtained an audience of *five minutes*. This was owing to the protracted debate on abolitionism, which occupied a whole day, and even this was objected to by a zealous young abolitionist by the name of Birney: a poor commentary, I thought, on their boasted love of freedom of speech.

The following week I met the General Association of Mass., and addressed them about ten minutes. In both of these cases I have no doubt good was done in a double way—let,

by keeping colonization in its class among the objects of Christian benevolence—2d, diffusing some encouraging information among a large class of influential men.

Between these two meetings, I spent the Sabbath at N. London, and gave two or three lectures with apparent acceptance. Rev. Mr. Norton was there for the Evangelical society, and had the field before me. So I had the experience of the scriptural blessing—"it is more blessed to give than to receive!" From the Massachusetts General Assembly, I proceeded to spend the Sabbath at Lowell, where I obtained access to the pulpit of the three Orthodox Congregational churches, and lectured in the City Hall on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. This was on the eve of July 4th, and raining at that; so that several causes operated to thin my audience.

On Monday I went to Andover; at 2 P. M. addressed the theological students, and 7 P. M. the citizens and others in the church. I was most cordially received by Dr. Woods, and the faculty generally, and especially by our long tried friend S. Fletcher, Esq., Treasurer of the Seminary, formerly of Concord, N. Hampshire.

Friday, the 4th July, I made an address in the Central church Boston, according to an arrangement previously made with Mr. Tracy. Saturday, I made out a series of appointments for the next week, and agreed with Dr. Woods to go as far east as Bangor. He undertaking to send appointments for a week in Maine.

The Sabbath was passed at Newburyport, and with access to nearly all the Congregational churches, and one of the Methodist. Monday afternoon I met the Ladies' Annual Meeting, and in the evening lectured to not a large audience in the City Hall.

Our friend, Wm. Caldwell, Esq.,

formerly of N. Orleans, undertook to raise \$200; and the ladies felt encouraged to undertake more than they accomplished last year. Tuesday evening I lectured in Exeter; Monday, in Portsmouth; Friday, in Dover; and on Saturday, proceeded to Portland, Maine, where I made successful arrangements for the Sabbath; preaching for Rev. Mr. Dwight, in the morning, and on African missions for Rev. Mr. Chickering and Condit, afternoon and evening. Monday evening I lectured in the Town Hall, and had the satisfaction of seeing considerable interest excited. By the Christian Mirror of that week, a copy of which I send with this, you will see the course of my argument.

Tuesday evening I went to Bowdoin College, Brunswick, and lectured to a large audience. President Woods, had, however, been so busily occupied that no farther arrangements were made for Bath, Augusta, and Bangor, as I had arranged to have provided. I therefore returned and spent the week and following Sabbath lecturing in Portland, and as a result, I sent you word that the ladies of Mr. Chickering's church had constituted him a life member of the American Col. Society. The next week, the ladies of brother Condit's church constituted him a life member. Besides this, through the active efforts of our decided friend, Mr. Eben Steel, more than a hundred and thirty dollars were secured, as you will perceive in my acknowledgment. (I neglected to say that at Andover, Mass., the Professors and a few citizens made up a sum of one hundred dollars for our cause.)

After leaving Portland, I rusticated a week on my way to commencement at Dartmouth College, Hanover, and breathed the pure air of Mount Washington. On my arrival at Hanover, the place seemed beset with excitements. Kendall's Brass Band from Boston—levees, tea-parties, Ole Bull,

and the menagerie, were too much for a poor colonization agent; nevertheless, by driving my old horse 77 miles one day, I arrived in season to get one lecture to a good audience on Tuesday evening, and had opportunity of conversation with many gentlemen from various portions of New England.

I sent an appointment for a lecture to Lebanon and Windsor, but owing to adverse causes, no provisions were made and no house lighted. On arriving at Windsor, I decided, as no other appointment was out until Sabbath at Keen, that I would stay a day and hold a meeting. The Court House contained a fine audience, and I doubt not some aid will reach you from there. Saturday I proceeded to Keen, and in brother Barstow's church, at 5½ P. M., Sabbath, lectured a large audience collected from all the congregations. Brother B., for many years our unwavering friend, will, I think, feel that the way is now opened for him to proceed with his annual collections.

Monday evening I lectured at Warwick, Mass.—Tuesday evening at Amherst—on Wednesday evening I proceeded to Northampton, but found no notice of a lecture. Thursday evening, lectured in Springfield, and had the gratification of hearing from one of our warmest friends, that we might depend on \$500 from him,

he hoped, before the close of 1846. The ladies are now busily at work preparing for a fair. You will perceive that though on a furlough, I have made the summer one of hard work. On one Sabbath in Lowell, I addressed *three* Sabbath schools, and preached *three* Sermons—the next Sabbath, in Newburyport, I addressed the Sabbath schools, and preached four times; and the next Sabbath, at Portland, I preached three times, and addressed one Sabbath school. A large portion of my time has been spent in addressing special audiences, not for money, but as a seed of truth and influence. Thus at the anniversary week in Boston, Concord, General Association of Connecticut and Massachusetts, Bowdoin College, Andover Theological Seminary, Dartmouth College, Amherst College, 4th July, Boston, &c., &c.

I allude to these facts to explain my comparatively small collections. Much, too, has been promised, which I have not received, and which, either directly or indirectly, will, I trust, reach you. I expect to spend a week here, and then ten days in Guilford, and be prepared by September 1st to start for the winter tour south. Let me hear from you at Guilford, and, until then, adieu.

Yours truly,
J. B. PINNEY.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

Great Britain and Liberia.

We have already expressed the opinion that Liberia is entitled by the law of nature and nations, to be regarded as a sovereign and independent political State; but not as yet has she been so acknowledged by any nation—not even by our own. A small community of enterprising free colored men from the United States have emigrated to Western

Africa, purchased an eligible and somewhat extended territory, organized themselves into a Republican government, and are earnestly engaged in improving their condition, by the various methods and employments of a civilized people. They are particularly intent upon making new acquisitions of territory, and upon increasing their commerce, and

enlarging the bounds of their political authority. They occupy a region of coast which has been the resort of merchants and traders of many nations, for long periods, and especially along which the English have, for an indefinite period, prosecuted, with various tribes, a commerce of very considerable value. Such being the case, it is not at all strange that occasional difficulties should arise between old English traders, claiming the rights of free traffic at certain points on the ground of ancient concessions from native African chiefs, and the Liberian government, claiming jurisdiction over districts embracing the same points. Whether the English Commander, Jones, in his letter to Governor Roberts, intended to object to the exaction of import duties from British vessels at these points *only*, (for he says, "these observations have a particular reference to the disputes at Grand Bassa,") or whether he intended to make the objection general, applying to all parts of the colony, is not quite clear to our minds. The latter, however, appears to have been the interpretation put upon his language by the Liberian government, and also by the writer of the very interesting letter which we subjoin. If this interpretation is correct—if British traders are henceforth to be sustained in refusing the payment of duties to the colony—we readily concede that it is a measure of great and unnecessary severity, however it may be justified by the law of nations. At the same time it is to be noted, that the colonial government is courteously invited to represent its character, views and wishes, to the government of Her Majesty; in other words, if we rightly understand the language, to enter upon negotiations for the adjustment of all existing difficulties between Her Majesty's subjects and the colony. It is hardly to be expected that the sovereignty and independence of

Liberia as a State, will be fully acknowledged by any nation, until its true character shall be *officially* made known to such nation, and this acknowledgement duly and properly sought. And whatever may be the just interpretation, or real object, of the letter of Commander Jones, it is perfectly clear that the remedy for the evils of the present controversies with British subjects is to be secured by the prosecution, on the part of the government of Liberia, of wise and vigorous measures to obtain from England and other countries a full recognition of all its rights as a free and independent State. Mr. Wheaton, in his work on the law of nations, says:

"This question (of National Independence) must be determined by the sovereign legislative or executive power of these other states, and not by any subordinate authority, or by the private judgment of these individual subjects. *Until the independence of the new State has been acknowledged, either by the Foreign State, where its sovereignty is drawn in question, or by the Government of the country of which it was before a Province, courts of justice and private individuals are bound to consider the ancient state of things as remaining unaltered.*"

It may be that the John Seys was seized in the way of reprisal for the taking of property or exacting of fines from British subjects refusing to pay port charges at Grand Bassa, on the grounds of a right of free trade to that point obtained before the establishment of the colony; or what is quite as probable (and which, we are told by one who was on the coast at the time, was the fact,) that she was captured by a subordinate British officer newly arrived on the coast, and of course with little experience of his duties, as a vessel suspected of being concerned in the slave trade. It may be that the seizure is to be

viewed as connected with the difficulties at Grand Bassa alone. But on this point we must be content to wait for further developments.

The claim of the Liberians to sovereign rights and authority, is not based mainly upon the purchase of territory by the Colonization Society, nor derived from that Society, but on this fact, that as a community living on their own soil, no other nation having the right or exercising the right of government over them, they *claim, from obvious necessity as well as propriety, and exercise the right of self-government.* They are a political body, well organized, with good laws, tribunals of justice, sanctioned and sanctified by the recognised and venerated worship and institutions of Christianity.

There is, then, an open and plain path for the government of Liberia, and for those who seek its permanency and prosperity. Let Liberia, by a solemn and formal act, announce her independence. Let the American Colonization Society respond unequivocally to such annunciation. Let the documents, duly certified of this proceeding, be presented to the British, as well as to other governments. Let our own Executive follow up the negotiations so well commenced, to obtain from Great Britain and other European powers, a just and friendly recognition of the rights, and interest in the advancement of the settlements of Liberia.

We are aware of difficulties in the way of any positive and decided action on this subject by our own Government, yet while the independence of Liberia is only tacitly and not formally recognised, the Government of this Union certainly owes it to itself, to the public sentiment of the country, to the daring and enterprising colored men who have gone forth from this country to build up a new Christian State in Africa, to our commercial interests, and to the cause of

general humanity, to interpose its good offices to secure respect for the rights and interests of the people of Liberia.

We annex the letter above alluded to, from an American gentleman on the coast of Africa. It is dated—

July 5, 1845.

On our arrival at Cape Mesurado, I was informed by the Governor of the capture of the colonial schooner "John Seys" by the boats of a British man-of-war; an account of which you will see in the papers I enclose.

During the administration of Governor Buchanan, the rights of this little community were always respected and acknowledged by the British officers on this station. Mr. Buchanan, besides being Governor, was also United States Agent for recaptured Africans. He was therefore an officer of our government. In official communications addressed to him by the Secretary of the Navy, as also on the floor of Congress, Liberia was called an *United States Agency*. This term was considered by the British government, and their officials, as equivalent to *Colony*.—They considered that Liberia was under the protection of our government, in a mode something similar to the British protection over the Ionian Isles; and that any interference on their part would be noticed by the United States. Hence the respect invariably shown Governor Buchanan, and the colony under his care. The flag was occasionally saluted by British ships of war anchoring at Monrovia, and letters were addressed to Mr. Buchanan by the British authorities at Sierra Leone as *Governor of Liberia*. On the late English charts, published by the authority of the admiralty, "Liberia" is placed in large capitals on its location. A number of small craft had been constructed by the enterprise of the co-

lonists for the purpose of trading along the coast. These vessels were often fallen in with by British cruisers, and their flag always respected. The stripes and cross were as well known along the whole coast from Goree to Cape Palmas, as the stripes and stars; and no attempt was ever made to interfere with their little trading voyages, *so long as it was supposed* that Liberia was a colony or agency of the United States.

In this happy delusion (for the poor emigrants) the British Government remained, until a petition was sent to Congress by the Colonization Society to obtain assistance in their benevolent course. This petition was reported against by a committee of the House of Representatives, in which it is plainly stated, that the Colony of Liberia is altogether a private enterprise; and that however the Government may sympathise with, yet it cannot constitutionally grant it any aid;—that in fact it is unconstitutional to plant colonies beyond the limits of our own territory at home.

Ever since it was observed that Liberia would sustain itself, the British Government has viewed it with a jealous eye. It was too near their own possessions on this coast, and its democratic institutions might and would infect (in time) their own people. So long as it was supposed to be protected by the strong arm of our government, no attempt was made to interfere with its rights and privileges; but the instant it is known that these poor people must look to God alone for support, an order is sent out by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs directing that no port charges, light duty, or tariff, shall be paid by British vessels in any part of the territory claimed by the Colonization Society. It is not to be respected, or treated with more consideration than any of the *savage negro tribes* along the coast. A Brit-

ish officer informs them that they are not an acknowledged nation, therefore have no right to navigate the ocean—not even along their own shores; and their flag cannot and will not be respected. A vessel belonging to one of the colonists has been seized in one of their own ports, and sent to Sierra Leone for adjudication, where she will, without doubt, be condemned, in order to carry out the *magnanimous* views of Lord Aberdeen.

Under these circumstances, what are these people to do? Emigrating from a country where their color is an insurmountable objection to their ever being placed on a level with their fellow beings—after enduring privations and hardships incident to a settlement in a wilderness in a bad climate, surrounded with savages—after having in a measure, overcome not only these difficulties, but one of far more importance, that of learning to provide for themselves against all the disadvantages of ignorance and want of education, *urged to this course by a most respectable part of our people*, to whom can they look for protection but to the United States!

Great Britain professes to be a humane and Christian nation. Have these people no claims upon the magnanimity of that government? They have destroyed the slave trade entirely from Half Cape Mount River to Grand Bassa—the vilest part of the coast for this traffic before their settlement. They have missionaries upwards of seventy miles in the interior, teaching the native children to read and write. Persons educated at this colony are scattered along the coast doing good, (I saw at the Gaboon, in the Gulf of Guinea, a young man *educated at Cape Palmas*, setting type and printing books, under the directions of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, in the Empongui language, the dialect of that country. They have constructed two light-houses,

one at Cape Mesurado and the other at Cape Palmas, for the benefit of vessels passing in the night, for which they can receive nothing—and they are endeavoring to show practically, what British philanthropists desire and believe, that the colored race can be exalted to an equality with the whites.

I strongly suspect that the little trading vessels belonging to the colony interfere with the British merchant; as they can afford to pay better prices for the palm oil, camwood and ivory of the natives. This is one reason why the British government has condescended to notice them. Great Britain certainly deserves credit for her consistency. The policy which governed her counsels two hundred years ago, is still the same. Magnanimity, justice, Christianity itself, are to be sacrificed for the benefit of English traders.

Great Britain has probably another object in view, viz: to prevent an outlet for our free colored population. No matter how degraded they may be, they must remain to scatter the seeds of discord in our southern States, and, if possible, weaken our Union.

Under these circumstances, is it not our duty as a nation to devise some mode to sustain this colony, *free from constitutional objections?*

On my arrival again on this station, I was gratified to see that the colony had considerably improved. Since my last voyage, they had constructed a fine building for a State House at Monrovia, and several substantial brick tenements are going up to supply the place of wooden ones. The people appear satisfied with their situation, and the climate is either improving, or their constitutions are less susceptible to its deleterious influences. They are respected not only by the tribes in their vicinity, but those situated many miles in the interior; with whom they keep up an intercourse through their missionaries; and if they are not molested by foreign powers, contemptible as they may appear to those who look upon them as the "servants of servants," they possess the germ of self-government and pure Christianity, which in time will become a "great tree," and spread its branches over a large portion of this benighted region.

I hope the serious attention of the Colonization Society may be called to this subject. Among its members are men of the first talent and respectability in the country; and I feel convinced, if proper exertions are made, this last hope of the colored race on the two continents may be saved.

Yours, &c.

Liberia and the British.

In another column will be found some additional remarks from the Journal of Commerce touching this subject; and also a letter from an American gentleman on the coast of Africa, not in any way connected with Liberia, and therefore writing on his own responsibility to his friend in New York, but at the same time showing an intimate acquaintance with the operations of the British on that coast, and a just understanding of the character and rights of

Liberia. We would call the particular attention of our readers to his statements. It is difficult for us, with all the information we can gain on the subject, to ascertain precisely what the British want. They manifestly are not satisfied with the present position of affairs on the western coast of Africa. They are not satisfied with the present relations of Liberia to the American Colonization Society. They are not satisfied with the government

which it is exercising over the territory which it has purchased of the native tribes. All this is very manifest. The letter of Commander Jones abundantly proves it.—The conversation of Capt. Buckle with Gov. Roberts asserts the same thing. But farther than this, they do not condescend to inform us. What do they want? What alteration would they have in the constitution and government of Liberia? Do they imagine, that if the present relation of Liberia to the American Colonization Society is dissolved, that the colonists will give up their right to control their own territory? Do they imagine, that then, they can land their goods and pay no duties? We should think not. Surely they have not so read the colonists. Their laws and their jurisdiction are not for the benefit of the *Society*, but for *their own* benefit. And if the patronage of the Society is withdrawn, which now helps them to support their government, there will be a necessity for them to demand higher *duties*, in order to make up the deficiencies and enable them to defray all the expenses of their commonwealth. If the Society ceases to pay the salary of the Governor, &c., they must pay it, and their taxes and impost duties must be increased in order to meet the demand. Do the British know this? Do they imagine that the colony thrown upon its own resources would be unable to meet all the demands made upon it; that it would need aid from some other quarter—and are they anxious to have it so, that they may enjoy the pleasure of extending to it their own *magnificent charities*?

It is not for a moment to be thought that if the colony is made *independent* of the *Society*, it will check the feeling of interest now cherished for colonization in this country. It is well known, that from the first, it has been the settled policy of the Society, to place the colored man in circumstances the most conducive to the development of his natural faculties and the elevation of his character: to invest him with all the responsibilities and immunities of his government, and the maintenance

of the institutions of religion and education. The Society has retained the power of appointing the Governor, but the Lieutenant Governor has been elected by the citizens of the commonwealth, together with all the other officers. The Society has also retained a *veto* power over the acts of the Council, but for years it has not been exercised even in a single instance. They have enacted whatever laws they thought necessary to their welfare, and they have always been so wise and judicious as to meet the entire approval of the Society; their laws are their own—the offspring of their own judgment and discretion—their government is their own, and their rights and privileges ought to be their own, without molestation or interference from any external power or cause.

Now of what advantage can it be to the British to have this connection between the Society and Liberia dissolved? What possible objection can they have to its continuance? Does it infringe upon their rights? Does it prevent them from exerting all their power to suppress the slave trade? Does it interfere with the exercise of any of their benevolent designs to the colored race? Does it prevent the growth and retard the welfare of Liberia in such a manner as to be a grief to them? If not, what advantage do they expect to gain by having the Society and the Commonwealth of Liberia separated? What possible object then have they in waging a warfare against the present organization of the Liberian government? A friend of ours has suggested as a *possible* idea, that the British understand the bearing which Liberia has upon the trade of the western coast of Africa; that the present organization of its government and connection with the Society will cause the greater part of that trade to flow into the United States, and this it is which excites the British opposition! There may be some truth in this suggestion. But we do not assert it. Nor do we pretend to know what reasonable ground the British have for their injustice to Liberia.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 18th August, to the 23d September, 1845.

MAINE.

By Rev. J. B. Pinney :
Portland—A friend, \$50, E. Steel,
 \$25, Ladies of High st. Church,
 to constitute their pastor a life
 member of the A. C. S., \$30,
 From several gentlemen of High
 st. Church, \$50, Mr. John Fox,
 \$5, Mr. Case, \$5, Ladies of the
 Rev. J. B. Condit's Church, to
 constitute their pastor a life
 member of the A. C. S., \$32,
 A friend, 50 cts. 197 50
Brunswick—Professor Upham.... 5 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Deacon Samuel Tracy :
Bath—C. C. Hutchens, \$1 50, Z.
 Newell, \$2..... 3 50
Hanover—Deacon S. Long, \$1, J.
 Freeman, \$2, Dr. D. Crosby,
 towards life-membership \$3... 6 00
Lyme—Beza Latham, (2d instal-
 ment on life-membership,) \$10,
 Asa Shaw, \$1, Hon. D. C.
 Churchill, \$3..... 14 00
Plymouth—Mrs. M. G. Bradly,
 \$3 50, D. W. Russell, \$5.... 8 50
Manchester—J. A. Burnham, (3d
 payment on life-membership)
 \$5, J. Thompkins, \$1 50..... 6 50
Chester—Hon. S. Bell, (2d pay-
 ment on life-membership,) \$5,
 Mrs. R. Tenney, \$1, Wm. Ten-
 ney, \$1, Thos. J. Melvin, \$2,
 E. Orcott, 50 cts..... 9 50
Hooksett—R. H. Ayer..... 5 00
Henniker—Abel Conner, (last in-
 stalment on life-membership,) 5 00
Newport—Col. Society..... 1 00
Portsmouth—D. Libbey, \$1 50,
 Rufus Kittredge, \$10, Rebecca
 Kittredge, \$10..... 21 50
Concord—Female Liberian Asso-
 ciation, by Mrs. Lydia Morrell,
 Treasurer, \$15. By J. B. Pin-
 ney—collection, \$6 37½, Hon.
 N. H. Upham, \$12, Gov. J. H.
 Steel, Rev. D. J. Noyes, each
 \$5, G. Hutchins, Abel Walker,
 each \$2, L. H., D. L. Morrell,
 cash, Rev. Abraham Burnham,
 Franklin Evans, each \$1, N.
 Evans, cash, each 50 cts., A.
 Fletcher, \$1..... 39 37
Manchester—Collection..... 11 80
Exeter..... 1 45
Dover..... 15 00
Hollis—Rev. Jos. Emerson..... 5 00
Hanover—Dr. —..... 5 00

158 12

VERMONT.

By Deacon Samuel Tracy :
East Fairlee—A. H. Gillmore.... 1 00
Wells River—W. S. Holt..... 50
Hardwick—L. H. Deleno, \$3 50,
 Deacon Daniel French, \$2.... 5 50
Greensboro'—A friend..... 1 00
Ivesburg—Rev. J. Johnson, \$1,
 Geo. C. West, \$1..... 2 00
Barton—J. H. Kimball, Esq.... 1 00
Coventry—Deacon E. M. Gray, 50
 cts., Hon. E. Cleveland, \$3 50,
 Deacon Frost, 25 cts., Rev. A.
 R. Gray, \$2..... 6 25
Sheldon—Jacob Wead..... 1 00
St. Albans—N. W. Kingman, \$5,
 Henry Seymour, \$3..... 8 00
Westford—Artemas Allen, \$1,
 J. Allen, 50 cts., M. Osgood,
 \$3 50, C. Osgood, \$1, M. Os-
 good, jr., \$1, A. Osgood, \$1,
 Wm. Henry, 50 cts..... 8 50
Burlington—Prof. G. W. Benedict,
 by J. K. Davis..... 10 00
Middletown—Female Col. Society 30 00

74 75

MASSACHUSETTS.

By Rev. J. B. Pinney :
Lowell—Jacob Robbins, P. M.,
 T. French, Geo. Carlton, O. G.
 Whipple, each \$5, Mr. Crosby,
 cash, each \$1, H. Bartlett, \$3. 25 00
Andover—Rev. L. Woods, D. D.,
 Prof. B. B. Edwards, each
 \$12 50, S. Farewell, L. H. Tay-
 lor, E. A. Parke, M. Stewart,
 R. Emerson, M. Newman, A.
 Abbott, B. Punchard, each \$3,
 S. Fletcher, Esq., \$16, N. Swift,
 W. H. Wardwell, R. D. C. Rob-
 bins, each \$2, Dr. Sanborne,
 \$3, cash, David Kidder, J. R.
 Whitmore, A. N. Parke, R. S.
 Stoops, jr., each \$1..... 95 00
Boston—O. Everett..... 25 00
Amherst—Rev. Lyman Colman, L.
 Sweetzer, Deacon D. Mack,
 John Borland, each \$5, Wm.
 Cutler, Edward Dickerson, Esq.,
 John M. Brewster, each \$1, S.
 Tyler, and E. S. Snell, each \$2. 27 00

172 00

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence—Rev. M. Tucker, by
 John K. Davis..... 5 00

CONNECTICUT.

Rev. J. B. Pinney :
Windsor—Mrs. N. Pierson, \$5,
 Dr. W. Pierson, \$1..... 6 00
Guilford—"A mother in Israel," 5 00
Hartford—James Hosmer..... 100 00

New London—Collection..... 6 00
117 00

NEW YORK.

Albany—4th July collection in 2d
Presbyterian Church, by the
Rev. Dr. Sprague, forwarded
by A. McIntire, Esq..... 124 92
Watertown—Rev. James K. Boyd, 5 00
Sag Harbor, (L. I.)—Collection
in Rev. J. A. Copp's Church.. 71 00
200 92

NEW JERSEY.

Pitts Grove—Ladies' Aux. Col.
Society, \$10, 4th July collection
\$10, by Rev. Geo. N. Janvier. 20 00
By Rev. Samuel Cornelius:
Jersey City—D. Henderson, \$30,
Mrs. E. Gautier, \$5, Dr. Gautier,
\$10, Mr. McMartin, \$10, Mr.
Miller, \$10..... 65 00
Hightstown—Collection in Baptist
Church..... 6 12
Gloucester Co.—J. L. Potter.... 20 00

Newark—Isaac Baldwin, Horace
Baldwin, Hon. Wm. Wright, J.
B. Pinneo, Dr. L. A. Smith, \$10
each, Samuel Meeker, \$5, J.
C. Quimby, R. B. Campfield,
John Gardiner, S. Baldwin, each
\$1, Dr. Condict, J. C. Garth-
waite, Hanford Smith, James
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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER, 1846.

[No. 11.]

Memoir of Benjamin Banneker.

Memoir of Benjamin Banneker, read before the Maryland Historical Society at the monthly meeting, May 1, 1845, by John H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

A FEW words may be necessary to explain why a memoir of a free man of color, formerly a resident of Maryland, is deemed of sufficient interest to be presented to the Historical Society.

There are no questions relating to our country of more interest than those connected with her colored population: an interest which has been increasing, year after year, until it has acquired its present absorbing character. Time and space prohibit an inquiry into the causes of this. It is sufficient to state the fact. The presence of this population in the states where slavery exists modifies their institutions in important particulars, and affects, in a greater or less degree, the character of the dominant race. For this reason alone, the memoir of a colored man who has distinguished himself in an abstruse science, by birth a Marylander, claims consideration from those who have associated to collect and preserve facts and records relating to the men and deeds of the past. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has, no doubt, careful-

ly gathered all that could be obtained to illustrate the life and scientific character of Rittenhouse. In presenting to the Historical Society of Maryland a memoir of Banneker, the little that is known of one who followed, under every disadvantage, in the footsteps of the philosopher of our sister state, is collected and preserved.

There is another reason why this memoir is appropriate. Maryland is the only state in the union that has clearly indicated her policy in regard to her colored population. She looks to their gradual and voluntary removal as the only means of solving the difficult problem which their presence involves. To aid in this removal, she appropriated, in 1831, the large sum of \$200,000; not in the expectation that this sum would transport them all from this country to Africa; but that, by means of it, a community of free men, capable of self-support and self-government, might be established there, that would be so attractive ultimately to the colored people here, as to produce an emigration, at the proper cost of the emigrants themselves, based on the same motives, and as great in amount as the emigration from Europe to America. This policy and its results must enter

largely into the history of Maryland. Its success must mainly depend upon the ability and skill of the emigrants to found such a nation as will accomplish the end in view; and this in its turn depends on the oft-mooted question as to the comparative intellect of the two races, the white and the colored. To decide this, facts are important; and not one more conclusive exists than the abilities and character of Benjamin Banneker.

Whether, therefore, as a matter of mere curiosity only, or as a fact from which important inferences for present action are to be drawn, a memoir of the individual in question should possess interest for our association.

Benjamin Banneker was born in Baltimore County, near the village of Ellicott's Mills, in the year 1732. His father was a native African, and his mother the child of natives of Africa; so that to no admixture of the blood of the white man was he indebted for his peculiar and extraordinary abilities. His father was a slave when he married; but his wife, who was a free woman and possessed of great energy and industry, very soon afterwards purchased his freedom. Banneker's mother was named Morton before her marriage, and belonged to a family remarkable for its intelligence.

Upwards of 70, she was still very intelligent; it is remembered of her, at an advanced age she was engaged in catching her child when walking by running them down. A person of some note, notwithstanding his complexion. Prior to 1809, free people of color, possessed of a certain property qualification, voted in Maryland. In this year a law was passed restricting the right of voting to free white males. Morton was ignorant of the law till he offered

to vote at the polls in Baltimore County; and it is said that when his vote was refused, he addressed a crowd in a strain of true and ionate eloquence, which kept audience, that the election had been made for him, in breathless attention while he spoke.

The joint labor of the elder Banneker and his wife enabled them to purchase a small farm, which continued after their death in the possession of their son. The farm was a tract of one hundred acres, the part of a larger tract called "Stout," and was conveyed by Richard Gist to Robert Bannaky, as the name was then spelt, and Benjamin Bannaky, his son, (who was then but five years old,) on the 10th March, 1737, for the consideration of 7,000 lbs. of

tobacco. At the date of Banneker's birth, his parents, although within ten miles of Baltimore, lived almost in a wilderness. In 1727, five years before, the site of Baltimore was the property of John Flemming, on which, in that year, the legislature authorized a town to be laid out. The survey of this town, in 1754, with which we are all familiar, does not exhibit more than twenty houses, straggling over the eminences on the right bank of Jones' Falls. In 1740, Baltimore had been surrounded with a board fence to protect it against the Indians. All this is proper to be remembered, in order that the difficulties against which Banneker had to struggle may be fairly understood. In 1732, Elkridge Landing was of more consequence than Baltimore.

When Benjamin was old enough he was employed to assist his parents in their labor. This was at an early age, when his destiny seemed nothing better than that of a child of poor and ignorant free negroes, occupying a few acres of land in a thinly peopled country, which,

certainly, at this day, is not of very brilliant promise, and which at the time in question, must have been gloomy enough. In the intervals of toil, and when he was approaching or had attained, manhood, he was sent to an obscure and distant country school, which he attended until he had acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, and had advanced in arithmetic as far as "Double Position." In all matters beyond these rudiments of learning he was his own instructor. On leaving school he was obliged to labor for years, almost uninterruptedly, for his support. But his memory being retentive, he lost nothing of the little education he had acquired. On the contrary, although utterly destitute of books, he amplified and improved his stock of arithmetical knowledge by the operation of his mind alone. He was an acute observer of every thing that he saw, or which took place around him in the natural world, and he sought with avidity information from all sources of what was going forward in society; so that he became gradually possessed of a fund of general knowledge, which it was difficult to find among those even who were far more favored by opportunity and circumstances than he was. At first his information was a subject of remark and wonder among his illiterate neighbors only; but by degrees the reputation of it spread through a wider circle; and Benjamin Banneker, still a young man, came to be thought of as one who could not only perform all the operations of mental arithmetic with extraordinary facility, but exercise a sound and discriminating judgment upon men and things. It was at this time, when he was about thirty years of age, that he contrived and made a clock, which proved an excellent time-piece. He had seen a watch, but not a clock, such an article not

yet having found its way into the quiet and secluded valley in which he lived. The watch was therefore his model. It took him a good while to accomplish this feat; his great difficulty, as he often used to say, being to make the hour, minute and second hands correspond in their motion. But the clock was finished at last, and raised still higher the credit of Banneker in his neighborhood as an ingenious man, as well as a good arithmetician.

The making of the clock was an important matter, for it was probably owing to the fame of it, that the Ellicott family, who had just commenced a settlement where Ellicott's Mills now stand, were induced to seek him out. Well educated, and having great aptness for the useful mechanics, they were the men of all others, able to understand and appreciate the character and abilities of Banneker, and they continued during his life his firm and zealous friends.

As already stated, the basis of Banneker's arithmetical knowledge was obtained from the school book into which he had advanced as far as Double Position: but in 1787, Mr. George Ellicott lent him Mayer's Tables, Fergusson's Astronomy and Leadbeater's Lunar Tables. Along with these books were some astronomical instruments. Mr. Ellicott was accidentally prevented from giving Banneker any information as to the use of either books or instruments at the time he lent them: but before he again met him, and the interval was a brief one, Banneker was independent of any instruction, and was already absorbed in the contemplation of the new world which was thus opened to his view. From this time, the study of astronomy became the great object of his life, and for a season he almost disappeared from the sight of his neighbors.

He was unmarried, and was the sole occupant of a cabin on the lot of ground already mentioned. His parents had died at a date which is not remembered; before the period, however, to which we now particularly refer. He was still obliged to labor for his bread; but by contracting his wants he made little serve him, and he thus obtained leisure to devote to his books. His favorite time for study was night, when he could look out upon the planets whose story he was reading, and whose laws he was gradually but surely mastering. During the hours of darkness Banneker was at his labors, and shutting himself up in his house, when not obliged to toil out of doors with his hands, he slept during the day. In this way he lost the reputation for industry which he had acquired in early life; and those who saw but little of him in his field, and who found him sleeping when they visited his house, set him down as a lazy fellow, who would come to no good, and whose old age would disappoint the promise of his youth. There was a season, when this estimate of him by the ignorant among his neighbors, led to attempts to impose on him, and at times gave him serious inconvenience. But as people came to understand him, his character was restored most honorably. A memorandum in his handwriting, dated December 18th, 1790, states "—— informed me that —— stole my horse and great coat, and that the said —— intended to murder me when opportunity presented. —— gave me a caution to let no one come into my house after dark." The names of the parties were originally written in full; but they were afterwards carefully cancelled, as though Banneker had reflected, that it was wrong to leave an unauthenticated assertion on record against an individual, which

it prejudice him, if incorrect, by mere fact that it had been made. Very soon after the possession of books already mentioned had drawn Banneker's attention to astronomy, he determined to compile a manual, that being the most favorable use that occurred to him of the information he had acquired. Of the labor of the work, few of those can furnish an estimate who would at this day commence such a task, with all the assistance afforded by accurate tables and well digested rules. Banneker had no such aid: and it is stated as a well-known fact, that he commenced and had advanced far in the preparation of the logarithms necessary for his purpose, when he was furnished with a set of tables by Mr. George Ellicott. About this time he began the record of his calculations, which is still in existence, and is left with the Society for examination. A memorandum contained in it thus corrected an error in Ferguson's Astronomy: "It appears to me that the wisest of men are at times in error: for instance, Dr. Ferguson informs us that when the sun is within 12° of either node at the time of full, that the moon will be eclipsed: but I find, according to his method of projecting a lunar eclipse, there will be none by the above elements, and yet the sun is within $11^{\circ} 46' 11''$ of the moon's ascending node. But the moon being in her apogee prevents the appearance of this eclipse." Another memorandum makes the following corrections: "Errors that ought to be corrected in my Astronomical Tables are these—2d vol. Le Debeater, p. 204, when the anomaly is $4^{\circ} 30'$, the equation $3^{\circ} 30' 41''$ ought to have been $3^{\circ} 28' 41''$. In the equation, page 155, the logarithm of 1.1186 ought to have been 1.1186, and the place from the index, or that is, from the

time that his anomaly is $3^{\circ} 24'$ until it is $4^{\circ} 0'$." Both Fergusson and Leadbeater would probably have looked incredulous, had they been informed that their labored works had been reviewed and corrected by a free negro in the then almost unheard of valley of the Patapsco. The first almanac which Banneker prepared, fit for publication, was for the year 1792. By this time his acquirements had become generally known, and among others who took an interest in him was James McHenry, Esq. Mr. McHenry wrote a letter to Goddard and Angell, then the almanac publishers in Baltimore, which was probably the means of procuring the publication of the first almanac. It contains a short account of Banneker, and is inserted as the most appropriate preface that could have been furnished for the work. Mr. McHenry's letter does equal honor to his heart and understanding. A copy of the almanac is presented herewith to the Society, in the name of Mrs. Ellicott, the widow of George Ellicott, Banneker's steadfast friend.

In their editorial notice, Messrs. Goddard and Angell say, "they feel gratified in the opportunity of presenting to the public, through their press, what must be considered as an extraordinary effort of genius—a complete and accurate Ephemeris for the year 1792, calculated by a sable descendant of Africa," &c. And they further say, that "they flatter themselves that a philanthropic public, in this enlightened era, will be induced to give their patronage and support to this work, not only on account of its intrinsic merits, (it having met the approbation of several of the most distinguished astronomers of America, particularly the celebrated Mr. Rittenhouse,) but from similar motives to those which induced the editors to give this calculation the preference, the ardent desire of

drawing modest merit from obscurity and controverting the long established illiberal prejudice against the blacks."

The motive alluded to by Goddard and Angell in the extract just quoted, of doing justice to the intellect of the colored race, was a prominent object with Banneker himself; and the only occasions when he overstepped a modesty which was his peculiar characteristic, were when he could, by so doing, "controvert the long established illiberal prejudice against the blacks." We find him, therefore, sending a copy of his first almanac to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State under General Washington, saying in the letter that accompanied it, "although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing."

To the letter from which the above is an extract, and which will be found at length, appended to this memoir, Mr. Jefferson made the following reply:

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
August 30, 1791.

SIR:—I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present

existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it a document to which your whole color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir,
Your most obedient serv't,
THO. JEFFERSON.

MR. BENJAMIN BANNEKER,
Near Ellicott's lower Mills, Baltimore Co.

When he published his first Almanac, Banneker was fifty-nine years old, and had high respect paid to him by all the scientific men of the country, as one whose color did not prevent his belonging to the same class, so far as intellect went, with themselves. After the adoption of the constitution in 1789, commissioners were appointed to run the lines of the District of Columbia, the ten miles square now occupied by the seat of government, and then called the "Federal territory." The commissioners invited Banneker to be present at the runnings, and treated him with much consideration. On his return, he used to say of them, that "they were a very civil set of gentlemen, who had overlooked his complexion on account of his attainments, and had so far honored him as to invite him to be seated at their table; an honor," he added, "which he had thought fit to decline, and requested that a side table might be provided for him."

Banneker continued to calculate and publish his almanacs until 1802, and the folio already referred to and now before the Society, contains the calculations clearly copied, and the figures used by him in his work. The hand-writing, it will be seen, is

good and remarkably distinguishing a practiced look, although evidently that of an old man, who writes his letters and figures slowly and carefully. His letter to Mr. Jefferson, in the Appendix, gives a very good idea of his style of composition and his ability as a writer. The title of the almanac is here transcribed at length, as a matter of curious interest at this latter day. It claims little of the art and elegance and wit of the almanacs of Ponce or of Hood, it is nevertheless, considering its history, a far more surprising production.

"Benjamin Banneker's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia and Maryland almanac and Ephemeris for the year of our Lord 1792, being Bissextile or leap year, and the sixteenth year of American Independence, which commenced July 4, 1776. Containing the motions of the sun and moon in true places and aspects of the planets, the rising and setting of the sun, and the rising, setting and south place and age of the moon, &c. Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Festivals, and remarkable days." Thus much is Banneker's: then follow Goddard and Angel's; "Also several useful tables and valuable receipts—various selections from the common place book of the Kentucky Philosopher, an American sage; with interesting and entertaining essays in prose and verse—the whole comprising a greater, more pleasing and useful volume than any book of the kind and published in North America."

Besides his aptitude for mechanics, his ability as a mathematician, Banneker was an acute observer, whose active mind was constantly receiving impulses from what was going on around him. Many instances are found in the records of his life, which occasionally as

common-place book. For instance, under date of the 27th August, 1797, he writes: "Standing at my door I heard the discharge of a gun, and in four or five seconds of time, after the discharge, the small shot came rattling about me, one or two of which struck the house; which plainly demonstrates that the velocity of sound is greater than that of a cannon bullet." It must have been a philosophic mind, which, observing the fact as here stated, drew from it the correct conclusion, and then recorded it in appropriate terms as a simple and beautiful illustration of the law of nature, with which, in all probability, he first became acquainted through its means.

Again, on the 23d December, 1790, he writes: "About 3 o'clock, A. M. I heard the sound and felt the shock like unto heavy thunder. I went out but could not observe any cloud above the horizon. I therefore conclude it must be a great earthquake in some part of the globe." A similar conclusion from the same facts was drawn by a greater man than Banneker near eighteen hundred years before,* and recorded to be commented on in after ages.

Nor was Banneker's observation confined to matters of philosophical character. There is evidence in the memoranda of his record book that natural history was equally interesting to him. The following, independent of its connection with the subject of our memoir, possesses general interest as an authentic statement by an eye-witness of a curious fact in entomology. In April, 1800, he writes: "The first great locust year that I can remember was 1749. I was then about seventeen years of age, when thousands of them came and were creeping up the trees and bushes. I

then imagined they came to eat and destroy the fruit of the earth, and would occasion a famine in the land. I therefore began to kill and destroy them, but soon saw that my labor was in vain, and therefore gave over my pretensions. Again, in the year 1766, which is seventeen years after their first appearance, they made a second, and appeared to me to be full as numerous as the first. I then, being about thirty-four years of age, had more sense than to endeavor to destroy them, knowing they were not so pernicious to the fruit of the earth as I imagined they would be. Again, in the year 1783, which was seventeen years since their second appearance to me, they made their third; and they may be expected again in the year 1800, which is seventeen years since their third appearance to me. So that if I may venture to express it, their periodical return is seventeen years: but they, like the comets, make but a short stay with us. The female has a sting in her tail as sharp and hard as a thorn, with which she perforates the branches of the trees, and in the holes lays eggs. The branch soon dies and falls. Then the egg, by some occult cause, immerses a great depth into the earth, and there continues for the space of seventeen years as aforesaid."

"I like to forget to inform, that if their lives are short they are merry. They begin to sing or make a noise from first they come out of the earth till they die. The hindermost part rots off, and it does not appear to be any pain to them, for they still continue on singing till they die."

Again there is the following record of a fact in natural history: "In the month of January, 1797, on a pleasant day for the season, I ob-

*Pliny.

served my honey bees to be out of their hives, and they seemed to be very busy, all but one hive. Upon examination I found all the bees had evacuated this hive, and left not a drop of honey behind them. On the 9th February ensuing, I killed the neighboring hives of bees, on a special occasion, and found a great quantity of honey, considering the season—which I imagine the stronger had violently taken from the weaker, and the weaker had pursued them to their home, resolved to be benefited by their labor or die in the contest.”

The last extract we shall make from the record book is one which indicates a relish for the beautiful in nature, as well by his undertaking to record a description of what he saw, as by the language which he uses. The extract is from the last pages of the book, when he was in his seventy-first year. His writing is still distinct, but the letters have lost their firmness, and show that his hand trembled as it held the pen.

“1803, Feb. 2. In the morning part of the day, there arose a very dark cloud, followed by snow and hail, a flash of lightning and loud thunder crack; and then the storm abated until afternoon, when another cloud arose at the same point, viz: the north-west, with a beautiful shower of snow. But what beautified the snow was the brightness of the sun, which was near setting at the time. I looked for the rainbow, or rather snowbow, but I think the snow was of too dense a nature to exhibit the representation of the bow in the cloud.”

“N. B. The above was followed by very cold weather for a few days.”

Soon after he obtained the books already mentioned as having been lent him by Mr. George Ellicott, and became engrossed in his new studies, he found that it was necessary to have more time at his disposal than he had previously enjoyed, and also to be released from some cares that had occasionally annoyed him. The land on which he lived was divided into several small tenements, the rent of which contributed to Banneker's support. The collection of this rent was a source of constant trouble and vexation. His tenants quarrelled with him; they refused to pay him: if he insisted on payment, they annoyed him in a dozen different ways, until at last, saying that “it was better to die of hunger than of anger,” he determined to sell his land for an annuity. He therefore made a careful calculation of the chances of his life upon such data as he could obtain, and the Ellicott family bought the land upon the terms proposed by him. In the same volume that contains his almanac in manuscript is an account current, by which it would seem that the annuity was £12, Maryland currency. This arrangement gave him the time he wanted, and the annuity, with the proceeds of his almanac, mainly supported him until he died. It is stated, that the only imperfect calculation that Banneker ever made, was the calculation for this annuity. He lived eight years longer than the time prescribed. Other persons in later days have done the same, where the insurance office has undertaken the calculation, so that Banneker's case is not a remarkable one in this respect. *Notwithstanding the sale of the land he still resided on it, and, as

*The deed from Banneker to the Ellicotts, Jonathan, Elias, & John, is dated on the 10th March, 1799, and purports to convey 72 acres of a tract for the sum of £180 Maryland currency—which seems inconsistent with the annuity mentioned in the text. But the positive information of living

John, is dated 1807, and is called “Stout” in the idea of the cases, and the

it would seem from a memorandum in his record book, he continued to labor on it a portion of his time. On the 24th April, 1802, he speaks of being in the field, holing for corn—and among the last entries made by him are charges for pasturage.

In 1804, Banneker died, in the 72d year of his age, and his remains are deposited, without a stone to mark the spot, near the dwelling which he occupied during his lifetime. His land, of course, went at once into the possession of the Messrs. Ellicotts, and his personal property was disposed of by him to his friends before he died. There is no evidence that he made a will, or that there was administration on his estate, to be found in the records of the Orphan's Court, which have been examined with a view of adding to the few materials still existing for his biography. There are several persons now living who recollect Banneker well, and from these Mr. Benjamin H. Ellicott, of Baltimore, has collected the memoranda from which, with the materials furnished by his record book, this sketch has been prepared. The following is an extract from Mr. Ellicott's letter in regard to Banneker:

"During the whole of his long life he lived respectably and much esteemed by all who became acquainted with him, but more especially by those who could fully appreciate his genius and the extent of his acquirements. Although his mode of life was regular and extremely retired, living alone, having never married—cooking his own victuals and washing his own clothes, and scarcely ever being absent from home, yet there was nothing misanthropic in

his character, for a gentleman who knew him, thus speaks of him: 'I recollect him well. He was a brave looking, pleasant man, with something very noble in his appearance. His mind was evidently much engrossed in his calculations; but he was glad always to receive the visits which we often paid to him.' Another of Mr. Ellicott's correspondents writes as follows: 'When I was a boy, I became very much interested in him; (Banneker,) as his manners were those of a perfect gentleman; kind, generous, hospitable, humane, dignified and pleasing, abounding in information on all the various subjects and incidents of the day; very modest and unassuming, and delighting in society at his own house. I have seen him frequently. His head was covered with a thick suit of white hair, which gave him a very venerable and dignified appearance. His dress was uniformly of superfine drab broad-cloth, made in the old style of a plain coat, with straight collar and long waistcoat, and a broad brimmed hat. His colour was not jet black, but decidedly negro. In size and personal appearance, the statue of Franklin at the Library in Philadelphia, as seen from the street, is a perfect likeness of him. Whenever I have seen it, it has always reminded me of Banneker. Go to his house when you would, either by day or night, there was constantly standing in the middle of the floor a large table covered with books and papers. As he was an eminent mathematician, he was constantly in correspondence with other mathematicians in this country, with whom there was an interchange of questions of difficult solution.'"

entries in the record book, kept by Banneker, seem to establish the fact that the annuity was paid, prior to the date of the deed, the execution of which was perhaps postponed or neglected for many years after the agreement was made. A deed for 28 acres of the tract, the balance of the 100 acres, had been previously executed to Greenbury Morton, a cousin of Banneker on the mother's side.

In the foregoing brief notice all is collected that can now be obtained in regard to Benjamin Banneker.

The extent of his knowledge is not so remarkable, as that he acquired what he did under the circumstances we have described. It might be said by those disposed to sneer at his simple history, if there be any such, that after all he was but an almanac-maker, a very humble personage in the ranks of astronomical science. But that the almanac-maker of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia from 1791 to 1802, should have been a free black man, is, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, a fact to which his whole colour has a right for their justification against the doubts that have been entertained of them.

LETTER REFERRED TO IN THE
FOREGOING MEMOIR.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY,
Near Ellicott's Lower Mills,
August 19th, 1791.

THO. JEFFERSON, *Secretary of State.*

SIR:—I am fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom, which I take with you on the present occasion, a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflect on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand, and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long labored under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

Sir, I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of

nature than many others, that are measurably friendly and well sed towards us, and that you are ready and willing to lend your aid assistance to our relief, from many distressed and numerous calamities, to which we are reduced.

Now, sir, if this is founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions, which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal father hath given being to us all, and that he hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath a without partiality afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that however variable we may be in society or religion, however diversified in situation or color, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labor under, and this I apprehend a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves and for those inestimable laws, which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous that every individual of whatever rank or dis-

joy t equally en-
eef, neither
short of the

most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye, and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favored, and which, I hope you will willingly allow, you have received from the immediate hand of that being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of heaven.

This, sir, was a time in which you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehension of the horrors of its condition, it was now, sir, that your abhorrence thereof was so ex-

cited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Here, sir, was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great valuation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but, sir, how pitiable is it to reflect that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others with respect to yourselves.

Sir, I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren, is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and to all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, "put your souls in their souls stead," thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself nor others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, sir, although my sym-

pathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity, will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but that having taken up my pen in order to direct to you as a present, a copy of an almanac which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation, sir, is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein through my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not to recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew

Ellicott, yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this State, to whom I had communicated my design on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favorably receive, and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

And now, sir, I shall conclude and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most obedient, humble servant.

B. BANNEKER.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Sec'y of State, Phila.

N. B. Any communication to me, may be had by a direction to Mr. Elias Ellicott, merchant, in Baltimore Town.
B. B.

[From the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.]

Influence of Climate in Western Africa on the Mind.

[THE writer of the following letter addressed to the Rev. Joseph Tracy, of Boston, Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, is Dr. Lugenbeel, whose name has been frequently brought before the medical public. It is from a source of such respectability, as to entitle it to the fullest consideration. Dr. Lugenbeel is Colonial Physician and a resident of Liberia.]

DEAR SIR:—Your letter bearing date December 6th is now before me, and I beg you to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the same, and

for the interesting pamphlet which you kindly sent me.

Correct answers to the inquiries you make, relative to "the influence of the climate, or acclimating fever, of Western Africa, on the mind," are not less difficult than important; for, as you are aware, much more extensive and protracted observations are necessary to enable one to form a correct opinion, relative to the effects of disease on the mental than on the physical system. I have a very great sympathy for the mind and the body, even in a state of

health, there can be no question. And in all kinds of fever, in all climates, this sympathy is obvious, to a greater or less extent. That the health of the body depends, in a great measure, on the healthy condition of the mind, and *vica versa*, no one can doubt. And, in the treatment of physical diseases, the judicious physician takes advantage of this, and endeavors to enjoin quietude and *cheerfulness* of mind on his patients; which, in some cases, are *sine qua non*s to their restoration to health. This course is especially necessary in the treatment of the acclimating fever of this country; for it is obvious to all who have carefully observed the effects of fever on the mind, in this country and in the United States, that the physico-mental sympathy is more clearly exhibited in the former, than in the latter. Indeed, the greatest difficulty that I have to contend with, in the treatment of the fever which usually attacks new comers, within a few weeks or months after their arrival in this country, is to prevent that mental depression or despondency which is so frequently an attendant on the disease. And I have invariably found, in cases in which the patients obstinately and pertinaciously yielded to despondency, and abandoned all hope of getting well, that, sooner or later, their expectations were realized, and death closed the scene. A striking instance of this kind occurred a few weeks ago, in one of the last company of immigrants. The individual, a man about 30 years of age, was the first of the company who was taken sick; and, although his attack was not very violent, and although the urgent symptoms yielded readily to appropriate medical treatment, yet from the onset until his death, a period of about two weeks, he seemed to be determined not to get well; and I found it im-

possible to inspire him with the least degree of hope. I felt particularly interested in this case; for I was apprehensive that, if it terminated fatally, the result might have an injurious effect on the minds of some of the rest of the company. But, so well convinced were they that he might have recovered, had he exercised a little more patience, and not been so obstinate, that my fears were dissipated even before he died. On the other hand, I have had the charge of cases, in which I had much more cause to apprehend death, in consequence of the violence of the disease, than in the case to which I have alluded; and yet, by being able to induce the patients to banish all gloomy forebodings, and to bear their afflictions with patient resignation, I have had the satisfaction of seeing them recover, in a reasonable time.

There are comparatively few cases in which more or less mental despondency does not exist. I have seen several individuals who were all life and cheerfulness, before they were taken sick; but as soon as the fever had taken hold of them, the scene was changed, and they scarcely appeared like the same persons. This depression of spirits generally subsides gradually, after the subsidence of the fever. But as most persons are more or less subject to irregular intermittents, for some weeks or months after the first attack of fever, they are also liable to irregular exhibitions of mental despondency; and I generally find that the condition of the mind, as regards cheerfulness or depression, is strikingly characteristic of the condition of the physical system. It is not unusual for me to visit patients on one day, and find them cheerful and contented; and on the following day, find them melancholy and dejected, and disposed to exaggerate their sufferings; and, perhaps, in answer to my

inquiries relative to their feelings, they will tell me that they cannot get well.

And here I would remark, that I have observed with pleasure, and have experienced in my own case, the salutary influences of religion on the diseases of this country, to a greater extent than I have observed, during a practice of two years in the United States. Whenever I have been called to a patient, whose heart and mind were sufficiently influenced by divine grace, to enable him to trust implicitly in God, and to submit patiently to any and to every dispensation of Providence, I have been enabled to enter on the performance of the responsible duties of my profession, with far more encouragement of success, than in cases of an opposite character. And, in regard to my own case, especially, I confidently believe that the comforts and consolations of religion have had more influence in the preservation of my health, than any thing else. When the sting of death is thus removed, the prospects of life in Africa are vastly augmented.

But, as I apprehend your inquiries refer particularly to the permanent effects of the climate and fever on the mind, I will endeavor to state the substance of my observations on this point. And first, permit me briefly to state my own case; for, although I congratulate myself in not yet having become insane, yet I cannot say that, during a residence of fifteen months in Africa, my mind has not become in some measure affected by the peculiarities of this climate, or by the frequent slight attacks of fever which I have experienced. The principal effect that I have observed in my own case, is an impairment of the memory. I find that I cannot retain any thing that I read or hear, with as much facility as I formerly could: and many things which were

once almost as familiar to my mind as my own name, have "gone glimmering, like the dream of things that were." I also find that I cannot apply my mind to any particular object or objects, either in reading, writing, or meditation, for any considerable part of time, without becoming more or less confused, and experiencing an almost irresistible tendency to enter into the trackless regions of a rilled imagination, or into the many fields of unprofitable musings. I believe that I could acquire more knowledge, by study, in three months in the United States, than I could in a year in Africa.

Another effect which I think I have observed in my own case, is a greater degree of irritability of temper. Notwithstanding I believe I enjoy more religion in this country—live nearer to a throne of grace—than I did in the United States; yet I find more difficulty in preserving an equanimity of mind, amidst the cares of life—an evenness of temper, amidst the changing scenes of time. My mind is more apt to become ruffled by things of comparatively minor importance; and I think I observe a greater tendency to loquacity, and unprofitable disputations; especially when I am feverish, which is frequently the case, even when I am able to go about and attend to the duties of my vocation. The little difficulties of life are also, in imagination, increased in magnitude—the mole-hill sometimes seems like a mountain; and, instead of stepping over the one, I am more inclined to prepare for a flight across the other.

These effects are perhaps more or less observable in the large majority, if not in all cases, of individuals who emigrate from the United States to this country. I have frequently heard of the impairment of their memory in America; and of the irritability of temper

per, I have no doubt that all intelligent and candid persons will acknowledge that they experience a greater liability to err in this respect, in Africa, than they did in America.

In regard to the influence of the climate and fever on different classes of persons, with reference to color, age, habits and intellectual culture; I think my observations justify me in saying, that persons of dark complexion are less liable to be injuriously affected, both physically and mentally, than those of lighter color—the ratio being, *ceteris paribus*, in proportion to the depth of color of the skin. The young are less liable to be affected than the old. And persons of industrious habits and enterprising spirits are, of course, less liable than those of an opposite character. In regard to persons of cultivated intellects, contrasted with the uneducated, I think the former are more liable to mental injury, than the latter, simply from the fact that the fever has more to operate on.

I cannot say, however, that any peculiar traits of character are produced by the influence of the climate, or the acclimating fever of Western Africa; or that permanent mental alienation, or insanity, is more common in Liberia than in the United States. Insanity is by no means common among the natives; and I know of only two really insane persons in the colony. On the whole, I cannot perceive that the climate, or the acclimating fever, of this coast, has any very marked permanent effect on the human mind, other than the effects to which I have alluded; and even those may be only temporary—dependent, in a great measure, if not altogether, on the frequent febrile exacerbations, to which such persons are subject, in whom those effects are most clearly exhibited.

In answer to your inquiry respecting the interior limits of the fe-

ver region, I cannot give any thing very satisfactory, in consequence of the circumscribed extent of my observations. From frequent conversations, however, with persons who have travelled to the distance of from one hundred to two hundred miles inland, I am satisfied that the country, even within fifty miles of the coast, is comparatively healthy. The land is mountainous, the water pure, and the temperature of the atmosphere congenial to the feelings. There can be no doubt that beyond the influence of the low, swampy ground, along the coast, the liability to disease is much less, and the chance of a long life much greater. It is very evident, however, that the physical system of every individual who removes from a temperate climate to a tropical one, must undergo some change—must experience some process of acclimation; which may or may not be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to the constitutional peculiarities of the individual, the nature of the surrounding country, mode of living, &c. This change, no doubt, must be experienced, whether the individual locates in an elevated region in the interior, or in the immediate neighborhood of the pestiferous swamps along the coast. But, of course, the liability to active or violent disease would be much less in the former than in the latter location; and the individual would, perhaps, be entirely exempt from those frequent irregular attacks of intermittent and remittent fevers, of which all are exposed while residing in the vicinity of low, marshy land.

I think it is very probable that I could enjoy as good health in the mountainous regions of Africa, within less than one hundred miles from the coast, as I could in many parts of the United States.

Yours truly,
J. W. LUGENBEEL.

Letter from a Colonist.

THE following letter is from a colonist who went from C
S. C., in 1843. He
employed, part of the
surveying the lands for
at Sinou, and looking after
fare during their acclim
agent of the Society.
commend it particularly to his friends
in Charleston, many of whom read
our paper—and would ask them if
they do not think he made a wise
choice, the day he made up his mind
to go to Liberia?

GREENVILLE, SINOE,
Dec. 11th, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—Yours of the
9th August was received this morn-
ing; it gives me great pleasure to ac-
knowledge the receipt of three letters
from you, since my arrival in the co-
lony. Believing that the prosperity
of the colony depends, principally,
on agriculture, I am always endeavor-
ing to impress on the colonists, the
necessity of pursuing it with the
greatest diligence. The object I have
in view is, to get their minds turned
a little from cassadas, potatoes, and
such small things, to rice, coffee, sug-
ar-cane, and cotton; it is true, the
first mentioned articles must be at-
tended to, but not to the exclusion of
everything else. There is one diffi-
culty to be removed, and if I am suc-
cessful in that, it will cause this set-
tlement to prosper greatly. They are
generally afraid to plant for the bene-
fit of posterity; any thing that will
yield a present supply, will do for
them. My endeavor is to get them
to look a little farther, and commence
the cultivation of such things as will
readily meet a sale in foreign mar-
kets. If they will do this, (which

less they will, if aided,) then
settlement will enjoy great pros-
perity.

It is pleasing to hear that there
is some in my native city desirous
of tasting the sweets of liberty.
I will tell you what one of Mrs.
's men said to me, shortly after
my arrival here: "When I first went
up the river to clear my farm," says
he, "some days I could work but a
few hours, on account of fever and
chills; when I could do a day's work,
I remained out all day, went home
at night with nothing but palm-nuts
for supper—now my farm is pretty
well stocked, and as long as palm
oil and cassada can be had, no man
can pay me to return to America."
Among the immigrants contentment
prevails, and they are doing every
thing in their power to improve their
condition. You will do me a great
favor by sending me a few newspa-
pers occasionally, as I am desirous
of knowing what is going on in the
great world. We are all pretty well
just now, thank God. In a few days
my house will be finished, when I
move in it; my garden will claim
much of my time in improving it—I
want to make it a model.

We have a native boy with us,
who promises to reward our labor.
He was taken in our family at the
Cape, September, 1843; we com-
menced teaching him the alphabet
and Lord's prayer. On leaving
the Cape, we had to part with him.
It was not too long, before he at-
tempted to follow us. Unfortunately
for him, the vessel was detained so
long by head winds, that he was dis-
covered by his people and carried
back; he was then placed with a
friend of mine, who treated him very
kindly, but he could not stay.
I hope he will be able to get
back to the settlement, and getting

ready for this place, where he resides, my friend told him to get aboard of the vessel if he could and go to "merica mammy." Notwithstanding his being closely watched, he got safely aboard, and was brought down to us. Poor fellow! he had lost all the clothing we left him, and looked like a chimney-sweep. As soon as he got in the house, he espied the primer we used to teach him in; he caught it up, clasped it in his hands, pressed it to his bosom, and kissed it with as much apparent affection as a parent would a pet child. He spells well now, in two syllables, is fond of his book, attends constantly on the means of Grace, and expresses a hope, that when he "Sabby merica man ploppler, den he be God-man, he preach all same do." We have a

very promising Krooboy, who came to us a short time ago; he did not remain long before his parents heard he was so sick that he was likely to die—he was sent for. Before leaving he said, "mammy I go, look my mammy, I come gen." He went—his mother was astonished to see him look so well. After remaining a day or two he began to cough, and become so sick she was glad to send him back to "Merica-mantown." We cured him in two hours of his cough. He is a smart, active boy; we are teaching him his letters, and will try to wean him from his native habits, with the Lord's help. Remember me at the throne of Grace, and believe,

Yours truly,

RICHARD E. MURRAY.

Rev. W. McLAIN.

Extracts from the Journal of an African Cruiser.

GOVERNOR Roberts, General Lewis and Doctor Day dined with us in the ward-room. The Governor is certainly no ordinary person. In every situation, as judge, ruler, and private gentleman, he sustains himself creditably, and is always unexceptionable. His deportment is dignified, quiet, and sensible. He has been tried in war as well as in peace; has seen a good share of fighting, and has invariably been cool, brave and successful. He is a native of Virginia, and came from there in 1828. The friends of colonization can hardly adduce a stronger argument in favor of their enterprise, than that it has redeemed such a man as Governor Roberts from servitude, and afforded him the opportunity (which was all he needed) of displaying his high natural gifts, and applying them to the benefit of his race. To-night he had a Kroo dance on the fore-castle. It

was an uncouth and peculiar spectacle, characterized by singing, stamping, and clapping of hands, with a great display of agility. National dances might be taken as no bad standard of the comparative civilization of different countries. A gracefully, quiet dance, is the latest flower of high refinement.

Dined on shore. Our captain and five officers, the master and surgeon of an English merchantman, and the captain of the French schooner, were of the party. It was a pleasant dinner. The conversation turned principally upon the trade and customs of the coast. The slave trade was finely discussed, and the subject had a peculiar interest under the circumstances, because this identical Frenchman, at table with us, is suspected to have some connection with it. It is merely a surmise. The French captain speaks a little English; but af-

ter dinner as a matter of courtesy we all adopted his native language. Our friend, Colonel Hicks, as usual, did most of the talking; he is as shrewd, agreeable, and instructive a companion as may often be met with in any society.

The dinner conversation above alluded to suggests some remarks in reference to the slave trade. There is great discrepancy in the various estimates as to the number of slaves annually exported from Africa. Some authorities rate it as high as half a million. Captain Basauquet, R. N., estimates that fifteen thousand are annually sent to the West Indies, and a greater number to Arabia, all of which are from Portuguese settlements. He affirms that the trade has increased very much between the years 1832 and 1839, and particularly in the latter part of that period; an effect naturally consequent upon the great number of captures made by the English cruisers. A trader, for instance, contracting to introduce a given number of slaves into Cuba, must purchase more on the coast to make up for those lost by capture. Captain Broadhead, another British officer, says that the number of slaves carried off is grossly exaggerated, and that the English papers told of thousands being shipped from a port where he lay at anchor, during the period indicated, and for fifty days before and afterwards; in all which time, not a slave vessel came in sight. Doctor Madden states, that during his residence in Cuba, the number of slaves annually imported was twenty-five thousand. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton calls it one hundred and fifteen thousand! Her Majesty's Commissioners say that the number is as well known as any other statistical point, and that it does not exceed fifteen thousand. The slave trade rose to a great height in 1836, owing principally to the

high price of colonial produce. I was in Cuba in that year, and witnessed the great activity that prevailed in buying negroes, and forming plantations, especially those of sugar. The prices have since fallen, and the slave trade decreased on the plain principle of practical economy, that the demand regulates the supply.

The English cruisers are doubtless very active in pursuit of vessels engaged in this traffic. The approbation of government and the public, (to say nothing of £5 head money for every slave recaptured, and the increased chance of promotion to vacancies caused by death,) is a strong inducement to vigilance. But, however benevolent may be the motives that influence the action of Great Britain, in reference to the slave trade, there is the grossest cruelty and injustice in carrying out her views. Attempts are now being made to transport the rescued slaves in great numbers to the British West India Islands, at the expense of government. It is boldly recommended, by men of high standing in England, to carry them all thither at once. The effect of such a measure, gloss it over as you may, would be to increase the black labor of the British Islands, by just so much as is deducted from the number of slaves intended for the Spanish or Brazilian possessions. "The sure cure for the slave trade," says Mr. Laird, "is in our own hands. It lies in producing cheaper commodities, by free labor, in our own colonies." And to accomplish this desirable end, England will seize upon the liberated Africans and land them in her West India Islands, with the alternative of adding their toil to the amount of her colonial labor, or of perishing by starvation. How much better will their condition be, as apprentices in Trinidad or Jamaica, than as slaves in Cuba! Infinitely more wretched!

English philanthropy cuts a very suspicious figure when not content with neglecting the welfare of those whom she undertakes to protect; she thus attempts to make them subservient to national aggrandizement.—The fate of the rescued slaves is scarcely better than that of the crews of the captured slave vessels. The latter are landed on the nearest point of the African coast, where death by starvation or fever almost certainly awaits them.

I am desirous to put the best construction possible on the conduct as well of nations as of individuals, and never to entertain that cold scepticism which explains away all generosity and philanthropy on motives of selfish policy. But it is difficult to give unlimited faith to the ardent and disinterested desire professed by England to put a period to the slave trade. If sincere, why does she not, as she readily might, induce Spain, Portugal and Brazil, to declare the practice piratical?

And again, why is not her own strength so directed as to give the trade a death-blow at once? There are but two places between Sierra Leone and Accra, a distance of one thousand miles, whence slaves are exported. One is Gallinas, the other New Cesters. The English keep a cruiser on both of these rivers. Slavers run in, take their cargoes of human flesh and blood, and push off. If the cruisers can capture the vessels, the captors receive £5 per head for the slaves on board, and the government has more "emigrants for its West India possessions." Now, were the cruisers to anchor at the mouth of these two rivers, the slavers would be prevented from putting to sea with their cargoes, and the trade at those places stopped. But, in this case, where would be the head money and the emigrants?

It has been asserted that the colonists of Liberia favor the slave trade.

This is not true. The only places where this traffic is carried on, north of the line, are in the neighborhood of the most powerful English settlements on the whole coast; while even British authority does not pretend that the vicinity of the American colonies is polluted by it.

Individuals among the colonists, unprincipled men, may, in a very few instances, from love of gain, have given assistance to slavers, by supplying goods or provisions at high prices; but this must have been done secretly, or the law would have taken hold of them. Slavers, no doubt, have often watered at Monrovia, but never when their character was known. On the other hand, the slave station at St. Paul's river, at Bassa, and at the Junk, have undeniably been broken up by the presence of the colonists. Even if destitute of sympathy for fellow men of their own race and hue, and regardless of their deep stake in the preservation of their character, the evident fact is, that self-interest would prompt the inhabitants of Liberia to oppose the slave trade in their vicinity. Wherever the slaver comes, he purchases large quantities of rice at extravagant rates, thus curtailing the supply to the colonists, and enhancing the price. Moreover, the natives, always preferring the excitement of war to the labor of peace, neglect the culture of the earth, and have no camwood nor palm oil to offer to the honest trader, who consequently finds neither buyers nor sellers among them.

The truth is, the slave traders can dispense with assistance from the Liberian colonists. They procure goods and every thing necessary to their trade, at Sierra Leone, or from an English or American vessel on the coast. If the merchantmen find a good market for their cargoes, they are satisfied, whatever be the character of their customers. This is

well understood and openly avowed here. The English have no right to taunt the Americans as engaged in the slave trade, for if, by such accusations, they can induce British or American men-of-war to detain and examine the fair trader, they thus rid themselves of troublesome rivals.

The natives are generally favorable to the slave trade. It brings them many comforts and luxuries which the legitimate trade does not supply. Their argument is, that if a man goes into the bush and buys camwood, he must pay another to bring it to the beach. But if he buy a slave, this latter commodity will not only walk, but bring a load of camwood on his back.

All slaves exported are Bushmen, many of whom are brought from two or three hundred miles in the interior. The Fishmen and Kroomen are the agents between the slave traders and the interior tribes. They will not permit the latter to become acquainted with the white men, least their own agency, and its profit, should cease. A slave, once sold, seldom returns to his home. If transported to a foreign country, his case is of course hopeless; and even if recaptured on the coast, his return is almost impossible. His home, probably, is far distant from the sea. It can only be reached by traversing the territories of four or five nations, any one of whom would seize the hopeless stranger, and either consign him to slavery among themselves, or send him again to a market on the coast. Hence, those recaptured by the English cruisers, are either settled at Sierra Leone, or transported to some other of the colonies of Great Britain.

The price paid to the native agents for a full grown male slave, is about one musket, twelve pieces of romauls, one cutlass, a demijohn of rum, a bar of iron, a keg of powder, and ten bars of leaf-tobacco, the whole amounting to the value of from thirty to thirty-five dollars. A female is sold for about a quarter less; and boys of twelve or thirteen, command only a musket and two pieces of romauls. Slave vessels go from Havana with nothing but dollars and doubloons. Other vessels go out with the above species of goods, and all other requisite for the trade. The slaver buys the goods on the coast, pays for them with specie, and lands them in payment for the slaves; money being but little used in the traffic with the natives.

The Decatur arrived this evening, after a passage of thirty days from Porto Praya. She left the Macedonian on the way, the winds being light, the current adverse, and the frigate sailing very badly.

The Macedonian arrived.

Coming off from town, to-day, I took a canoe with a couple of Kroomen, who paddled down the river till we arrived at a narrow part of the promontory. On touching the shallows, one of the Kroomen took me on his back to the dry land. The two then picked up the canoe, carried her across the cape, perhaps a hundred yards, and launched her, with myself on board, through the heavy surf.

Sailed at daylight for Since, leaving the Macedonian and Decatur, an American ship and barque, an English brig, and two Hamburg vessels, at anchor.

Latest from Siberia.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,
Aug. 2, 1845.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I hastily embrace the present unexpected

opportunity to address you a short epistle.

In regard to the present condition of the colony, I may state that no

unusual disturbance or excitement has tended to interrupt our peace and quietude since I last wrote you. The sound of the carpenter's hammer and of the smith's anvil fall upon our ears as harmoniously as ever; and I am happy in being able to inform you that "the wilderness and the solitary place" exhibit more evidence of gladness than formerly. The agricultural "schoolmaster is abroad" examining the fertile soil of Liberia, and teaching lessons of wisdom, which seem not to be entirely lost; for the people generally are beginning to direct their attention to the cultivation of the soil in lieu of the petty trafficking, in which so many of our citizens have heretofore been engaged. I have lately seen several beautiful fields of rice under the care and tillage of colonists—a sight which formerly rarely attracted the attention of the observer; and large patches of sweet potatoes, cassada, Indian corn, arrow-root, and other vegetable substances may be seen in different parts of the colony. In regard to arrow-root, allow me to say that, although it is generally used in the United States for *sick* persons only, it is also a good and substantial article of diet for *well* persons. I have eaten as good bread, made of arrow-root alone, as I ever saw, excepting of course old Virginia "corn pone;" and I have also eaten very good bread in Liberia made of corn raised in the colony. But we have one thing which is almost equal to the corn-pone of the Old Dominion—I mean rice bread, which I eat every day in preference to bread made of wheat flour.

I mention these facts to show you that prudent and industrious persons can live as comfortably in Liberia, so far as eating is concerned, as they could in America; and, for my own part, I would not care whether an-

other particle of provisions were ever brought from any foreign country into the colony. Not only can several vegetable substances be raised in abundance, which will answer as good substitutes for flour, but, with proper attention, enough animal food may be procured for the necessities of the people. Sheep, goats, and hogs can be easily raised; and, in regard to fowls, especially chickens, they may be raised in great abundance. A few days ago I had the pleasure, with a pretty good appetite, of uniting in the discussion of the physical properties of a fine fat turkey, raised by the Governor's lady, and served up in handsome style. We might also have as much beef as is necessary.

The fact of our people continuing to buy foreign provisions is no argument in opposition to the sufficiency of our own internal resources; nor is the fact that much of the sickness among the poorer people is in consequence of the want of good, wholesome, substantial food, a sufficient evidence that such food cannot be obtained. I think I may say with truth, that in nineteen cases in twenty, poverty and want and sickness, as a consequence, are the results of indolence. Universal industry is not a characteristic of the people in Liberia; and I am sorry to say that the favorable and too liberal opinion which I first formed relative to the industrious habits of the colonists has not been confirmed by subsequent observations. There is, however, a considerable number of cases in which industry and frugality are combined, and in which, as a consequence, a respectable competency is enjoyed.

I think that the people generally are beginning to observe their peculiar and relative position more clearly than formerly, and that the intelligent and thinking part of the com-

munity, many of whom have hitherto been engaged in trading, are decided in their views relative to the absolute necessity of greater attention being paid to agriculture. I have lately heard several intelligent and influential persons declare their intention to commence farming.

I am associated with several literary, scientific, and religious institutions in Monrovia, so that a part of my time is employed in mental as well as in physical discussions. There appears to be a growing interest among the citizens of this place in regard to intellectual improvement. At present we have two flourishing lyceums, which meet weekly, and in which several important questions of a practical character have been debated. The question which was discussed on last Wednesday evening was, "Would the natives of this part of Africa be more speedily civilized and christianized by the unaided and unprotected efforts of missionaries sent among them, than by the influence and efforts of the colonists, apart from any direct mission-

ary aid?" After an animated and protracted debate, during which both sides were ably defended, the question was decided by the chairman of the debate in the negative, that is, in favor of the colonists. The question which was discussed at the last meeting of the "Young Men's Lyceum," on last Monday evening, was, "Has the discovery of America been beneficial to the colored race?" It was decided in the affirmative. Each of the lyceums has quarterly addresses; and on next Wednesday evening Gov. Roberts will deliver an address in the one of which he is a member.

Since the date of my last letters less sickness has prevailed among the colonists than during the two previous months. My own health has been better: during the last three weeks especially I have enjoyed almost uninterrupted health, for which I feel truly grateful to a kind overruling Providence.

Yours truly,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

Rev. W. McLAIN.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

A Colored Colonist's Views.

THE force of the testimony borne by the writer of the following letter is greatly enhanced by the fact that he was a free colored man, brought up and educated in Hartford, Ct., and had been sedulously taught that the scheme of colonization was a "nefarious plan to expatriate the free people of color from amongst us, and turn them out in Africa to die!" The author of this letter was bitterly prejudiced against going to Africa, and felt, at one time, very indignant at the white man, whoever he might be, that suggested such a thing to him. He

in the colony of Liberia, who made such a representation of things as they are there, as induced him to determine to go to Africa and try the experiment for himself. But still, such were his misgivings that he would not consent to go till he obtained a promise from the benevolent gentleman (the President of one of our Colonization Societies) who urged him to this course, that if he were disappointed or dissatisfied when he had been in Africa a while, that gentleman would furnish him the means of return to this country. To this he assented. It is addressed

Charles F.

Pond, Hartford, Ct. The writer has been five years in Liberia, and is not a mere novice, and does not write *first* impressions:

MONROVIA,

Jan. 8th, 1845.

MY DEAR MADAM:—It was with pleasure that I received yours of August 11th, for it came to me at a time when I was about to engage in business of importance to this colony, viz: acting as counsellor (as a member of the legislature or council) for the Commonwealth of Liberia, which is a source of great pleasure to me; for though I did not seek the honor, yet I was willing to serve the people in order to do them good, if possible; for my heart is full of good designs for Africa, and I hope the Lord will bless me in all things, for it is here I wish to live, and expect to die. There is no one in America who has a greater share in my affections than the people of this land. By these remarks you may infer that I have become weaned from every object there, of whatever magnitude it might have once seemed to me. I am gratified to hear that you were so much pleased with the Governor (Roberts.) He is a fine man; the sight of his person is pleasure to me. I am sitting this moment where I have a full view of his beautiful dwelling, which is a most desirable spot this very hot weather, for there is a piazza attached to the house two hundred feet long, in which he is now walking. I must tell you, Mrs. Pond, that after enjoying so many blessings in this country as a *free man* and a citizen of a happy commonwealth, I cannot bear the idea of again submitting to any thing of a degrading

tendency. Therefore, if it is the Lord's will, I shall remain in this country; so I shall not ask for assistance to return to America, which is not home to me any longer, nor do I wish to have it so understood by any one hereafter. I feel that the Lord has a work for me to do in this land, and I am willing to do it, come what may. I hope that my friends will not forget me. I renew my request for some farming utensils, viz: scythes and light hoes, which I hope your husband will be so kind as to send. I shall go to farming as soon as I have my business arranged agreeably to my mind, as I have at present a long job of work on hand, which will be my first object to finish when I return from the council. I have left a blacksmith on Factory Island, who is taking charge of things while I am here. I hope you will give my best respects to all my friends in Hartford, who may inquire after me. Please tell my sisters for me that if they wish to be happy, as regards the rights of a free and independent people, they must come to this country where there is no one to dictate to them. I hope you will exert your influence to convince them of the propriety of embarking for this land of freedom. Say to them that they need not be afraid of coming to this country on account of the fever or any other calamity: for the Northerners here enjoy as good health as do the Southerners. If you can ascertain whether they wish to come, will you do me the favor to solicit the influence of your father to help them, and oblige,

Yours affectionately in Christ,

GEO. L. SEYMOUR.

Missions.

AMONG the natives exclusively, and consequently what we say of missions among them is not founded we have never had an appointment.

upon our own personal experience, but the observations and experience of those who have been on the ground, and it is presumed have seen and heard what they relate. As to the religious opinions, superstitions, manners and customs, particular rites and ceremonies, political institutions, and the influences mutually exerted between and upon each of these respectively, we are *all* comparatively *experienced*.

Our acquaintance with these laudable objects of missionary research, has been not only quite irregular, and wanting in motive, to be very particular in such matters, but to us as missionaries, it must be acknowledged to be *new* also. We have but just begun to be introduced to their religious peculiarities, and therefore, either creating, or willingly continuing the expectation of being profound, whatever it might be in others, in us would be confessedly premature. It therefore becomes us to advance our opinions of things, to say the least of them, measurably occult, with all suitable modesty; as, no doubt, time and a fuller acquaintance will reveal many errors in theories now advocated and defended with all the positiveness of demonstrative certainty. And this is what might be expected among tribes whose language has never been reduced to any system, and where letters as a medium of thought have never existed. No record of ancestral opinions on any subject, however momentous, is to be found, but in the treacherous memories of the present generation. What they know, they know only from tradition received from their fathers. Where *truth* exists, its history, progress, and the instrument of its propagation, are all alike in the oblivious slumbers of by-gone generations. No monument either attests or continues a fact through the rise and fall of clans, against the rage of elements, and the "tooth of time."

As applying to all the tribes to which we are expected to penetrate from this coast, this is strictly true, with the exception of the followers of the Prophet, who, by some good fortune, (with the particulars of which we are not acquainted,) have preserved among them some knowledge of letters and a written language. That their knowledge of the Arabic, as a source of intercommunication, is of any advantage to them beyond the objects immediately connected with their religion—that it augments the social intercourse of life, by increasing the facilities or enlarging the present boundaries of knowledge, or that it has been their practice to erect a single land-mark of any description looking to public utility—is what we are yet to be assured of. Whether restrained by their indolence, (which we question, for this is not characteristic of them,) or their superstitions, we know not; but such we believe is the fact, of what transpires in their lives respectively, they leave no historical remembrancer of any kind.

Deprived of the less fallible guides of historic account, and every other authentic source of information as to the history, religion, and manners of the people surrounding us, except what memory may have confusedly preserved, we are led to infer *two* things. The *first* is, that for sometime to come, the *cause* of much of what is seen and heard will be difficult of certain explanations. The *second* is, that the confusion and darkness resting upon so great a part of the past and present peculiarities of the surrounding tribes, call for the greatest vigilance in eliciting, combining, arranging and treasuring up facts, developing either their manners or religion, on the part of those laboring among them. By accounts which we receive from different points of our missions, several things in the condition and circumstances of

the natives, conspire to render this a peculiarly auspicious period for introducing the gospel among them, and forming a more correct and satisfactory acquaintance with whatever would be interesting to the Christian church.

1st. For some one or two hundred miles in the rear of us, those devastating wars, which once raged with such relentless fury, *are at an end—at least for the present*. And we have reason to hope that they are *finally* so; as many of the causes contributing to them are wholly removed, or have experienced a great diminution of influence. A depreciation of the influence of *slavers*, has not only made war become more a “strange work” among the native tribes, but also leveled many obstacles to the introduction of the scriptures, and the triumphant and universal reign of Messiah. The interposition of the colonies in calming down the irritability of the chiefs, or of directing it to sources of recompence more within the bounds of christianized humanity than those they formerly addressed—and the superior advantages of milder measures, as seen and felt by them, all increase the influence exerted in these colonial interpositions. This prepares, and in many cases keeps open the way of the Christian teacher, where otherwise it might, and probably would, have been closed up for years to come—perhaps for scores of years. As it is, every desirable point which the church is able immediately to occupy and provide for, is accessible and safe.

2d. Christian teachers and missionaries, are *anxiously desired and repeatedly asked* for by the chiefs of the tribes. The rumor of war, its preparation and tumult, now no longer, as once they did, keep them in a state of perpetual trepidation; they have time given them for reflection

and casting about—for observing the operation and effect of measures and influences acting either upon their own particular clan or others with which political relations, friendship or hatred, or it may be report only, has made them acquainted. It ought not to be supposed that a system of measures, to them so novel and peculiar, could escape the narrow scrutiny of the most thoughtful and far-seeing among them, in all those points in which Christianity as a *system* is open to the inspection of persons, by habit and association, educated like these people. Through some of the mediums above spoken of—Christianity, as seen in the Christian colonies and their government established on this coast, or in the character and effect of missionary labors designed to meliorate their condition—the native African has contemplated these organizations, as far as possible, analyzed the systems, and determined their result upon his tribe and posterity. He has his opinion. His whole view may have been circumscribed indeed, his analysis imperfect, and his conclusions proportionally erroneous. But nevertheless he must be allowed to entertain them: and if they lead him, from whatever motive, to invite the Christian missionary to his town, to commit to his care the rising generation for the purpose of instruction, and to afford him the opportunity of telling to the adult population the story of the Cross and welcoming sinners to Christ, the opening is to be quickly and cheerfully entered into, without either waiting for or *desiring*, so far as an entrance upon the work is concerned, correcter opinions in the mind of the chief.

The effect of these godly labors may be soon realized. An interest may be awakened in different quarters, and souls converted to God. But if this should *not* be so, if pecuni-

ary or political interest should, in after-time, appear to have been the chief's impelling concern more than any thing else, ought such a discovery to create discouragement? ought an abandonment of the post to be thought of for such a cause? is not the same true of thousands of rulers in Christendom where Christians labor and have labored for years? As long as the young are accessible, and no prohibition obtains to instructing the adults, ought we not the rather to thank God and take courage, though no conversions can with safety be reported? We repeat it, if it be any advantage to have the way opened to the heathen, and their repeated and no doubt sincere invitation to enter into it; these facilities so far as this coast is concerned, *now* present themselves to be availed of by the friends of Christian Missions. The *duty* of the church in this important crisis, I will not attempt to argue.

3d. To whatever use the chiefs purpose turning the residence of Christian teachers among them—whether they expect greater security from the attacks of other tribes, or like the covetous Felix, hope “that money” will be “given” them, and their coffers filled—whatever may be their intention, they no doubt have entire confidence in the *goodness of the intentions and sincerity of the professions of the missionary*. Impropiety of conduct on the part of some one or two, may, in a few instances, have been destructive of this confidence for a while. But, as a general thing, we believe this remark is strictly true. They appear to have come to this conclusion, that whatever may be the state of feeling between themselves and their neighbors for the time being, the true “God-man” is one that can be safely trusted among them.

4th. There is a great *desire every*

where manifested to learn the English language. This desire annually and greatly augments the number of those who are able to converse intelligibly in this wide-spreading vehicle of human thought. The Latin and Greek languages in any age, have not been more ardently sought acquaintance with, than the natives almost universally seek, to use their own words, “to larn Inglis.” It is true, they are not ambitious of proceeding very far: but then this extensively prevailing *wish*, may be turned to good account by the church;—it will open many an avenue, bring to the school many a choice little lad, and fix many a mind intently upon other subjects of knowledge and reflection, for the sake of acquiring some acquaintance with this *one*. Whatever this may not be to others, to us it is a subject of gratulation and encouragement, that this people so long benighted, and wandering in the bottomless and inextricable mazes of superstition and error, should, with such anxiety and universality, desire, seek to know something about a language the most easy to be taught them, and at the same time *one* which when once acquired, will open to their research at once every thing within the circle of knowledge either human or divine. This one circumstance will give acceptance to the Christian School Teacher, will cheer his lonely labors in the places of his appointment, and in the end impart no doubt a peculiar character to the results of his toil.

5th. The rising generation present the most hopeful subjects for missionary operation. To the grown up population the gospel may and ought to be proclaimed, many of whom it is to be expected will hear and be converted. But their habits are too permanently fixed, and many of their prejudices too deeply rooted to undergo subsequently any material

change. Considering the radical and legitimate revolutions in the most important particulars, contemplated in the establishment of Christian institutions in a country, the rising generation are the promise and hope of the church. In every community, civilization and Christianity too, justly place great reliance upon the intellectual and moral condition of its *females*. Their silent but powerful influence pervades all orders of society, is adequate to the greatest transformations, and may be regarded as the palladium of its morals. Where their character is not sufficiently high and holy to impart a wholesome state of moral feeling throughout society, commencing in the family circle, and ramifying itself into all the different associations and civilities of life; giving acceptability and permanency to what is good, and frowning from practice and from view whatever is bad;—the statesman, the moralist and the divine, have no apprehensions of coming evil, of swiftly approaching decay and dissolution, that may not most reasonably be indulged—the foundations of society cannot be regarded as secure whatever other bulwarks it may possess. If we are correct in our conclusions upon this subject, and we take it we are upon the general admission of enlightened nations, then it follows, most indisputably, that would the church place the institutions of Christianity upon the footing they wish, and the footing they require to give them durability and effect in the frame-work of society, *particular attention in securing to their schools, during the years of minority, a competent number of girl children, is all important.*

Now, let it be understood that these are much more difficult of being obtained for a *suitable length of time* than boys. They are a part of the family for which, at any time

when a suitor may think proper to make advances, (which is any time after their birth,) money is by the law of custom always realized, or the espousal engagements cannot be entered into, much less nuptials celebrated. It is the father's "*dowry*," of which Shechem and Hamor offered the patriarch Jacob and the brethren of Dinah "never so much—and a gift," for the daughter and sister. To this general rule, as to all others, there are exceptions; as for instance, where a man is either unable to pay the dowry, or does not choose for some reason to do it. In that case, be it remembered, she stays with him only so long as she thinks proper. If she gets displeased she can go back to her father. Or if her father, without any complaint on her part, wishes to do so, he can take her from her temporary husband at any time, and he has no means of redress but what tame acquiescence affords him. But if the *dowry* money be paid, she inalienably belongs to her husband.

We doubt not but that friendship or self-interest would give or lend to our mission schools a number of girls. The custom of the country, however, would allow us to keep them only so long as either *they* chose to stay, or their *relations* chose to have them—their pleasure or the pleasure of their friends being the only *bond*. Who in their senses would run the risk, and be at the *expense* of feeding, clothing, and attending to children, to the parents of whom a religious education could supply no motive, and whose continuance at the school was entirely dependent upon that mutable creature, *human pleasure*? No, no: we take the ground that *until a good supply of native agency is raised up*, the girls at our schools must be at our command until they are eighteen to twenty years old—long enough to

have accomplished our purpose—when their habits will have been fully formed. They must not be liable to be taken from us whenever a father wishes to give them in marriage or a mother to put them into the “*devil-bush*.” Then it follows *we must pay the dowry*,” instead of the intended husband. In so doing *only*, can we secure his inalienable rights, to be used in such manner, and for such time as may be thought proper. Without it, our hold on them, like his where he does not give the “*dowry*,” will be merely *nominal*, and unbefitting the pains, expense, and objects of our schools. With all the boys we have on our school lists, we cannot muster ten girls secured to the mission with any certainty of their stay. And I am not sure that we have that number in any way. Here we submit this question, asking, what is the duty of the church in reference to it?

In the way we recommend, they can be had in almost any numbers. From different tribes they can be brought together and educated for the purposes we have in view. They will come *cheerfully* too. They are *glad* to come. And one reason why we cannot well get them otherwise is, their parents know that when they have lived with us a little while there is no getting them back but by *constraining* them. This is acknowledged: so that the idea of “filling the land with weeping, tearing children from their parents,” is something never seen, never thought of, and exists in *our* operations—whatever may be seen in the southern States—nowhere but in the *imagination*.

The situation of these children at their homes, if they may properly be said to have any home, is the most wretched that can be conceived of. They are in a state of perfect nudity, and for a large portion of the year they exist, in many cases, rather upon

what they can pick up about from the scanty leavings after older ones are done, snails, crustaceous animals on the sea-shore, grubs, and worms—even, than from anything like a regular provision on the part of their friends. As a general thing, domestic ties are extremely slender and fragile. Family government, where it exists at all, exists only as the creature of superstition, and serves to perpetuate it. It is known that under the reign of heathenism, *woman* is the drudge, rather than the companion of man, and the sport of his dominant passions. At present, say our brethren stationed in the interior, the wars which have been fiercely waged far back in the country beyond them, have been the occasion of the loss of liberty and the loss of life to a great many. Such of the captives taken in these wars, as are either incapable of travelling, or not saleable in market, either foreign or domestic, are immediately put to death. While those who will answer both these purposes are taken off for sale. The sum of eighteen or twenty dollars would wrest from the hand of cruel owners—from the merciless application of the slave whip—from the clutches of some fiendish Spaniard—from suffocation and death on the Atlantic, or from *slavery for life*, in some foreign country—one little girl, whom education, a knowledge of civilized housewifery, and Christianity, would exalt into a great blessing to herself and the cause of Christ. As often as you, in the expenditure, multiply the amount paid for *one*, you multiply the instrumentality, and, in all probability, proportionally augment both the aggressive and conservative power of the Christian church. Let it not be asserted in this case either, that when they are made to understand the objects of the missionary, there would be any reluctance on their part to come under his kind guardian-

ship; no, judging from other cases within our recollection, they would regard him and cleave to him as to an only friend. As an example, we have a little *boy* in our own family, who with three others of about the same age, (say eight years old,) was rescued from the hand of slavers, brought to the colony, and taken under the care of the authorities, to be properly apprenticed till twenty-one years of age—not as a slave—for in this colony we have none. After living several weeks in our family, before taking his indentures from the clerk's office, we were anxious to know whether he preferred a home with us to one in the country, wherever he might find it, the place from which they came in the country not being definitely known. Nothing could induce him to tell another boy who made the inquiries, that he preferred to go into the country again. This feeling is general under good treatment, and where it is not good, the authorities may and ought to interfere for their rescue.

We say then that taking into view the condition, government and objects of the domestic relations of the tribes—the probability that there will be or can be little improvement until the condition of females in society is improved, and the great blessing it would be to them and their people to be intellectually and morally elevated, that *no objection*, either from

reason or divine revelation, against taking them in the manner above named, (that is, by paying the "*dowry*," with their and their parents' consent,) can be preferred:—but, that thus taking them into our mission schools, there to be retained, educated and Christianized—not for any private purpose or interest whatever, but to qualify them for being *examples and teachers to their own people, to reform society, and to give permanency and power to the institutions of Christianity, is consistent with both*. We further affirm, that the redemption of captive slaves, should we ever find it necessary at any time in securing the objects of Christianity, not for the purpose of continuing them in slavery, but setting them immediately at liberty, making them happy, and making them useful, not to those redeeming them, but to their people and the church of Christ; is a principle of procedure, against which does not lie one doctrine of Holy Writ or tendency in the Divine administration.

Those who can feel that of the above, either the one or the other, symbolizes *slavery*, must be influenced by a most sublimated philanthropy. They have obviously shot by the regions of *scriptural* benevolence into the other of Ultraism, where we have not the slightest inclination to follow them.

More anon.—*Africa's Luminary*.

The Interior of Africa.

This is yet almost a *terra incognita*. We know Europe pretty thoroughly. Asia has been traversed in all its length by civilized travellers. With the geography of America we may call ourselves familiar. But how little do we know of the vast continent which lies almost wholly within the tropics, and

of which the greater part seems shut up as effectually against the advance of civilization as if it were upon another planet! Indeed the "mountains of the moon" would be subject to more accurate observation were they situated upon the satellite from which they derive their name. The efforts of civilized travellers have

been for centuries directed to the recesses of this continent, yet four-fifths of it is blank upon our maps. Its whole centre is one broad unexplored region, and the information obtained by recent travellers is one of the most aggravating kind, showing us mines of wealth which it is impossible to work. Before giving the results of these discoveries, let us look upon Africa as the world has known it and as it may be familiar to most of our readers.—Egypt, an old and worn out country, in its antiquities one of the most interesting places on the continent, occupies a small portion of its northwestern border. The river Nile has been explored to its sources by Bruce and other travellers, who have given us some curious facts. The Barbary states occupy the northern portion bordering on the Mediterranean. South of this, and stretching from the Nile to the Atlantic, is the great desert of Zahara. Along the whole western coast are small establishments or factories for trade in slaves, gold-dust, ivory, palm oil, and other vegetable productions. This trade has been nearly monopolized by the English until lately, but now American enterprise has taken a large portion of it out of their hands. On this coast are the settlements of Sierra Leone and Liberia, established as colonies for emancipated slaves; but both, we have reason to believe, are in a wretched condition. The English possessions are at the Cape of Good Hope. On the eastern shore there are a number of independent sovereignties, which carry on a limited trade. The Imaum of Muscat is a prince of considerable liberality and enterprise. Quite recently, the English have made a settlement at Aden, near the mouth of the Red Sea. Having once obtained a foothold, they, English like, began to push about them, and one of their first discoveries was a river where

none was marked upon any chart, and up this they steamed three hundred miles without finding the least obstruction. Having now passed round this continent let us look into the interior. For half a century the English government have been expending lives and treasure in partial exploration. They have found that this whole tract of country is one of amazing fertility and beauty, abounding in gold, and all sorts of tropical vegetation. There are hundreds of woods, invaluable for dying and architectural purposes, not found in other portions of the world. Through it for thousands of miles sweeps a river, from three to six miles broad, with clear water, and of unsurpassed depth, flowing on at the rate of two or three miles an hour, without rock, shoal or snag, to interrupt its navigation. Other rivers pour into this, tributary waters of such volume as must have required hundreds of miles to be collected, yet they seem scarcely to enlarge it. This river pours its water into the Atlantic, through the most magnificent delta in the world, consisting perhaps of a hundred mouths, extending probably five hundred miles along the coast, and mostly broad, deep, and navigable for steamboats. Upon this river are scattered cities, some of which are estimated to contain a million of inhabitants, and the whole country teems with a dense population. Far in the interior, in the very heart of this continent, is a nation in an advanced state of civilization. The grandeur and beauty of portions of the country through which the Niger makes its sweeping circuit, are indiscribable. In many places its banks rise boldly a thousand feet, thickly covered with the richest vegetation of tropical climes.—But all this vast and sublime country, this scene of rich fertility and romantic beauty, is apparently shut out forever from the rest of the world. It

is the negro's sole possession. He need not fear the incursions of the white man there: for over this whole lovely country broods one dread malaria, and to the white man it is the "valley of the shadow of death." In expedition after expedition, sent out from the English ports on the island of Ascension, not one white man in ten has returned alive; all have fallen victims to this seemingly beautiful, but awful climate. It seems impossible for any Englishman to breathe that air. So dreadful is it,

so small the chance of life, that criminals in England have been offered pardon, on condition of volunteering in this service, more terrible than that of gathering the poison from the fabled Upas. This country, tempting as it is, can only be penetrated at the risk of life; and it is melancholy to think, that those who have given us even the meagre information that we have, did so at the sacrifice of their lives.—*Simmond's Colonial Gazette.*

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 23d September, to the 22d November, 1845.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Dea. S. Tracy:	
<i>Peterboro'</i> —Rev. Abiel Abbot,	
\$3 50, R. Washburn, \$3 50...	7 00
<i>New Ipswich</i> —E. Brown, \$1 50,	
George Barret, \$1, Mrs. D.	
Everet, \$2, H. Isaacs, \$1....	5 50
<i>Hollis</i> —Edward Emerson.....	1 00
<i>Nashua</i> —T. W. Gilliss and Hon.	
E. Parker, 2d instalment on life	
membership, each \$5, Ziba	
Gray, \$2, J. Crombie, \$1 50...	13 50
<i>Amherst</i> —B. B. David, \$3 50, A.	
Wallace, Esq., \$1.....	4 50
<i>Mount Auburn</i> —Dea. J. A. Star-	
rett, \$2, N. Bruce, \$1 50.....	3 50
<i>Francesstown</i> —Daniel Fuller, jr.,	
M. W. Eaton, Thomas B. Brad-	
ford, each \$2, J. Follensbie, D.	
T. Eaton, W. Parker, Rev. J.	
McGee, each \$1, Wm. Bixley,	
to complete life-membership,	
\$10, Miss Mary Starret, 50 cts.,	
Hon. T. Brown, \$2 50, cash,	
7 cts.....	23 06
<i>Bedford</i> —Dea. S. McQueston...	1 50
<i>Gilmantown</i> —Dea. A. Mack, \$1,	
Rev. Charles Tenney, \$3, Mrs.	
S. T. Hale, \$2, H. W. Peaslee,	
50 cts., Mrs. Moody, \$1.....	7 50
<i>Bristol</i> —Cash.....	12
<i>Meredith Bridge</i> —J. T. Coffin,	
\$1, cash, 11 cts.....	1 11
	68 30

VERMONT.

<i>East Rutland</i> —Hon. S. Foote, \$1,	
J. E. Cheney, 50 cts., Jas. Ayres,	
50 cts., Mrs. Cheney, 25 cts.	2 25
<i>West Rutland</i> —Dea. Boardman,	
\$1, C. G. Boardman, 50 cts....	1 50

<i>Dorset</i> —Wm. Williams, 50 cts.,	
cash, 12 cts.....	62
<i>Manchester</i> —Cyrus Munson, \$1,	
cash, 50 cts., J. Burton, \$3 50.	5 00
<i>Bennington</i> —C. Ellingwood, \$1,	
Dr. N. Fisk, \$1.....	2 00
<i>Brattleboro'</i> —John Loreman, 1	
cent, E. Seymour, \$3.....	3 01
<i>Castleton</i> —Dr. J. Perkins, \$2,	
Rev. J. Steel, Dea. Higby,	
Eben Langdon, J. Adams, Col.	
Branch, C. Griswold and Dea.	
Dennison, each \$1, O. Root,	
Benj. F. Adams, S. Sherman,	
F. Parker, C. Spencer, E. J.	
Hallock, Hon. A. Warner, F.	
Griswold, A. Moulton, Har-	
ry Griswold and Thos. Griswold,	
each 50 cts., W. Humphrey	
and Peter Sylves, each 25 cts.,	
Thompson Griswold, 10 cts.,	
Cullen Griswold, 8 cts.....	15 18
<i>Pittsford</i> —T. F. Bryan, \$1, Hon.	
T. Hammond, \$2 50.....	3 50
<i>Royalton</i> —Dr. J. A. Denison, jr.,	
Mrs. J. A. Denison, \$1 each,	
D. Williams, Dea. Kinney, C.	
Skinner, E. Rix, Esq., R. K.	
Dewey, Harry Bingham, 50 cts.	
each.....	5 00
	38 06

MASSACHUSETTS.

<i>Newburyport</i> —Ladies' Col. Socie-	
ty, per Mrs. Harriet Sanborn, Tr.	50 00

PENNSYLVANIA.

State Colonization Society.....	500 00
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VIRGINIA.

<i>Lexington</i> —Collection in Presby-	
terian Church—balance of con-	
tribution to constitute Major	

Jno. Alexander a life-member of the A. C. S. per J. W. Paine, Treasurer.....	18 00
DIST. OF COLUMBIA.	
<i>Alexandria</i> —Collection in first Presbyterian Church, \$39 05, Collection in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, \$9 18, per William Gregory & Co.....	48 23
<i>Washington</i> —Thomas Blagden, Esq., \$20, From sale of second-hand Phaeton, \$50.....	70 00
TENNESSEE.	
<i>Farmington</i> —4th July collection, by Rev. Thomas J. Hall.....	8 00
KENTUCKY.	
By Rev. A. M. Cowan—on account of collections in Ky., (particulars in next No.).....	1,067 02
Total Contributions.....	\$1,862 61

FOR REPOSITORY.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. —By Dea. S. Tracy— <i>Rindge</i> —S. L. Wilder, to March, '46, \$1 50. <i>Peterboro'</i> —H. F. Cogswell, Rev. A. Abbot, Rev. C. Cutler, and Gov. Steel, each \$1 50, Mark Wilder, to date, \$1, Reuben Washburn, to Sept., 1846, \$1 50. <i>New Ipswich</i> —Mrs. Wm. Ainsworth, for '44 & '45, \$3, E. Brown, for '45, \$1 50. <i>Hollis</i> —Cha's Whiting, for '45, \$1 50. <i>Nashua</i> —T. W. Gilliss, Stephen Kendrick, Dr. M. Eldridge, John Crombie, each \$1 50, Ziba Gray, to date, \$1 12. <i>Amherst</i> —Dr. M. Spaulding and B. B. David, for '45, each \$1 50. <i>Francetown</i> —Mrs. Ann Fuller, to July, '46, \$2, M. W. Eaton, Hon. E. Brown, each \$1 50, for '45. <i>Deering</i> —Russell Tubbs, Esq., to July, '46, \$1 50. <i>Hillsboro' Bridge</i> —Rev. J. Cummings, to Sept., '46, \$1 50. <i>Merimack</i> —Robert McGaw, to Oct., '46, \$3. <i>Bedford</i> —Dea. S. McQuestion, to May, '46, \$1 50. <i>Goffstown</i> —Rev. J. Willey, for '45, \$1 50. <i>West Boscowan</i> —Rev. Edward Buxton, to Jan., '46, \$2. <i>Franklin</i> —C. Garland, to Sept., '46, \$1 50. <i>Gilmanstown</i> —Morrill Shepherd, to Sept., '46, \$1 50. <i>Concord</i> —N. H. Asylum for the Insane, to Sept., '46, \$1 50. <i>Bristol</i> —J. C. Bartlett, to Sept., '46, \$1 50.....	48 12
VERMONT. — <i>West Rutland</i> —Rev. A. Walker, and Pratt & Morgan, each \$1 50. <i>Manchester</i> —J. Burton, to Oct., '46, \$1 50. <i>Bennington</i> —Wm. Haswell, to	

Oct., '46, \$1 50, Rev. J. J. Abbott, to Jan., '47, \$1 50. <i>Casletton</i> —W. B. Colburn, Dea. E. Merrill, H. Griswold, Silas Hawkins, each \$1 50. <i>Pittsford</i> —Hon. T. Hammond, to Oct., '46, \$1 50. <i>Brandon</i> —Davenport & Warren, to July, '46, \$1 50. <i>Royalton</i> —Dea. Bates, to June, '46, \$1 50. <i>Westminster West</i> —Mrs. A. Hallot, to June, '46, \$1 50....	19 50
VIRGINIA. — <i>Clarksburg</i> —M. Elfecher.....	5 00
KENTUCKY. — <i>Covington</i> —W. Ernst, to June, '45, \$2 25, P. S. Bush, to Sept., '45, \$1 50. <i>Burlington</i> —J. M. Preston, to Jan., '46, \$7. <i>May's Lick</i> —W. Hodge, to Sept., '44, \$9 12. <i>Bloomfield</i> —Dr. J. Bemiss, in full, \$3.....	22 87
OHIO. —By C. W. James— <i>Oxford</i> —D. Christy, on account, \$5. <i>Andover</i> —J. F. Whetmore, on account, \$5. <i>Marion</i> —H. Peters, to 1st Jan., '43, \$2 50. <i>Cincinnati</i> —D. K. Esta, \$5 50, Thos. G. Gaylord, \$11 50, Augustus Moore, to Jan., '47, \$4 50, O. Fifield, to Jan., '46, \$2, H. Rockey, to April, '46, \$6, J. W. Shepherd, to Jan., '46, \$6, G. H. Hill, to Sept., '46, \$6, S. P. Bishop, to Jan., '46, \$2. <i>Dayton</i> —E. Edminson, to July, '45, \$3. <i>Xenia</i> —W. Roberts, on account, \$2. <i>Columbus</i> —J. Ridgway, to Jan., '46, \$2, J. W. Espee, to Jan., '46, \$3 50, R. Neil, to Jan., '46, \$2. <i>Wooster</i> —L. Cox, \$2 50. <i>Hudson</i> —C. Pitkin, on account, \$5. <i>Ohio City</i> —R. Lord, to Jan., '46, \$6. <i>Nelson</i> —J. G. Stevens, to Jan., '46, \$6. <i>Painsville</i> —J. A. Tracy, to Aug., '45, \$7 16. <i>Medina</i> —D. King, to Jan., '46, \$4. <i>Ashland</i> —L. Andrews, to Jan., '46, \$5 50. <i>Union</i> —D. H. Bishop, \$3.....	107 08
ILLINOIS. —By Rev. J. B. Crist— <i>Mount Pulaski</i> —Jabez Capps..	4 00
MISSOURI. —By C. W. James— <i>St. Louis</i> —J. Spaulding, to Jan., '46, \$6, A. Gamble, in full, \$5, Dr. F. Knox, to Jan., '46, \$5, A. L. Mills, in full, \$10, Jos. Powell, to Jan., '46, \$12, Dr. H. L. Hoffman, for '43 and '44, \$4....	42 00

Total Repository..... 249 15

Total Contributions..... 1,862 61

Aggregate Amount..... \$2,111 76

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

Vol. XXI.]

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER, 1845.

[No. 12.]

[For the African Repository.]

Dr. Hodgkin's Letters on the Independence of Liberia.

9, LOWER BROOK STREET,
London, 16—9—1845.

To the Secretary of the Am. Col. Society :

RESPECTED FRIEND :—As one of the earliest friends of the American Colonization Society in this country—as an admirer of the activity and benevolence of its founders—as a contributor to its funds, and as its advocate and apologist in this country, where, through mistaken opinions instilled by its adversaries on your side of the Atlantic, it has by some been ungenerously and unfairly opposed, I trust I may be allowed to offer a few observations respecting a recent occurrence which has caused me considerable pain—I mean the affair of the seizure of the colonial schooner, *John Scys*. This untoward circumstance must not be contemplated as an isolated fact, but must be considered in connexion with occurrences antecedent and subsequent to it.

It cannot fail to be a cause of great regret when serious misunderstandings and evils have long been threatening, that the equally obvious means of preventing them have been neglected. Yet such, I am sorry to say, has been most remarkably the

case in regard to the unhappy affair to which I am now alluding. I have myself observed with much anxiety the singular and anomalous position in which the youthful Republic of Liberia has been allowed to remain; and although it seemed scarcely possible that the peculiarity of its position and the danger to which it was exposed, could have escaped the perception and attention of many much more intimately connected with the affairs of Liberia than myself, I could not refrain from again and again pointing it out, and not merely suggesting the mode in which the danger might be removed, but offering my humble, yet—as I believe it might have been—my effectual assistance in carrying it out. Having correspondence not only among the members of the Colonization Society in America but also in Liberia, I have written to both, to urge the importance of taking early steps to obtain from the British Government the recognition of Liberia as a *State*. I offered a home to the Liberian delegate to this country, and undertook to introduce him to parties likely to promote the object of his mission. I am not aware that any notice has

been taken of my suggestion, or that any measures, emanating from themselves, have been contemplated either in the Liberian government, or at the Managers' Board. When some unpleasant circumstances took place in consequence of the anomalous position of the Republic, though far less serious than the event which has just happened, I did not hesitate to communicate with your late excellent minister, Ed. Everett, respecting them. The fact that he did not feel himself at liberty to take any official notice of them, but could merely make them the subject of a passing private conversation, only confirms the opinion which I had formed, and the importance of the step which I had suggested. I am now most solicitous that the citizens of Liberia, with their allies in Africa and my fellow members of the Colonization Society, and their friends in America, should take an expanded and comprehensive view of the particular position of Liberia, and of the tendencies and consequences of the omission which I deplore, rather than by a limited view and the exposition of isolated facts, excite and exasperate those feelings of animosity which, whilst they are painful in themselves, may lead to very serious results in their immediate and distant effects. I feel so fully persuaded of the good sense of the Governor of Liberia as well as of the members of the Colonization Society, and so convinced of the keen perception of what is due to national privilege which exists amongst your citizens in general, that I cannot doubt the conclusion to which a sufficiently extended view of the subject must lead both in Africa and in America, viz: that entire neglect on the part of the Liberians to take any step to obtain the recognition of their existence on the part of a nation, which, like England, has possessions in the vicinity, as

well as numerous vessels on the coast, has brought upon themselves the untoward circumstance which has been complained of. In the five and twenty years in which I have been interested in Liberia, I have not known a single instance of a Liberian visiting this country, with the exception of H. Teague, who some years since spent a few days at Liverpool, where he was ill nearly the whole of the time. I have myself received very interesting communications from the late excellent Governor Buchanan, and others from Judge Benedict; and it is not improbable that some other correspondence has taken place between Liberians and British subjects. The evidence of mutual friendship and regard have been furnished both by Liberian citizens and British naval officers. In the infancy of the settlement, some of the latter jeopardized and sacrificed their lives in defending the colony against the then superior strength of its savage neighbors. Many years have, notwithstanding, been allowed to elapse without the colony taking a single official step to make even its existence known to the heads of the British Government, although it must have been notorious in Liberia, that the regulations and restrictions which she was establishing as a nation, interfered with the practice of British traders, as it had been in existence from time immemorial. The circumstances in which such a state of things places a British officer, who may be cruising on the coast of Africa, are very peculiar. If the captain of a British merchant vessel, a recognized British subject, complain of the annoyance and loss to which he has been subjected, the officer must expose himself to the censure of his countrymen and his superiors, if he fail to afford that protection to the British flag which it is his offi-

cial duty to render, provided that he cannot show that the complaining parties were themselves in the wrong. This he has hitherto been unable to do, as the necessary consequence of the laches of the Liberians themselves, for here the maxim of the lawyers is peculiarly applicable:—

De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est lex. But it seems that, notwithstanding this omission on the part of Liberia, indirect and unofficial information respecting it has reached the British Government, by which its sympathies and interest have been excited towards the colony. This may in part have been the result of Ed. Everett's private communication. But independently of this, I know that Liberia has had influential friends in this country, and I cannot but regard the official communication of Capt. Jones as an evidence of the efficiency of that influence, and whatever may be the interpretation put upon it, I would unhesitatingly appeal to any impartial reader, whether it is not dictated in the spirit of forbearance and kindness as well as of justice, whilst I cannot refrain from saying that—even to myself, a friend of peace, and the strenuous advocate as well as an admirer of Liberia—there is something peculiarly offensive in the language in which the Liberians have thought fit to indulge, instead of profiting by the gentle hint to correct their long-standing omission.

Had I yielded to impulse, I should have written a request, that my name might be erased from your list of members, that I might not be recognized as the associate of those who foment feelings of hostility to my country; but I preferred an opposite course, and in the hope that time and reflection would enable not the Liberians only, but also some of their friends in America, to perceive their mistake, I have taken steps to bring

the subject under the favorable attention of the Foreign Office, where I have no doubt that all reasonable consideration will be given to it.

I am, thy respectful friend and fellow member of the Colonization Society,

THOMAS HODGKIN.

To WM. McLAIN,
Sec. of the Am. Col. Soc'y,
Washington, U. S.

9, LOWER BROOK STREET,
London, 29—9—1845.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—In my letter of the 16th instant, which I lost the opportunity of sending by the last packet, I confined myself to one subject, my object being to prevent the growing feeling of hostility towards England, which is springing up in Liberia, in consequence of a palpable omission on her part. When that omission is supplied, she will doubtless have the full and undisturbed right to impose customs, and other dues, at her own discretion. I wrote my former letter in the united character of an Englishman, and of a warm and sincere friend of Liberia. What I am now about to offer, is dictated solely in the latter character, though I think it is sustained by cosmopolite principles.

Though I have urged the measure which may enable the Republic to raise a revenue from vessels visiting her ports, I feel that she will stand in the way of her own interest by doing so. In common with my friends of the Colonization Society, I have looked forward to the great and prosperous extension of the Republic. This will probably be effected more by the annexation of native tribes, than by the influx of American emigrants, even should the resources of the Colonization Society be more in proportion to its merits than they are at present. Principle

and experience unite to teach the lesson that, the annexation of the native tribes, their allegiance to the Government, and their obedience to its laws, will be impeded by any restrictions which interfere with their past freedom of trade. The example of New Zealand, in which the success of British colonization in a fine field has been greatly marred, is one of the strongest illustrations which can be adduced in support of the view which I am taking. Captain Fitzroy found it necessary to repeal the customs in order to pacify the natives; and a colonist informs me that the extension of mutually profitable business was prompt and highly gratifying. Other mistakes have complicated that affair, but the principle for which I plead was fully borne out. The extension of Liberian rule along the coast, will be one of the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade, and the suppression of wealthy slave factories will produce a temporary check to general trade on the neighboring parts of the coast where lawful traders had facilities for selling their goods in exchange for the dollars paid by the slavers. Consequently, whilst it is a matter of justice and policy to let the natives who are abandoning the slave trade, carry on any legitimate commerce which they can substitute for it, the more important ports of the Republic will reap the benefit of throwing off the same restrictions from themselves, seeing that the foreign trader would prefer running into them and finding every accommodation in conjunction with free trade, to the uncertain chances of leaving goods deposited with native traders whose facilities are temporarily diminished. Liberia will thus become, what it ought to be, the mart of African productions in exchange for the manufactured goods of the civilized world; and although the Republic

has not the advantage of a mighty stream, navigable from the interior of the continent, yet whilst such streams are nearly closed by their pestilential deltas, like the Niger, or by foreign regulation, like the Senegal and the Gaboon, which are held by the French, the new roads of the Republic need scarcely fear their competition, as they must become the favorite channels for land carriage. An almost unlimited influx of goods and capital may take place, and the prosperous trade of a free port, and the increasing wealth of the adjoining territory, would abundantly compensate for the sacrifice of the customs. On the other hand, this prosperity must advance but slowly, or be wholly obstructed, if the measures taken by the colony are such as to throw her ports out of favor with the trading vessels, the captains of which will unscrupulously encourage a contraband traffic, even when the Republic is recognized, and her right to exact duties fully acknowledged.

I am, thy respectful friend,
THOMAS HODGKIN.

P. S. I should like these letters to appear in the Repository, for the sake of the colony as well as in justice to England, which has not been fairly dealt with.

LONDON, Oct. 3, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—Our excellent and benevolent friend, Dr. Hodgkin, has read to me the enclosed letter to you. I fully concur with him in the importance of having Liberia acknowledged as an *independent nation* by the respectable nations of the world—the United States, Great Britain, France, &c. Liberia is now in the anomalous situation of being neither a recognized colony of the American Government, neither is it a free and independent and recognized State. It is only the colony of a society of

benevolent individuals in the United States, and until it be recognized as an independent nation or as an American Colony, the difficulties and collisions with British, French, and other naval commanders may be expected, however much to be lamented and deplored. I hope most sincerely that Liberia will be declared a free and independent State, and I have no doubt that we can procure its acknowledgment by the governments of France and England, provided our American Government set the example. I have already spoken on this subject to the Duke de Broglie, last March when in Paris, and he appeared very favorably disposed, and has a warm and friendly feeling in favor of this germ of what, I trust, will become a great and respectable nation. Dr. Hodgkin most liberally and benevolently offered to lodge the envoy of Liberia should one be sent to London, and he and I will do every thing in our power to promote his views in coming here. He might be the envoy near the French government, as well as the envoy to the English government, and thus di-

minish the expense of sending such an indispensable messenger to Europe. After the colored man (I hope none other will be sent) shall have arranged all that is necessary to be done, he might return to his own country, and let the excellent Dr. Hodgkin act for the Liberian government. There is not a more warm-hearted and true friend of the African and of Liberia than Dr. H., who is benevolence itself. Besides, every one loves and reveres him, and in consequence he has great influence, and he can do more for any cause that he advocates than most men. I have written to my friend, Mr. E. Cresson, on this subject, and I beg to refer you to him.

Hoping, whenever I can serve the cause of Liberia, in which I feel the deepest possible interest, that you will employ me, I beg to subscribe myself, dear sir, though personally unknown to you, yours most truly and respectfully,

GERARD RALSTON.

To the Rev. WM. McLAIN,
Washington City.

Latest from Liberia.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, Aug. 2, 1845.

SIR:—Having written to you so recently, I have nothing at present worth communicating. The affairs of the colony are progressing in their regular order, peace and quietness prevail throughout our borders.

In consequence of the great quantity of rain that has fallen within the last two months, the commercial operations of the colony have rather flagged—still considerable improvement is going on. Several respectable buildings are being erected and old

ones undergoing repairs. Among the former, we have going up in town a commodious and permanent market house, which we hope to have finished soon, as such a building is very much needed.

The health of the colony is remarkably good, and the colonists turning their attention more than ever to agriculture.

In consequence of the death of the officer who took Mr. Benson's vessel to Sierra Leone, her trial has been delayed, and will probably not proceed for several weeks, as the examination cannot take place until the return of

the "Lily" to Sierra Leone, (the vessel that captured her.)

We have had no visit from any of Her Majesty's officers since my last letter; I suppose they are waiting for instructions from their government.

I think we have never been longer without American news; now six months since we have had a line from you, and upwards of four months since the latest dates of American papers.

We are anxious to learn something respecting the existing difficulties between the United States and Great Britain—rumor has it, that a war is inevitable; this, however, I cannot bring my mind to believe—but we are particularly anxious to hear from you, and to see the last annual report of the Board of Directors; and have our minds placed at rest respecting the encroachments of British traders. I am sure the subject must have claimed the attention of the Board; and hope to find that they have settled definitely this unpleasant controversy. For, sir, until these colonies are placed in a situation, or their position so defined, as will enable them, according to the law of nations, to exercise national rights, and compel foreign-

ers to respect their rights, we must remain the subjects of continual British persecution, and suffer all the abuse and annoyances that unprincipled British traders may think proper to heap upon us, even within our own territory.

This vessel brings us sad intelligence respecting the M. B. C. F. M. Mission establishment at the Gaboon. Mr. Wilson, it seems, in consequence of repeated annoyances, and some recent outrage committed by the French, has determined to abandon the station:—this will be unfortunate.

A few weeks ago one of Her Majesty's brigs, the Pantaloon, fell in with a slaver, to leeward, a large ship heavily armed, and was beaten off with a loss of twenty-six men killed and one officer wounded.

Accompanying you will receive the accounts from the store for the quarter ending 30th June.

I am, sir, respectfully,
Yours, &c., &c.,
J. J. ROBERTS.

Rev. Wm. McLAIN,
Sec. Am. Col. Soc'y,
Washington City, D. C.

Extracts from the Journal of an African Cruiser.

ANCHORED at Cape Palmas. This colony is independent of Liberia proper, and is under the jurisdiction and patronage of the Maryland State Colonization Society. Its title is Maryland in Liberia. The local government is composed of an agent and an assistant agent, both to be appointed by the Society at home for two years; a secretary, to be appointed by the agents annually; and a vice agent, two counsellors, a register, a sheriff, a treasurer, and a committee on new emigrants, to be chosen by the people. Several

minor officers are appointed by the agent, who is entrusted with great powers. The judiciary consists of the agent, and a competent number of justices of the peace, who are appointed by him, and two of whom, together with the agent, constitute the supreme court. A single justice has jurisdiction in small criminal cases, and in all civil cases where the claim does not exceed twenty dollars.

Male colored people, at twenty years of age, are entitled to vote, if they hold land in their own right,

or pay a tax of one dollar. Every emigrant must sign a pledge to support the constitution, and to refrain from the use of ardent spirits, except in case of sickness. By a provision of the constitution, emigration is never to be prohibited.

Our boat attempted to land at some rocks, just outside of the port, in order to avoid crossing the bar; but as the tide was low and the surf troublesome, we found it impracticable. I hate a bar; there is no fair play about it. The long rollers come in from the sea, and, in consequence of the shallowness of the water, seem to pile themselves up so as inevitably to overwhelm you, unless you have skillful rowers, a good helmsman, and a lively boat. At one moment, perhaps, your keel touches the sand; the next, you are lifted upon a wave and come swiftly along for many yards, while the men lie on their oars, or only pull an occasional stroke to keep the boat's head right. Now they give away with a will, to escape a white-crested wave that comes trembling and roaring after them; and now again they cease rowing, or back-water, awaiting a favorable moment to cross. Should you get into a trough of the sea, you stand a very pretty chance to be swamped, and have your boat rolled over and over upon its crew; while, perchance, a hungry shark may help himself to a leg or arm.

Pulling across this ugly barrier, we landed at the only wharf of which the colony can boast. There is here a stone warehouse, but of no great size. In front of it lay a large log, some thirty feet long, on which twelve or fourteen full grown natives were roosting, precisely like turkeys on a pole. They are accustomed to sit for hours together, in this position, resting upon their heels. A girl presented us with a note, informing all whom it might concern, that Mrs.

— would do our washing; but as the ship's stay was to be short, we turned our attention to the cattle, of which a score or two were feeding in the vicinity. They are small, but having been acclimated, are sleek and well-conditioned. As I have before observed, it is a well-established fact, that all four-footed emigrants are not less subject to the coast fever than bipeds. Horses, cattle, and even fowls, whether imported or brought from the interior to the coast, speedily sicken and often die.

I dined with Mr. Russwurm, the colonial agent, a man of distinguished ability and of collegiate education. He gave me some monkey skins and other curiosities, and favored me with much information respecting the establishment. The mean temperature of the place is eighty degrees of Fahrenheit, which is something less than that of Monrovia, on account of its being more open to the sea. The colony comprises six hundred and fifty inhabitants, all of whom dwell within four miles of the cape. Besides the settlement of Harper, situated on the cape itself, there is that of Mount Tubman, (named in honor of Mr. T. of Georgia,) which lies beyond Mount Vaughan, and three and a half miles from Cape Palmas. There is no road to the interior of the country, except a native path. The agents, with a party of twenty, recently penetrated about seventy miles into the Bush, passing through two tribes, and coming to a third, of large numbers and strength. The king of the latter tribe has a large town, where many manufactures are carried on, such as iron implements and wooden furniture of various kinds. He refused Mr. Russwurm an escort, alleging that there was war, but sent his son to the coast to see the black-white people and their improvements.

A large native tribe, the Grebe,

dwells at Cape Palmas in the midst of the colonists. Their conical huts, to the number of some hundreds, presents the most interesting part of the scene. Opposite the town, upon an uninhabited island at no great distance, the dead are exposed, clad in their best apparel, and furnished with food, cloth, crockery and other articles. A canoe is placed over the body. This island of the dead is called by a name, which, in the plainest of English, signifies "go to hell;" a circumstance that seems to imply very gloomy anticipations as to the fate of their deceased brethren on the part of these poor Grebos. As a badge of mourning, they wear cloth of dark blue instead of gayer colors. Dark blue is universally along the coast the hue indicative of mourning.

The Fishmen at Cape Palmas, as well as at most other places on the coast, refuse to sell fish to be eaten on board of vessels, believing that the remains of the dead fish will frighten away the living ones.

Leaving the ship in one of our boats, pulled by Kroomen, we crossed the bar at the mouth of the Mesurado, and in ten minutes afterwards were alongside of the colonial wharf. Half a dozen young natives and colonists issued from a small house to watch our landing; but their curiosity was less instructive and annoying, than would have been the same number of New York boys, at the landing of a foreign man-of-war's boat. On our part, we looked around us with interest which even common-place objects possess for those whose daily spectacle is nothing more varied than the sea and sky. Even the most ordinary shore scenery becomes captivating, after a week or two on shipboard. Two colonists were sawing plank in the shade of the large stone storehouse of the colony. Ascending the hill we passed the

printing office of the *Liberia Herald*, where two workmen were printing the colonial laws. The publication of the newspaper had been suspended for nearly three months, to enable them to accomplish work of more pressing importance. Proceeding onward we came to the governor's house, and were received with that gentleman's usual courtesy. The house is well furnished, and arranged for a hot climate; it is situated near the highest point of the principal street, and commands from its piazza a view of most of the edifices in Monrovia town.

The fort is on the highest ground in the village, one hundred feet above the sea; it is of stone, triangular in shape, and has a good deal the appearance of an American pound for cattle, but this point the street descends in both directions. About fifty houses are in view. First, the Government House, opposite to which stands the neat dwellings of Judge Benedict and Doctor Day. Further on you perceive the largest house in the village, erected by Rev. Mr. Williams, of the Methodist mission. On the right is a one-story brick house and two or three wooden ones. A large stone edifice, intended for a court-house and legislative hall, has recently been completed. The street itself is wide enough for a spacious pasture, and affords abundance of luxuriant grass, through which runs two or three well-trodden foot paths. Apart from the village, on the cape we discerned the light-house, the base of which is about two hundred feet above the sea.

Went ashore in the second cutter. The Kroomen managed her sobbingly, that on striking the beach, she swung broadside to the sea. In this position, a wave rolled into her, half filled the boat, and drenched us from head to foot. Apprehending she would roll over upon us and break our limbs

or backs, we jumped into the water and waded ashore.

While in the village, I visited the court-house to hear the trial of a cause involving eight hundred dollars. Governor Roberts acted as judge, and displayed a great deal of dignity in presiding, and much wisdom and good sense in his decision. This is the highest court of the colony. There are no regularly educated lawyers in Liberia, devoting themselves exclusively to the profession; but the pleading seems to be done principally by the medical faculty. Two doctors were of counsel in the case alluded to, and talked of Coke, Blackstone, and Kent, as learnedly as if it had been the business of their lives to unravel legal mysteries. The pleadings were simple, and the arguments brief, for the judge kept them strictly to the point. An action for slander was afterwards tried, in which damages were laid at one hundred dollars. One of the medico-juris-counsels opened the cause with an appeal to the feelings, and wrought his own sensibilities to such a pitch as to declare, that, though his client asked only for one hundred dollars, he considered the jury bound in conscience to give him two. The doctor afterwards told me that he had walked eighty miles to act as counsel in this court. A tailor argued stoutly for the defendant, but with little success; his client was fined twenty dollars.

On our return, a companion and myself took passage for the ship in a native canoe. These little vessels are scooped out of a log, and are even of less size and capacity than the birch canoes of our Indians, and so light that two men, using each a single hand, may easily carry them from place to place. Our weight caused the frail bark to sit so deep in the water, that before reaching the ship we underwent another drenching.

Three changes of linen in one day are altogether too expensive and troublesome.

November 1st. Went up to St. Paul's river on a pleasure excursion, with the governor and several men of less note. We touched at the public farm, and found only a single man in charge. The sugar-cane was small in size, was ill-weeded, and to my eye did not appear flourishing. The land is apparently good and suitable, but labor is deficient, and my impressions were not favorable in regard to the manner of cultivation. The mill was exposed to the atmosphere, and the kettles were full of foul water. We landed likewise at New Georgia, a settlement of recaptured Africans; there was here a pretty good appearance, both of people and farms. We called also at Caldwell, a rich tract of level land, of which a space of about two miles is cultivated by comfortable and happy-looking colonists. A very pleasant dinner was furnished by the governor at what was once a great slave station, and the proprietor of which is still hostile to the colonists, and to both English and Americans, for breaking up the trade. We saw several alligators. One of them, about three feet in length, lay on a log with his mouth wide open catching flies.

From the whole course of my observations, I cannot but feel satisfied that the colonists are better off here than in America. They are more independent, as healthy, and much happier. Agriculture will doubtless be their chief employment, but, for years to come, the sugar-cane cannot be carried to any considerable extent. There are many calls upon the resources of the Colonization Society and the inhabitants, more pressing and which promise a readier and greater return. A large capital should be invested in the business, in order to render it profitable. The want of

a steam mill, to grind the cane, has been severely felt. Ignorance of the most appropriate soil, and of the most productive kind of cane, and the best methods of planting and grinding it, have likewise contributed to retard the cultivation of sugar. But the grand difficulty is the want of a ready capital and a high price of labor. The present wages of labor are from sixty to seventy-five cents per day. The natives refuse to work among the canes, on account of the prickly nature of the leaves, and the irritating property of a gum that exudes from them. Yet it may be doubted whether the colony will ever make sugar to any important extent, unless some method be found to apply native labor to that purpose. Private enterprise is no more successful than the public efforts. A plantation has been commenced at Millsburg, and prosecuted with great diligence, but with no auspicious results. Sugar has been made, indeed, but at a cost of three times as much, per pound, as would have purchased it.

The cultivation of rice is universal in Africa. The natives never neglect it, for fear of famine. For an upland crop, the rice-lands are turned over and planted in March and April. In September and October the rice is reaped, beaten out, and cleansed for market or storing. The lower crop, on the contrary, is planted in September, October, and November, in marshy land, and harvested in March and April. Lands will not produce two successive crops without manuring and ploughing; about two bushels of seed are sown to the acre; and the crop, on the acre of upland, is about thirty bushels, and from forty to forty-five bushels on the low lands. The rice is transported to market on the backs of natives, packed in bundles of about three feet long and nine inches in diameter. The wrappers are made

of large leaves, bound together by cords of bark. The load is sustained by shoulder-straps and by a band passing round the forehead of the bearer.

Cassada is a kind of yam, and sends up a tall stalk, with light green leaves. It has a long root, looking like a piece of wood with the brown bark on; the interior is white and and mealy, rather insipid but nutritious, and invaluable as an article of food; it is raised from the seed, root or stem, the latter being considered preferable. Its yield is very great; in six months it is fit to dig, and may be preserved fifteen or eighteen months in the ground, but ceases to be eatable in three or four days after being dug. Tapioca is manufactured from this root. Indian corn is planted in May and harvested in September; or, if planted in July, it ripens in November and December. Sweet potatoes constitutes one of the main reliances of the colonists; they are raised from seeds, roots, or vines, but most successfully from the latter. The season of planting is in May or June, and the crop ripens four months later. Plantains and bananas are a valuable product; they are propagated from suckers, which yield a first crop in about a year. The top is cut down, and new stalks spring from the root. Ground-nuts are the same article peddled by the old women at our street corners under the name of peanuts, so called from the close resemblance of the bush to the tops of the sweet pea. This nut is used in England for making oil. The cocoa is a bulbous root of the size of a tea cup, and has some resemblance to the artichoke. Pine apples, small but finely flavored, grow wild in the woods, and are abundant in their season.

In concluding these very imperfect and miscellaneous observations on

the agriculture of Liberia, it may be remarked that the farmers' life and modes of labor are different from those of the same class in other countries; inasmuch as there is here no spring, autumn, or winter. The year is a perpetual summer; therein, if in nothing else, resembling the climate of the original Paradise, to which men of all colors look back as the birth-place of their species. The culture of the soil appears to be emphatically the proper occupation of the Liberians. Many persons have anticipated making money more easily by trade; but being unaccustomed to commercial pursuits, and possessing but little capital, by far the greater number soon find themselves bankrupt and burthened by debt. With these evidences of the inequality, on their part, of competition with vessels trading on the coast, and with the established traders of the colony, the inhabitants are now turning their attention more exclusively to agriculture.

Anchored at Sinou at noon.

Ashore. Visited Fishtown, a well built native village, containing probably four hundred inhabitants. It is within about two hundred yards of the colonial dwellings. The people are said to have committed many depredations upon the colonists; and there is an evident intention of driving them off. This is the tribe with which we are to hold a palaver. There are two grand divisions of native Africans on the western coast, the Fishmen and the Bushmen; the latter being inhabitants of the interior; and the former comprising all the tribes along the sea shore, who gain a subsistence by fishing, trading between the Bushmen and foreign vessels, and laboring on shipboard. The Kroomen so often mentioned, are in some respects a distinct and separate people; although a large portion, probably nine-tenths of those bearing that

name, are identical with the Fishmen. The latter are generally treacherous and deceitful; the Kroomen are much more honest, but still are not to be trusted without reserved discrimination.

The government of these people and of the natives generally, is nominally monarchical, but democratic in substance. The regal office appears to be hereditary in a family, but not to descend according to our ideas of lineal succession. The power of a king is greatly circumscribed by the privilege, which every individual in the tribe possesses, of calling a palaver. If a man deems himself injured, he demands a full discussion of his rights or wrongs in presence of the rulers and the tribe. The head man sits in judgment, and substantial justice is generally done. There are persons, celebrated for their power and copiousness of talking, who appear as counsel in behalf of the respective parties. The more distinguished of these advocates are sometimes sent for from a distance of two or three hundred miles, to speak at a palaver; and, in such cases, they leave all other employment and hurry to the scene of action.

It would appear that on other parts of the coast, or further in the interior, the native kings possess more power and assume greater state, than those who have come under my notice. The king of Appollonia, adjoining Axim Territory, is said to be very rich and powerful. If the report of his nearest civilized neighbor, the governor of Axim, is to be credited, this potentate's house is furnished most sumptuously in European style.—Gold cups, pitchers, and plates, are used at his table, with furniture of corresponding magnificence in all the departments of his household. He possesses large treasuries, bullion and gold dust. The governor of Dixcove informed me, that, about

four years ago, he accompanied an English expedition against Appollonia, which is still claimed by England although her fort there has been abandoned. On their approach the king fled and left them masters of the place. Some of the English soldiers opened the sepulchre of the king last deceased, and took away an unknown amount of gold. Afterwards, by order of the governor, the remainder was taken from the grave amounting to several hundred dollars. Together with the treasure, numerous articles had been buried, such as a knife, plate and cup, swords, guns, cloth, goods of various kinds, and in short, every thing that the king had required while alive. There were also four skeletons, two of each sex, buried beneath the royal coffin.

It is said that sixty victims were sacrificed on occasion of the funeral, of whom only the most distinguished were allowed, even in death, to approach their master so nearly, and act as his immediate attendants in the world of spirits. The splendor of an African funeral on the Gold Coast is unparalleled. It is customary for persons of wealth to smear the corpse of their friends with oil, and then to powder them with gold dust from head to foot, so as to produce the appearance of bronzed or golden statues.

The present king of Appollonia deposited six hundred ounces of gold (about ten thousand dollars) with the governor of Cape Coast Castle as security for his good behavior. His cellar is well supplied with rare wines which he offers liberally to strangers who land at his residence. All these circumstances, and this barbaric magnificence, indicates a far different condition from that of the native kings in the vicinity of Liberia, who live simply like their subjects, on vegetables and fish, and one of whom was proud to array himself in a cast-

off garment of my own. Their wealth consists not in gold, plate, or bullion, but in crockery and earthenware. Not only the kings, but all the rich natives, accumulate articles of this kind, until their dwellings resemble warehouses of crockery. Perhaps fifty white-wash bowls, with as many pitchers, mugs, and plates, may be seen around the room; and when these utensils become so numerous as to excite the envy of the tribe, the owners are said to bury them in the earth.

In the house of King Glass (so named, I presume, from the transparency of his character) I noticed the first indications of a taste for the fine arts. Seventy coarse colored engravings, glazed and framed and suspended on the walls, and what was most curious, nearly all of them were copies of the same print, a portrait of King William the Fourth.

It is to be desired that some missionary should give an account of the degree and kind of natural religion among the native tribes. Their belief in the efficacy of sassy-wood to discover guilt or innocence, indicates a faith in an invisible equity. Some of them, however, select the most ridiculous of animals, the monkey, as their visible symbol of the Deity; or, as appears more probable, they stand in spiritual dread of him from an idea that the souls of the dead are again embodied in this shape. Under this impression, they pay a kind of worship to the monkey, and never kill him near a burial-place; and though in other situations they kill and eat them, they endeavor to propitiate his favor by respectful language, and the use of charms. Other natives in the neighborhood of Gaboon worship the shark, and throw slaves to him to be devoured.

On the whole their morality is superior to their religion, at least, as

between members of the same tribe, although they scarcely seem to acknowledge moral obligations in respect to strangers. Their landmarks, for instance, are held sacred among the individuals of a tribe. A father takes his son and points out the stake and stones which marks the boundary between him and his neighbor. There needs no other registry of land passed from sire to son, and is sold and bought with as undisputed and secure a title as well as our deeds and formalities can establish. But between different tribes wars frequently arise on disputed boundary questions, and in consequence of encroachments made by either party. Land palavers, and women palavers, are the great causes of war. Veracity seems to be the virtue most indiscriminately practised, as well towards the stranger as the brother. The natives are cautious as to the accuracy of the stories which they promulgate, and seldom make a stronger asseveration than "I think he be true!" Yet their consciences do not shrink from the use of falsehood and artifice where these appear expedient.

The natives are not insensible to the advantages of education. They are fond of having their children in the families of colonists, when they learn English and the manners of civilized life, and get a plenty to eat. Probably the parents hope in this way to endow their offspring with some of the advantages which they suppose the white man to possess above the colored race. So sensible are they of their own inferiority, that if a person looks steadily in the face of a native, when about to be attacked by him, and calls out to him loudly, the chances are ten to one that the native runs away. This effect is analogous to that which the eye of man is said to exert on the fiercest of savage beasts.

The same involuntary and sad acknowledgment of a lower order of being appears in their whole intercourse with the whites. Yet such self-abasement is scarcely just; for the slave traders, who constitute the specimens of civilized men which the natives have hitherto been most familiar, are by no means on a par with themselves, in a moral point of view. It is a pity to see such awful homage rendered to the mere intellect, apart from truth and goodness.

It is a redeeming trait of the native character, so far as it goes, that women are not wholly without influence in the public councils. If, when a tribe is debating the expediency of going to war, the women come under the council-tree and represent the evils that will result, their opinion will have great weight, and may probably turn the scale in the favor of peace. On the other hand, if the women express a wish that they were men, in order that they may go to war, the warriors declare for it at once. It is to be feared that there is an innate fierceness even in the gentler sex, which makes them as likely to give their voices for war as for peace. It is a feminine office and privilege, on the African coast, to torture prisoners taken in war, by sticking thorns in their flesh, and in various other ways, before they are put to death.

The unfortunate Captain Farwell underwent three hours of torture, at the hands of the women and children. So likewise did the mate of Captain Burk's vessel, at Sinou.

The natives are very cruel in their fights, and spare neither age nor sex; they kill the women and female children, lest they should be the mothers of future warriors, and the boys, lest they should fight hereafter. If they take prisoners, it is either to torture them to death, or

to sell them as slaves. The Fishmen have often evinced courage and obstinacy in war, as was the case in their assaults upon the Liberian settlers, in the heroic age of the colony, when Ashmun and his associates displayed such warlike ability in defeating them. The Bushmen are as cruel as the former, but appear to be more cowardly. I have heard the Rev. Mr. Brown, himself an actor in the scene, relate the story of the fight at Heddington, in which three colonists assisted by two women, were attacked at daybreak by five hundred natives, many of whom were armed with muskets. Zion Harris and Mr. Dewery were the marksmen, while the clergyman assumed the duty of loading the guns. The natives rushed onward in so dense a crowd, that almost every bullet and buckshot of the defenders hit its man. The besieged had but six muskets, one hundred cartridges, and a few charges of powder. Their external fortifications consisted only of a slight picket-fence which might have been thrown down in an instant. But fortunately, when there were but three charges of powder left in the house, a shot killed Gotorah, the chief of the assailants, at whose fall the whole army fled in dismay. One of the trophies of their defeat was the kettle which they had brought for the purpose of cooking the mission-

aries, and holding a cannibal feast. The battle field is poetically termed the bed of honor, but the bravest man may be excused for shrinking from a burial in his enemy's stomach! Poetry can make nothing of such a fate.

Rude and wretched as is the condition of the natives, it has been affirmed that many of the Liberian colonists have mingled with them, and preferred their savage mode of life to the habits of civilization. Only one instance of the kind has come to my personal knowledge. We had on board for two or three months, a party of Kroomen, among whom was one, dressed like the rest, but speaking better English. Being questioned, he said that he had learned English on board of merchant vessels, where he had been employed for several years. We took this young man into the ward-room, where he worked for three months, associating chiefly with the Kroomen on deck, speaking their language, and perfectly resembling them in his appearance and general habits. About the time of discharging him we discovered that he was a native of North Carolina, had resided many years in Liberia, but, being idle and vicious, had finally given up the civilized for the savage state. His real name was Elijah Park; his assumed one, William Henry.

African Slave Trade.

THE following articles originally appeared in the *Boston Traveller*, and being on a subject of great interest, we have chosen to transfer them to our columns all together, that our readers may have a complete

view of the whole ground occupied by them. We rejoice in every thing which *looks like* breaking up the terrible traffic in slaves. We have lately seen it stated that a *steamer* has been fitted up for a *slaver*. If

this is true, it furnishes another strong argument for employment of *steamers* in breaking up the trade. Force must be met with force, and speed with speed. A paragraph in the letter from Gov. Roberts, in another column, touching an engagement between a slaver and a British man-of-war, with a loss of several men on the latter, shows that no efforts will be spared by the slavers to prosecute their traffic.

THE LATE SLAVE TRADE DISCLOSURES.

NO. I.

The despatches of Mr. Wise, published with the Message of President Tyler, of Feb. 20, 1845, are very justly receiving the earnest attention of many of our citizens. They show, indeed, nothing substantially new in the operations of slave traders. The mode of proceeding which they describe, is essentially the same that has been repeatedly described in British and American documents for several years past. Yet they bring to view some late instances of the offence; they implicate known American citizens by name; they show the present connexion of an extensive branch of English and American commerce with the slave trade; and they offer some new suggestions concerning its suppression. The Message itself, too, has been noticed with some severity in the British Parliament, and abused without reserve by the British press. It may be well, therefore, to examine how far the doctrines and statements of the Message and accompanying documents, and the comments upon them on both sides of the Atlantic, are founded in truth. And first, of the matter of APPRENTICESHIP.

Mr. Wise says, in his despatch:

"I submit whether, under our

treaty with England, some inquiry should be made which will elicit information as to her mode of enslaving captured Africans in her colonies. Is it not, in fact, a part of the slave trade to take them away from their own country without their consent, to bind them out under a system of apprenticeship? Are proper steps taken to guard their *identity*, and to prevent them from being enslaved for life? If they may be held in bondage for a term of five or ten years, why not for fifty or one hundred years, or any period beyond the duration of human life? It is openly avowed here, from various quarters, that many of these apprentices, after being bound out, are reported to be *dead* by their masters: their names are changed and flesh marks are taken out, and they are transformed into slaves for life. Has England, under her treaties with and pledges to the world, a right to carry on a system like this, which leads to direct encouragement of the trade she professes to suppress, and which, by fraud and cruelty, increases its horrors, inhumanities and crimes?"

The President says, in his Message, of British participation in the slave trade:

"Merchants and capitalists furnish the means of carrying it on; manufactures, for which the negroes are exchanged, are the products of her workshops; the slaves, when captured, instead of being returned back to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling the amount of their products, by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years; and the officers and crew who capture the vessels receive, on the whole number of slaves, so many pounds sterling *per capita*, by the way of bounty.

"It must be obvious that, while these large interests are enlisted in favor of its continuance, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic; and that it results would be, in effect, but a continuance of the slave trade in another and more cruel form; for it can be but a matter of little difference to the African, whether he is torn from his country and transported to the West Indies as a slave, in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transferred to the same place, and made to perform the same labor under the name of an apprentice, which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted."

On this, the National Intelligencer remarks:

"As to the subsequent disposal charged by the Ex-President to be so cruelly and wrongfully made of the captives, all these very hasty charges have been abundantly exploded, in the statements made in Parliament by Sir Robert Peel and others. These we gave a few days since, as received by the *Great Western*."

Such was the impression very generally made by the statements of the British Minister. But what are the facts?

Since the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, many of the emancipated have left the sugar plantations, and opened little farms for themselves. To supply their places, various plans have been devised for procuring free laborers from different parts of the world, such as the Hill Coolies from Hindostan, the wandering Chinese from the Malayan Archipelago, and the negroes from Africa; but none of them have been attended with the desired degree of success. In August, 1842, a Select Committee of the British House of Commons, on

the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, made a report, in which they urged the removal of recaptured Africans to the West Indies as "free laborers," under the patronage and supervision of government. This report may be found at page 1036 of Kennedy's Report to Congress on African Colonization, Feb. 28, 1843. Its recommendation was adopted. And now, when a slaver is captured on the African coast by a British ship, she is taken to Sierra Leone, the slaves are landed, and instead of being settled in the colony as formerly, are told that they must emigrate to the West Indies as "free laborers," or shift for themselves. If they will consent to emigrate, the government will give them a passage gratis. If they refuse, they must hire themselves out at Sierra Leone, at four pence to seven pence a day, where they can find employment, which is seldom possible. If they try to reach their old homes, they have no means of supplying their wants on the journey; and if they escape the danger of being enslaved by the way, they have nothing to expect but to be sold by their old masters to the next slaver that arrives. They are virtually obliged to emigrate. The report proposed that other emigrants from Africa should be entitled to "a free passage back, at the end of a certain period; say three or four years;" but makes no provision for the return of the recaptured African, except "at his own cost." The President and Mr. Wise assert that they are bound out for a limited period, and are not allowed to return at all, under a certain number of years. Whether this assertion is correct, the means of determining are not at hand. These facts Sir Robert Peel has not denied.

But to understand the exact

amount of Sir Robert's denial, we must look at another piece of British legislation. By an act of Parliament which went into operation August 1, 1834, slavery was abolished in the British colonies, and a newly invented system of apprenticeship was substituted for it. Those who had been slaves up to that time were thenceforth called *apprentices*. They were obliged to remain on the same plantations, and perform the same labor, as formerly; and a cumbersome array of "stipendiary magistrates" was appointed, to regulate the use of the whip, the tread-mill, and other punishments, and, in general, to guard their rights. During two years, under this system, 60,000 "apprentices" received 250,000 lashes, and 50,000 punishments by the tread-wheel and other "instruments of legalized torture." This ill-constructed system was to have continued in operation for six years, when the apprentices were to have become free; but it operated too badly to be endured so long, and by another act of Parliament, it was brought to an end on the first of August, 1838.

In this way, the word *apprentice*, when applied to a black or colored person in the West Indies, has acquired a technical meaning in England: as there understood, it designates the system which prevailed from 1834 to 1838. Sir Robert Peel evidently understood the President to assert, that the recaptured Africans now carried to the West Indies, are made apprentices *in that sense of the word*. When he denies the truth of the President's assertion, he means to deny that they are made apprentices *in that sense*; and he confirms the denial by reminding his hearers that the apprenticeship act had been repealed.

It may be that Mr. Wise, and the President after him, actually fell in-

to the mistake that Sir Robert Peel ascribes to them, but probably they used the word "apprentice" in a looser sense, as meaning a person bound to labor for another for a term of years, or indefinitely. But however that may be, Sir Robert's denial, notwithstanding its plausible appearance, really amounts to little more than a quibble on the word "apprentice." It is still true that recaptured Africans are virtually compelled by the British government, to join the gangs of laborers on the sugar plantations in the British West Indies and South America.

An exception must be made, however, in respect to the human cargoes of Spanish slavers, captured by British cruisers. Such Africans, according to a treaty between Great Britain and Spain, are taken to Cuba, delivered to the Spanish authorities, and by them bound out for a term of years, to individuals, who agree to teach them such and such things; and that they are falsely reported dead, and made slaves for life, in the manner described by Mr. Wise, is notorious. The charge of making them first apprentices, and then fraudulently slaves for life, is undeniably true of those whom Great Britain recaptures and turns over to Spain.

In view of these facts, the suggestion that the United States may with propriety inquire into the disposal which Great Britain makes of recaptured Africans, does not seem to be wholly without foundation. We know where they are carried; and we have at least a plausible claim to know, better than we do, what is done with them.

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THE LATE SLAVE TRADE DISCLOSURES.
NO. II.

The Right of Search.

In respect to the right of search, Mr. Wise, as it seems to us, strange-

ly misunderstands the doctrines of his own government. He says:

"If I understand the position taken by our government, it is that the flag of the United States shall be positive protection to their own vessels; and that if any power attempts to exercise the authority to search a vessel sailing under that flag, it must be at its peril. That is to say, if the vessel belongs to the United States, and is under their flag, it is, under any circumstances, even when there are slaves themselves found on board, a case for reparation. If the vessel belongs not to the United States, and is under false colors, it is a case of which the United States will not take cognizance. The Earl of Aberdeen, as I understand, yields the point that where the vessel is found, on visit, (which means, practically, the act of search,) to belong to the United States, even though she have no slaves on board, the British government or cruiser will not pretend to the right of interfering with her. The United States insist that they shall not search 'to find out whether the vessel be a vessel of the United States or not;' and if they do, and the vessel does belong to their flag, whether slaves be found on board or not, they shall be held answerable."

Now, as we understand the laws of the United States, for an *American* vessel to be engaged in the slave trade is an impossibility. An *American* vessel, by engaging in the slave trade, forfeits her nationality. She is, therefore, no longer an *American*, but a pirate,—“an enemy to the human race,”—and is a lawful prize to any who can take her. Such appears to be our laws, publicly proclaimed to the world, and we know not that our government has ever advanced any claim inconsistent with them. It is true that, on the question whether a certain ship, originally *American*, has become a slave

trader, our government has not agreed to be bound by the adjudications of British courts. If an *American* captain should complain that his ship had been wrongfully condemned by the British courts as a slave trader, our government would doubtless investigate the case, and should he be found innocent, would demand “reparation;” but should the sentence of the British court be found to be correct; should the investigation show that he was actually engaged in the slave trade, all the “reparation” he would get, according to our laws, would be a halter, applied according to the statute in that case made and provided. As such adjudications are thus liable to become subjects of subsequent discussion, and perhaps difference of opinion and consequent irritation between the two governments, the British government thinks best to abstain from them; and the Earl of Aberdeen has actually made the declaration which Mr. Wise ascribes to him; but our government makes no such claim on behalf of slavers, as Mr. Wise supposes.

By act of Congress of May 15, 1820, it is provided that if any *American* citizen, or “any person whatever, being of the crew or ship’s company” of an *American* ship, shall be engaged in the slave trade, “such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate; and on conviction thereof before the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein he shall be brought or found, shall suffer death.”

Referring to this act, the President says, in a communication to the Senate, of January 9, 1843:

“Vessels of the United States found engaged in the African slave trade, are guilty of piracy under acts of Congress. It is difficult to say that such vessels can claim any interference of the government in their behalf, into whosoever hands they

may happen to fall, any more than vessels that should turn general pirates. Notorious African slave traders cannot claim the protection of the American character, inasmuch as they are acting in direct violation of the laws of their country, and stand denounced by those laws as pirates."

Mr. Webster, in a despatch to Mr. Everett, of March 28, 1843, to be read to Lord Aberdeen, and a copy given if requested, says:

"The government of the United States fully admits that its flag can give no immunity to pirates, nor to any other than regularly documented American vessels."

The word "pirates" is here used with evident reference to the act of Congress above cited. As the whole despatch relates exclusively to the right of search with reference to the slave trade, that word could not be appropriately introduced in any other sense.

Nor is there any controversy, as Mr. Wise and many others seem to suppose, between the two governments, as to the *practice*, (in distinction from the *right*), of visiting any suspected vessel for the purpose of ascertaining her nationality. That matter was arranged by the correspondence and other documents which followed the Ashburton treaty. Lord Aberdeen, in his note to Mr. Everett, of December 20, 1841, expressly disclaims what the British ministry call "the right of search;" that is, the right of examining vessels known and admitted to be American, in the time of peace; but he claims what he calls "the right of visit;" that is, the right of detaining and boarding a vessel suspected of hoisting false colors, for the purpose of ascertaining whether she is really American. Yet he admits, expressly, that if the vessel so detained proves to be American, she

is entitled to damages for the detention. On this principle Great Britain has acted, and has actually paid damages in several instances, without objection, on the damage being proved.

The American doctrine on this subject was set forth in the despatch of Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett, of March 28, 1843, before referred to.

Mr. Webster denies that there is any such distinction as the British government contends for, between the "right of visit" and the "right of search." He shows that no such distinction is recognized by writers on the law of nations, or feasible in practice. He denies that any such right exists. Lord Aberdeen had admitted "that if in the exercise of this right, either from involuntary error or in spite of every precaution, loss or injury should be sustained, a prompt reparation would be afforded." Mr. Webster argues from this admission, that such detention is not a matter of right; for "the general rule of law certainly is, that in the proper and prudent exercise of his own rights, no one is answerable for undesigned injuries." If the detention subjects the detainer to the payment of damages, as Lord Aberdeen admits, it is a wrong, and not a right. Yet Mr. Webster admits that "law and reason make a distinction between injuries committed through mistake, and injuries committed by design; the former being entitled to fair and just compensation, the latter demanding exemplary damages, and sometimes personal punishment."

With this despatch, the discussion terminated. Great Britain declares that she will continue the practice of detaining suspected vessels at her discretion, to ascertain their nationality; paying damages, if the vessel detained proves to be American. Our government admits that, in such

case, the "fair and just compensation" which Great Britain offers, is all that we are entitled to demand. The only unsettled question between the two governments is, whether such detention of American vessels shall be called a *right*, or an *unintentional wrong*. In practice, Great Britain has, with the assent of our government, every thing which her sense of propriety and her own understanding of the law of nations permits her to demand.

Great Britain would doubtless be glad, if we would grant her, by treaty, what she calls "the right of visit;" so that her cruisers might, at pleasure, detain American vessels on pretense of suspicion, without being liable for damages; but this our government cannot grant.

Such appears to us to be the law on this subject; and such is the whole ground of complaint against our government, in respect to "the right of search."

THE LATE SLAVE TRADE DISCLOSURES.

NO. III.

British cruisers and head-money.

Against the British system of paying "head-money" for recaptured slaves, Mr. Wise brings the following accusation:

"It is asserted here positively, as I have informed you on another occasion, that the British cruisers do not take the proper and active steps to prevent the *shipping* of slaves in *Africa*; and the alleged motive is, that they seem to desire the slaves to be shipped—to be once put on board—in order to obtain the bounty of so many pounds sterling *per capita* for their capture, and to send them, as apprentices, to Demarara and other possessions of Great Britain."

The National Intelligencer pronounces this "a very hasty as well as invidious imputation against the English cruisers; for Mr. Wise him-

self afterwards distinctly contradicts the charge, in the words of Mr. Slacum: 'The cargo, be it what it may, [except slaves, as we understand,] affords no just ground of capture:' a sentence that clears up the whole accusation."

The "imputation," however hastily made by Mr. Wise, and however it may overstate the evil, is an old one; and the assertion of Mr. Slacum, which is said to "clear up" the matter, is erroneous.

The imputation is an old one. It was made in language equally explicit and severe, several years since, by Lord Brougham, in his place in Parliament; but the report of his speech is not at hand.

Lieut. Charles H. Bell, of the U. S. brig Dolphin, uses the following language in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated July 28, 1841:

"I proposed to three of the British commanders I fell in with, to blockade these two stations, [Gallinas and New Cess,] instead of cruising so far off the coast. The anchorage is good and safe; and one vessel at each station could lie in such a position as to intercept any slaver coming in. The invariable reply to this proposition was:—'This is an unhealthy climate; we come out here to make prize-money; if a slaver is captured without her cargo, she is sent to Sierra Leone, where the expense of condemnation amounts to nearly the whole value of the vessel, which is the perquisite of those in the employ of the government at that place; and we, who have all the labor and exposure, get nothing; whereas, if we capture a vessel with slaves on board, we receive five pounds sterling a head for each of them, without any deduction. Therefore it is not our interest to capture these vessels without their cargoes.'"

During the trial of Zulueta for slave trading, in London, October,

1843, Captain Henry Worsley Hill, R. N., testified :

"Supposing a vessel and cargo to be of the value of £10,000, condemned in the Vice-admiralty Court, half the proceeds would go to the crown, and the other half would be divided among the captors, after all the expenses were paid; of which the admiral gets one-sixteenth, and the captor one-eighth of the remainder."—"I believe the proceeds of the *Augusta* amounted to somewhere about £3,800. Half of that would go to the crown. I have not got a sixpence. You would get one-eighth after the sixteenth? I am afraid there is some £300 to come out of it, for the expenses of the Privy Council Committee. Does it sometimes happen that the expenses swallow up the whole affair?—It does."

The *Augusta* had been taken by Captain Hill, without slaves on board, nearly three years before, and condemned at Sierra Leone without defence or delay.

The letter of Lieut. Bell, above quoted, was communicated to Lord Palmerston, by Mr. Stevenson, November 10, 1840. He states that the *Gallinas* and *New Cess* had been for some time blockaded. As to the main accusation, he says :

"I have to explain to you, that it is only since the passing of the act 2d and 3d Victoria, cap. 73, that there has existed any legal authority to condemn Portuguese ships detained for being equipped for the slave trade, and not having slaves actually on board; and therefore, until that act came into operation on the coast of Africa, Her Majesty's cruisers could not detain Portuguese slave vessels till they had actually taken their slaves on board: but with regard to Spanish vessels, the treaty of 1835 between Great Britain and Spain, gave to the mixed British and Spanish commissioners a power to

condemn slave vessels under the Spanish flag, if found equipped for the slave trade, even though they might have no slaves actually on board; and during the period which has elapsed since that treaty has been in operation, Her Majesty's cruisers have taken, and sent in for adjudication, 85 Spanish slavers, without slaves on board, and only 18 with slaves on board. And since the year 1835, Her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa have detained, and sent in for adjudication, 14 Brazilian vessels without slaves on board, and only two with slaves."

This looks well. It proves that if British cruisers can catch a slaver going in, they will do it, lest they should not catch her at all. In this way, they secure some chance of getting "an eighth after the sixteenth." Still, it does not fully meet the point. Lieut. Bell proposed that, instead of cruising "outsight of land," in the hope of catching a slaver, they should blockade the slave trading ports, and thus stop the trade; for no slaver would attempt either to enter or to leave the *Gallinas*, while blockaded by a British cruiser. In the language of Mr. Wise, it would "prevent the shipping of slaves in Africa;" or at least, in that part of Africa. But stopping the trade would stop the prize-money altogether, and in every form. They would get neither their "five pounds a head," nor their "eighth" *minus* the charges. The answer is therefore incomplete; and the more so, because the blockade of *Gallinas* and *New Cess* was soon raised.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report of August, 1842, quoted in a former number, in speaking of the suppression of the slave trade, says :

"Under this head, we would venture to recommend that none but the

swiftest vessels should be employed; that some of the best prizes should be converted to the purposes of the service; that steamers should be engaged in watching the intricacies of islands and the mouths of rivers; that the system of paying by head-money, so unjust to gallant men—or perhaps, by bounty at all—should be reconsidered, and, possibly, replaced by higher pay and the prospect of promotion.”

They add, in a note:

“As an instance of the injustice of this system, we beg to refer to a case cited by Captain Denman, (Q. 7,099,) in which it appears that the capture of two vessels which would have held 700 slaves, was remunerated with no more than £576, because they were empty; while that of a single vessel, of little more than half that tonnage, brought in £1,654, because she was full. Thus the least laborious and dangerous, as well as the least effective service, receives the highest reward.”

What Mr. Wise says of the “head-money” system, therefore, is not a mere gratuitous evil-surmising of his own. The tendency of the system certainly is, and has long been known and declared to be, such as he describes. How far the fidelity of British cruisers proves sufficient to withstand the temptation, is a matter of some uncertainty; but it is certain that what Mr. Wise found “asserted positively” in Brazil, is to some extent believed by American traders to the coast of Africa. And the statement of Lord Palmerston, concerning the equipment treaties, effectually explodes the apology thought to be found in “the words of Mr. Slacum;” inasmuch as the cargo, when sufficiently characteristic, *docs* afford, and for some ten years past, *has* afforded, “just ground of capture,” even though there be no slaves on board.

THE LATE SLAVE TRADE DISCLOSURES.

NO. IV.

Indirect Slave Trading.

On this subject, Mr. Wise informs us that—

“The goods and credit of British manufacturers and merchants are liberally and indulgently extended to the Portuguese and Brazilian merchants in Brazil, on long time. The Portuguese and Brazilian merchants ship them in these vessels, chartered by the slave traders for the coast; and in many cases a single vessel will take out the shipments of some ten or twenty various persons. They are not always loaded by the slave dealers themselves. Those persons who purchase of the British merchants the ‘goods fit for the coast,’ are mostly small dealers; and the chief security which the British merchants have for payment is the successful sales of these goods in Africa. If they are captured or destroyed; the British merchants suffer. The consequence, it is said, is, that the English cruisers will not capture or destroy them, because the blow is found to fall *upon the trade* and commerce of their own countrymen.”

It is said that there is not a merchant or dealer of any sort on this whole coast, from Para to Rio Grande, engaged in the trade between Brazil and Africa, who does not, directly, participate in the profit or loss of the foreign slave trade.

The *Intelligencer* adds:—“Mr. W. evidently thinks that Great Britain ought to prevent her manufacturers from supplying the particular goods that are used in the slave trade. How this is to be done, without establishing an inspection of all packages exported, we see not.”

Nor could it be done, even with such an inspection; as will be manifest from a brief consideration of the course of African commerce.

In the first place, we must disabuse ourselves of the notion, that the slave trade is a business by itself, and that slave traders are a distinct class of men, who carry it on. The great house of Pedro Martinez of Cadez, with its associated house of Martinez & Co. of Havana, is one of the most extensive slave trading concerns in the world; perhaps the most extensive. Nearly all the slave traders at Gallinas, were, a few years since, agents of Martinez. This same concern carries on an immense business with England and the United States, in sugar, cochineal, bullion, and all kinds of West Indian, South American and Mexican produce. So also, in Brazil, where the trade is neither unlawful nor disreputable. Nobody there abstains from it, or from dealing with those concerned in it, from any fear of the law, scruples of conscience, or regard for character. It is as freely mixed up with all business between Brazil and Africa, as the trade in molasses with business between the United States and the West Indies. If you trade to Brazil at all, you must trade with a slave trader, or with some one who deals freely with slave traders.

We must also banish the notion, that there is any kind of goods which is used only in the slave trade, and not in honest commerce. "The particular goods that are used in the slave trade," are the same that are used in bartering for palm oil, camwood, ivory, and other African produce.—Goods sold in Africa are usually sold on credit. The native trader, for the accommodation of his country customers, insists on having a complete assortment of "coast goods"—so much rum, so much gunpowder, so much tobacco, and the like, all in due proportion. For this assortment, he agrees to pay, oil, dye-stuffs, slaves, or any thing else for which he can barter his goods. At

Gallinas, the ship is obliged to sell for cash or bills of exchange, to European factors, who sell to native traders, and receive scarce any thing but slaves in payment. Where the slave trade has been banished by British and American settlements, the payments are made in oil, ivory, and other articles of lawful commerce. But on all the rest of the coast, payments are made in slaves or other articles indifferently, as the parties can agree.

"Coast goods" are such necessities, comforts or luxuries of African life, or implements of industry, as Africa requires from Europe or America. By offering them for sale, the African is stimulated to do whatever is necessary to obtain them. Selling such goods for any product of honest industry, therefore, has a direct tendency to promote honest industry, and all the virtues of civilization; so that the barter of honest goods for honest goods, even at a slave trading port, is mutually beneficial.

It happens not unfrequently, that a ship, before her voyage is ended, finds herself short of some article necessary to complete her assortment. She must buy of some ship that has a surplus, or of some trader on shore. The cotton cloth shipped at Baltimore and sold at the Old Calabar river for ivory, is ready to be purchased by a Brazilian who needs it to barter for slaves. Thus honest commerce with Africa cannot be carried on without incidentally furnishing facilities for the slave trade.

There is a striking illustration of this subject in the letter of Lieut. Bell to the Secretary of the Navy, of July 28, 1840. He says:

"Most of the slavers sent to Sierra Leone have such articles on board as are used in trafficking for slaves. When the vessels are condemned, these articles are sold at public auction—are purchased by an English-

man there, who is said to be the agent of Pedro Blanco, the great slave dealer at Gallinas. Whether this is the case or not, is of little consequence; they are put on board of an English cutter belonging to this man, who carries them to Gallinas, and lands them at his pleasure. This is well known to every person at Sierra Leone: and, in conversation with the governor, when he made some remarks on the shameful use of our flag in this trade, I spoke to him on the subject; stated that the slave trade was encouraged and abetted by such proceedings under the very eye of his government. He said he was sensible of it; but, as this was a *legal* traffic, he could not prevent it."

As stated in a former article, this was communicated to Lord Palmerston; but his lordship, in his reply, makes no allusion to this part of the letter. The same practice, and even that of selling condemned slave ships, directly to slave traders, at public auction under authority of the British government, is expressly acknowledged in the Report to the House of Commons of August, 1842, repeatedly quoted in former articles. That report concludes, that any legislation designed to prevent the practice, would be wholly ineffectual; as it would only cause the vessel or goods

to pass through the hands of a secret agent or two, before reaching those of the slave trader; while such legislation might seriously embarrass the operations of honest commerce.

In view of these facts, it is plain that an American or English trader may indirectly render important facilities for the slave trade, and derive a profit from doing it, without violating any existing law, or any law that ought to exist; and even without doing any thing morally wrong. That trade is so mixed up with the general business of the world, that it can derive facilities from the most innocent commercial transactions. *And here lies the great danger.* British and American traders of no conscience can enter into the business of furnishing indirect facilities with all their hearts, and carry it on to almost any extent, without the possibility of conviction. They may be as guilty as any direct slave trader, and yet no one can prove that they have done any thing illegal, or any thing morally wrong. There is reason to fear that this is done to an immense extent; that, while the Spaniards, Portuguese and Brazilians buy and transport the slaves, Americans furnish and sail the ships which have no slaves on board, and British subjects furnish the capital, and negotiate the exchanges.

(To be concluded in our next.)

The late Daniel Waldo, of Worcester, Mass.

By reference to the receipts in this number, it will be seen that we have received the munificent bequest of \$10,000 left by our late highly esteemed friend and patron DANIEL WALDO, of Worcester, Mass.

We with pleasure insert the following memoir of him:

"Died suddenly, in this town, on the morning of the 9th instant, the Hon. DANIEL WALDO. Few men have been taken from this community who were more generally known, and more universally respected; and no one whose death

will be more extensively, and deeply, and permanently deplored.

"Mr. Waldo was born in Boston, on the 20th day of January, 1768. His early education was in the public schools of that town, and under the domestic guidance and instruction of exemplary and pious parents. His father was, there, an eminent and successful merchant, at the breaking out of the American Revolution; but devoted in heart and mind to the cause of civil and religious freedom, upon the occlusion of the port of Boston, by the British, he sought protection for his family in the country, and subsequently settled with them

and resumed mercantile business in the town of Worcester. Here, the late Mr. Waldo completed his education in his father's counting-house, and on arriving at age, became his partner in business, and afterwards succeeded to the property and the management of this extensive importing and trading concern. With what scrupulous integrity his business was conducted for more than forty years; with what considerations of regard to his customers, and of accommodation to the wants and interests of the public, he directed his arrangements, his eminent success and the undoubting and unabating confidence of the community, through this long period of time, will bear witness. And, when at last he retired from an active participation in commerce and trade, his punctuality and precision, his justice and liberality, his personal attention and courtesy of manner, were remembered and referred to, as a model and example for instruction and encouragement to the young, and for imitation by all.

"More than twenty years have now elapsed, since this distinguished merchant voluntarily relinquished to younger men, whose character he had assisted to form, and whose worthiness he approved, the enjoyment of his mercantile establishment, and the influence of his personal patronage. But in retiring from the cares of business, he did not yield to indolence and indulgence. His counting-room continued to be his chosen and daily resort for informal and free communication and intercourse with his acquaintance and friends, for attention to the management of his ample property, and for the occupation of his time in reading, and the bestowment of his interest and thoughts upon the welfare of others. The regularity of his habit in passing the street, to and from this accustomed place, was indeed so great as almost to mark the precision of the diurnal hour. In whatever affected the peace and good order of society, and the prosperity and happiness of his county, he ever took a lively concern. His interest in all well directed efforts for the promotion of the moral and social condition of the ignorant and the destitute of his fellow men, was active and efficient, and his benefactions and charities were munificent and free, as they were discriminating and unostentatious. Numerous are the objects of public benevolence, which have cause to rejoice in the fullness of his bounty;—and many—more than the world will ever know—are the hearts of private sufferers, who are, unconsciously, his debtors, for the relief and comfort which they will never have opportunity to acknowledge. The prayers and the blessings of the poor did, indeed, follow him; but who shall speak of the

deeds of kindness which an habitual charity was continually, silently and secretly, dispensing to those whose delicacy and sensitiveness would permit no utterance to their destitution?

"In the progress, rapid growth, and assured prosperity of the town of his residence, to which his early industry and enterprise in business, and his attention, advice, and use of wealth, in riper years, had so largely contributed, Mr. Waldo, to the latest day of his life, felt and expressed, in an especial manner, the liveliest interest. The Temple for Public Worship, which his liberality erected;—the cemetery grounds, the bestowment of his bounty, where, in the fragrance of nature, in beautiful congruity with the untainted simplicity, sincerity and consistency of his character, now repose his mortal remains, are among the visible memorials which speak to the heart, of his sympathy with the highest concerns of all.

"Nor was the sphere of his influence and usefulness confined to the limits, ample as they were, of his own personal considerations and desires. Although always unpretending himself, wholly unambitious of public honors, and retiring and shrinking, as it were, from the unenviable notoriety of mere popular favor, yet, such was the public regard for his patriotism and practical wisdom, his integrity, firmness, and fidelity to every obligation of duty, that, in one of the darkest periods of the Republic, during the war, in 1814, he was sought out, to take part, and give directions to one of the most fearfully momentous measures of the time. Whatever was *then thought*, or may now be deemed the occasion, or the fitness of that act of legislation, which gave the sanction of Massachusetts to the HARTFORD CONVENTION, the late Mr. Waldo but obeyed the injunctions of the Government, in receiving his appointment, as a member. No man entertained a loftier patriotism, a higher sense of the responsibility of public trusts, a deeper reverence for the Constitution, a firmer attachment to the confederated Union, and none had more at stake, in the peace, safety, and returning prosperity of the country. It is but justice to say, that the strongest objections to this questionable proceeding, and the liveliest apprehensions of its disastrous consequences, were, in a great degree, allayed, in the minds of its most strenuous opponents, by confidence in the character of the men, to whom, happily, was committed its direction and control. Indeed, no higher tribute could be paid to their virtue, than was rendered, at the time, by a venerable, experienced and distinguished statesman, of stern Republican principles, (the elder Gov. Lincoln,) who, when informed of the names of the selected Delegates to the Convention,

exclaimed with fervency, 'Thank Heaven! then all is safe. With such men as George Cabot and Daniel Waldo, *nil erit detrimenti Reipublicæ*;'—no harm can come to the Republic.

"As a proof how well sustained, by the community in which he lived, was this sentiment of trust and confidence towards Mr. Waldo, he was, afterwards, in the year 1816, elected by his fellow citizens of the county of Worcester, to a seat in the Senate of Massachusetts, and again re-elected in the two following years. His characteristic punctuality and fidelity, *here*, also, distinguished the discharge of the duties of his station, and made him one of the most useful and justly esteemed members of that body. The love of domestic quiet and enjoyment, and his earnest desire for retirement, in 1819, resisted the wishes of his friends for his longer continuance in public office, and he respectfully, but resolutely, declined a renomination.

"The name of WALDO is intimately associated with many of the religious and charitable institutions of the country. There

will be a more appropriate occasion and place, in which to treat of the personal participation of our departed friend, in this connexion. Deeply imbued with religious faith, and feelingly impressed with a sense of all Christian obligation, in the liberality of a cultivated and enlightened mind, he devised things *liberally*, and with a view to extended good. He looked far beyond *sect or party*, and strove to learn from the instruction of his great teacher and master, how to regard duty to the whole race of his fellow men, and the aim of his life was its faithful and acceptable performance.

"Thus has passed the long and useful life of this good man. He has been borne to the tomb, full of years, and in honored remembrance. The tears of bereaved relatives and friends bedew the green sod of his fresh made grave, but the deeds of public munificence and of private benevolence which he has wrought, will survive all temporary affliction, in the cherished memory and lasting influence of his exemplary character and virtues."

[From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.]

New York Family for Liberia.

NEW YORK, Oct. 24, 1845.

As there is an expedition for Liberia fitting out from Baltimore and Norfolk, by the American Colonization Society, to sail in a few days with a goodly number of emigrants and also several missionaries for their different stations, making it of much interest to the friends of African colonization, I feel it a privilege to make a remark or two respecting a family which left this city yesterday morning *via* railroad for Baltimore, to join the ship "*Romancke*, Captain Hanna," bound to Monrovia, Liberia. The family consists of Mr. Sheldon and wife, each about 50 years of age, Mr. Lowry and wife, each about 25 years of age, son-in-law and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon, and three fine, plump, bright-eyed, clean-faced, promising children, the eldest 5 years of age, all of them just as *black* as Mr. Lowry and his wife, (no mixed blood there,) who, with their father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon, are of the pure African jet black.

They were all well clad in good, substantial garments, and not out at the elbows, knees or heels, and not slipshod. They are from Medina, Orleans county, N. Y. They are farmers, and the women are good scholars. Lowry can write; I saw him sign a receipt for some money handed him to defray expenses on the way. Upon being asked what or who induced them to go to Liberia, they said they had read and obtained the necessary information—particularly the

letter of George Seymour (one of Governor Robert's Council) to his former mistress in Connecticut, a daughter of Anson G. Phelps, Esq., the well known friend of the African, and President of the New York State Colonization Society, which letter you as well as many other editors published some time since. They say they are going into a new wilderness country, and mean to apply the axe to the root of the tree and make themselves good homes, and I think they will do it. Lowry appears to be a *shrewd*, energetic man. Mr. Sheldon has the appearance of a good substantial farmer, not unlike our good New England or Western New York farmers, and I have no doubt they will give a "good report of the land," and be the means of inducing many others to follow. In addition to all I have said, Mr. and Mrs. S. are Methodist professors, and Mr. and Mrs. L. Presbyterian professors of the religion of Jesus Christ, and have their credentials of being in good and regular standing in the church of which they are members. If we could add 100 such families to this, well might the sons of Ham begin to "stretch forth their hands unto God." I could say much more in behalf of this family, but I should occupy too much of your paper, and will close by saying that I have seen several letters from persons of respectability in Medina which fully confirm all that I have said, and are at your service for a perusal.

A FRIEND TO THE COLORED MAN.

Our late Expedition for Liberia.

THE fine ship Roanoke, of Baltimore, chartered by this Society for the purpose, sailed from Norfolk, Va., for Monrovia, Liberia, on the 5th of November, with one hundred and eighty-seven emigrants and a large supply of provisions, goods, &c.

Of these emigrants, one hundred and six are from King George County, Va., liberated by the will of the late Nathaniel H. Hooe: ten were from Prince William County, Va., liberated by the Rev. John Towles: five were from Petersburg, liberated by the Rev. Mr. Gibson: seventeen were from Essex County, of whom ten were liberated by the will of the late Edward Rowzee, five by Miss Harriet F. C. Rowzee, and one by the heirs of Edward Rowzee: eleven were from Frederick County, Va., liberated by Moncure Robinson, Esq., of Philadelphia: fourteen were from Shepherdstown and vicinity, Va., some of whom were free, and others were liberated for the purpose of allowing them to accompany their friends to Liberia: thirteen were from Halifax, N. C., liberated by the will of Thomas W. Lassiter: two were from Fredericksburg, Va., liberated by the will of the late William Bridges of Stafford County, Va., one was a free man from Petersburg, Va.: one, also free, from Charleston, S. C., and seven from Medina, Orange County, N. Y.

Many of them were persons of much more than ordinary fitness for citizens of Liberia. Many of them could read and write, and had been accustomed to taking care of themselves and their interests, and were industrious and prudent. Great liberality has been shown by the masters who

have voluntarily set their servants free that they might go and improve their condition and their children's in Liberia.

The whole company were well supplied with provisions, &c., for the passage and for six months after they arrive in the colony. Nearly the whole of this was done at the expense of the Society; only two of them having paid the full price. Many of them could pay nothing at all; and for others only a part was paid.

On their arrival in Liberia, we furnish them houses to live in for six months, give them a piece of land for their own, supply them with medicine and medical attendance when they are sick, and with all things necessary for their comfort during their acclimation. This gives them a fair chance for health and happiness.

Upwards of seventy who had applied to go in the Roanoke, were left behind. Some of them found they could not get ready in time. Legal difficulties were thrown in the way of others. One family would not go because the husband and father had not been able to raise money to buy himself. While for some, we could not afford to pay the expenses, at the present time.

We are now making arrangements to send an expedition from New Orleans, to sail in January, with emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee and other Southwestern states. Those of our friends living in those states will do us a favor by notifying any persons who contemplate going to Africa, of the proposed vessel.

Our friends will also perceive the necessity under which we are for an increase of the means of sending out emigrants.

Liberia and the British--Dr. Hodgkin's Letter.

IN another column will be found a letter from Dr. Hodgkin, of London, relating to our Liberia affairs. He seems to think that we have not fairly represented England in the matter. Perhaps this may be the fact. At any rate we are glad of the opportunity of

letting him speak for himself and for his country on the subject. He is a gentleman of high character, of enlarged benevolence, and of comprehensive knowledge. We are happy in being able to let our readers see the sentiments which he entertains on a sub-

ject in which they are so much interested.

They will not fail to remark one thing in his letter, viz: that he says nothing at all leading us to suppose that the "John Seys" was seized on the ground that she was suspected of being a *slaver*. What propriety, therefore, was there in sending

her to be tried as a *slaver* in the court at Sierra Leone? What propriety is there in their detaining her there several months, under pretense that some important witnesses are absent? Why do they not at once avow the real ground on which she was seized, and stand by it with all its consequences?

To our Friends and Patrons.

OUR readers are aware how anxious we have been to secure the balance of the territory lying between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, and how earnestly we have begged for \$20,000 to purchase it. We have now the pleasure of informing our friends and patrons, that in Kentucky \$5,000 have been subscribed towards this object: and also that *thirteen* gentlemen in other states

have each pledged us \$1,000 toward the \$15,000 subscription. These sums are all *conditional* on our making up the whole amount. *Two names more are wanting!* Two persons have it now in their power to secure to us \$20,000! We entreat those whom the Lord has blessed with the good things of this life to think of this urgent call.

[From the Louisville Democrat.]

Kentucky in Africa.

At a meeting of citizens in the 1st Presbyterian church on Thursday evening, the 2d inst., to consult upon the best measures to advance the cause of colonization, Mr. W. Richardson was chosen chairman, and W. F. Bullock, Esq., secretary.

Mr. Cowan, the agent of the colonization society, gave a full statement of his agency in this state in reference to the plan of Kentucky to have a colony of her own in Liberia; and of his success in raising funds to purchase 40 miles square of territory in that country; whereupon the following resolutions were offered and passed unanimously:

1. *Resolved*, That the plan of having territory within the bounds of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, to be called Kentucky, that our free colored population may have a country to emigrate to, and enjoy their freedom under an administration of their own color, meets with our cordial approbation.

2. *Resolved*, That as this plan of having a colony of Kentucky Africans planted within the bounds of the Commonwealth of Liberia, has originated in a benevolent regard for their interests, civil, social and moral, it is, in our judgment, the duty of our free colored population to inform themselves of the privileges and advantages they will enjoy by citizenship in Kentucky in Africa, and we would counsel them to emigrate there.

3. *Resolved*, That as \$700 is now needed (\$165 having been raised in the city) to fill up the subscription of \$5,000, the sum required to purchase the territory, it is highly important that this city and the county of Jefferson should raise this sum, and thereby show to their fellow citizens in different parts of the state, who have contributed to this object, that we are interested in carrying out this good and great enterprise.

4. *Resolved*, That Messrs. Beattie, Glover, Ranne, Bucklin, Bayless,

Pettit, J. S. Morris, Throgmorton, J. S. Lithgow, J. Rust and D. M'Alister, be a committee to render to Mr. Cowan such assistance as he shall need to raise funds for the cause in this city.

5. *Resolved*, That the proceedings

of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and be published in the different papers in the city.

W. RICHARDSON,
Chairman.

W. F. BULLOCK, *Sec'y.*

Items of Intelligence.

On the 17th May, at Marshall, a young man about twenty-one years of age, by the name of Frank Butler, in company with several others who were diving for oysters in the Junk river, was struck by a shark. He survived only long enough to come up to the surface, and tell that he was hurt. A comrade pulled him into their canoe when he expired.

THE two seamen landed here by captain Lideel's sloop (English) are both dead. One cut his throat a few evenings ago in a paroxysm of *mania potu* it is said, and the other died of the fever.

THE British coaxed ten of the settlers to go to Jamaica two or three years ago, and one of them writes back to his friends in Liberia—"You who have your thatched

houses, make yourselves happy, and try to rear your colony in the fear of God, and improve your societies: for this is the most abominable place I ever saw. By the help of the Lord I hope to reach home some day. This is a miserable and adulterous hole."

A Boa Constrictor was captured near Old Field settlement, Messurado river, the stomach of which contained a full grown deer, horns and all. The natives were preparing to feast upon his snakeship, the carcass of which they described as "big hog meat."

A boat belonging to the Water Witch by some means went on shore a few days ago at Little Bassa, and was knocked to pieces. She had been in chase of a slaver.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 22d October, to the 22d November, 1845.

By Rev. A. M. Cowan:—(donations reported in gross in last No. of the Repository.)

Scott Co.—Rev. F. G. Strahan...	5 00
Harrison Co.—G. H. Perrin, \$50, E. F. Easton, \$10, Jo. Carr, \$5, Theo. Walker, \$3, Joseph Wasson, \$2.....	70 00
Bourbon Co.—John King, \$20, John H. Jones, and Wm. Jones, each \$5.....	30 00
Fayette Co.—Samuel Laird, \$100, R. Pindell, Edward Oldham, Col. Robert Innes, each \$30 to constitute themselves life mem- bers, Solomon Vanmeter, \$20, Isaac C. Vanmeter, \$15, John W. Overturn, \$5, Charles Pat- rick, \$1.....	231 00
Madison Co.—H. T. Terrill.....	20 00
Garrard Co.—Moses Collier.....	5 00
Lincon Co.—Rev. S. S. McRoberts.	5 00
Boyle Co.—John R. Ford, M. G. Youce, each \$20, R. Montgom- ery, and James L. Crawford, each \$10, F. S. Read, Wm. W.	

McDowell, Willis Grimes, and A. D. Meyers, each \$5.....	80 00
Shelby Co.—John Crawford, L. W. Duprey, John Robinson, Mrs. R. Beattie, Mrs. Jane J. Lo- gan, each \$5.....	25 00
Covington—J. M. Preston, \$30 to constitute himself a life mem- ber, R. S. Brush, Wm. Ernst, M. M. Benton, A. L. Z. Grier, Jno. K. McNuckle, H. J. Grees- back, each \$5, Go. C. Tarwin, \$1.	61 00
Louisville—John L. Martin, \$30 to constitute himself a life mem- ber, Abraham Hite, and D. B. Allen, each \$20, Willis Ranney, Wm. F. Pettit, James Speed, Prentiss & Weissinger, William Richardson, Dr. Sam'l B. Rich- ardson, Wm. E. Glover, W. H. Field, Wm. Miller, George C. Gwathney, Rev. E. P. Hum- phry, Samuel Messick, Mrs. W. L. Breckenridge, Mrs. Am- anda Hall, Miss Mary Hall, Mrs. McFarland, Mrs. Eliza Cassa- dey, Miss Mary Ann McNutt,	

each \$10, Rev. W. W. Hill, Wm. Kendrick, W. F. Bullock, James Fulton, Thos. E. Wilson, A. P. Starbird, A. Peter, Sam'l Russell, Wallace & Lithgow, R. J. Ward, C. Coleman, Isaac Everitt, Henry Pirth, P. Butler, John Watson, J. W. Kalfers, Thomas S. Foreman, Alex. Harbeson, Rupert & Linderberge, John S. Morris, J. G. Praigg & Co., W. B. Clifton, P. B. Atwood, W. H. Walker, H. Parmelee, L. Ruffner, Jacob Bickwith, Hamilton Pope, D. & J. Wright & Co., Curran Pope, D. Beattie, Logan McKnight, J. M. Rutherford, R. A. Robinson, James Low, W. S. Pilcher, R. G. Cutter & Co., Emory Low, Charles J. Clark, Mrs. J. Hughes, each \$5, Dr. L. Powell, \$3, William Anderson, B. O. Davis, Mrs. Robert Steel, Mrs. Apperson, each \$2, Rev. James Craig, Mrs. W. H. Pope, cash, each \$1, Louisville Colonization Society, by S. Casadey, treasurer, \$58 25, J. P. Curtis & Co., exchange on uncurrent money, \$1 77.....	524 02
OHIO.	
<i>Harrison</i> —Dr. Crookshanks.....	5 00
INDIANA.	
REPOSITORY. — <i>South Hanover</i> —Thomas W. Hynes.....	6 00
Total.....	\$1,067 02

VERMONT.

By Dea. Samuel Tracy:—	
<i>Stratford</i> —Hon. J. H. Harris, cash, Dr. Pierce, each \$1, cash, 12 cts.	\$ 12;
<i>Royallton</i> —Wm. Skinner, \$1, Dea. Joiner, 50 cts.....	1 50
<i>Williamstown</i> —Cong. Society....	5 00
<i>St. Johnsbury</i> —J. P. Fairbanks, \$15, Luther Clark, \$5, J. H. Worcester, \$3, Erastus Fairbanks, \$10, Hiram Knap, \$2, Thad. Fairbanks, \$15, Moses Kittredge, \$5, Horace Fairbanks, \$3, Ephraim Jewett, \$2.....	60 00
<i>Castleton</i> —Dea. Cheaver.....	1 00
<i>Vergennes</i> —E. D. Woodbridge...	2 00
<i>Enosburg</i> —Contribution by Congregational Society.....	9 50
<i>Putney</i> —Hon. P. White, annual subscription.....	10 00
<i>Brookfield</i> —Capt. A. Edson, \$5, Maj. John Wheatley, \$5, Maj. D. Colt, Dea. S. Griswold, Mrs. Polly Paine, J. Edson, Capt. Z. Bigelow, each \$1, Mrs. E. B. Lyman, \$1 50, E. Ellis, esq., Simon Colton, esq., Captain R.	

Peck, Luther Wheatley, esq., each \$2, Z. Bigelow, Mrs. Jemima Freeman, Homer Hatch, esq., John Bigelow, Lem. Pope, Capt. J. S. Allen, Ariel Burnham, Phineas Kelley, ea. 50 cts., Sarah Graves, J. C. Wheatley, C. A. Stratton, each 25 cts....	29 25
<i>Montpelier</i> —Subscription, \$16, Contribution, \$6 36.....	22 36
<i>Craftsbury</i> —Hon. S. C. Crafts...	1 00
<i>Burlington</i> —Rev. J. K. Converse.	5 00
	149 73

MASSACHUSETTS.

<i>Worcester</i> —Legacy of the late Daniel Waldo.....	10,000 00
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RHODE ISLAND.

<i>Providence</i> —H. N. Slater, esq., \$100, Thos. M. Burgess, mayor, \$10, Robert H. Ives, \$20, A friend to the colored man, \$20, Joseph Carpenter, \$5, John C. Brown, \$10, Wm. G. Goddard, \$10, Thos. Harkness, \$10, Thos. J. Stead, \$5, cash, \$1, John H. Mason, an. subscription, \$5, Z. Allen, \$5, Ed. Carrington, \$10.	211 00
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CONNECTICUT.

<i>Guilford</i> —Mrs. Nathan'l Griffin, to constitute the Rev. E. Edwin Hall a life member of the A.C.S.	30 00
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NEW YORK.

<i>Suffolk Co.</i> —Amount received in full of legacy left by John Rogers, dec'd, per Messrs. Foot & Davies.....	332 10
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NEW JERSEY.

<i>Greenwich</i> —Collection in Presby. church, D. X. Junkins, pastor, per J. Carter, Treasurer Board of Deacons.....	25 00
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VIRGINIA.

<i>King George Co.</i> —Daniel Coakley, executor of Nath. H. Hooe, late of said Co., per Wm. R. Mason, esq., toward carrying to Liberia, slaves liberated by said Hooe's will.....	3,750 00
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By Rev. J. B. Pinney:—

<i>Norfolk</i> —Collection in Pres. Lecture-room, \$15, Mrs. Mary J. Payne, \$10, Mrs. Com. C. K. Stribling, \$20, cash, \$5.....	50 00
<i>Waynesburg</i> —Collection in Pres. church.....	5 00
<i>Lexington</i> —Collection in Presby. church, \$33 31, Col. S. McDowal Reid, \$30.....	63 31
<i>Lynchburg</i> —Rev. Wm. McKinckle, \$5, Samuel McCorckle, \$10, Charles L. Mosby, esq., \$10, Mr. Earley, \$5.....	25 00
<i>Richmond</i> —A lady, \$1, Per Dr. Gib-	

dersleve from Concord church, \$10, Mr. Gordon and Mrs. E. M. Atkisson, \$3, Dr. Plumer and Mrs. and Miss Storrs, \$2, Collection in Trinity M. E. church, \$13 50, Fred. Bransford, esq., \$50, J. C. Hobson, esq., \$50, N. Mills, esq., \$50, Miss S. Bruce, \$50, Rev. Robt. Ryland, \$50, Wm. H. McFarland, \$50, Wm. Barrett, \$25, Samuel Reeve, \$10, Jas. Caskie, \$10, R. C. Wortham, \$5, John Caskie, \$5, John B. Morton, \$5, Lewis Webb, \$5, J. L. Bacon, \$5, Samuel Putney, \$5, Hancock Lee, \$5, W. F. Taylor, \$5, cash, \$5, Miss A. Colman, \$2, A friend, \$3, W. P. Struther, \$5, cash, \$5, cash, \$5, James Gardiner, \$5, W. S. Donan, \$3, Wm. H. Hubbard, on land subscription, \$100, H. J. Miller, \$5, cash, \$4..... 704 81

Petersburg.—A. G. McIlwaine, \$100, DeArcy Paul, \$100, David Dunlop, \$50, John Stevenson, \$20, Ladies' Sewing Soc., 1st Pres. church, \$20, Collection in 1st Pres. church, \$53 20, Judge May, cash, Wm. Crawley, Moses Paul, John E. Lemoine, James P. Smith, Josephus Hurt, each \$10, Robert Ritchie, cash, Rev. S. Slaughter, cash, Daniel Lyon, E. P. Nash, Mrs. Dunn, Edward Osborne, W. S. Simpson, each \$5, cash, \$3, cash, \$3, cash, \$3, cash, A. Head, Collin Stokes, cash, cash, each \$1, Mr. Burd, \$3, Rev. Mr. Taylor, 50 cents..... 475 70

Lewisburg.—Female Colonization Society, by the hand of Mrs. Gurley..... 8 75

Fredericksburg.—R. C. L. Moncure, for passage, support, &c., of 2 emigrants in the Rodnoke..... 140 00

5,227 57

NORTH CAROLINA.

By Rev. J. B. Pinney:—
Raleigh.—Mrs. Devereaux, J. R. Devereaux, & Judge Cameron, each \$10, C. Dewey, J. B. Freeman, John Primrose, and W. R. Gales, each \$5, John H. Bryan, and Wm. F. Collins, each \$3, Wm. Peck, and J. Brunn, each \$2, Wm. J. Clark, E. Colburn, J. H. Snow, and J. M. Tours, each \$1, Wm. Pierce, \$4..... 68 00

Fayetteville.—Collection in Pres. church, \$17 27, Collection in Pres. church, \$13 87, Rev. Jarvis B. Buston, \$10, James Kyle, esq., \$5, J. C. Dobbin,

\$5, Jonathan Evans, \$3, John Smith, \$3, H. Lilley, \$3, Jas. R. Gee, D. McGee, C. B. Mallett, W. Husk, W. McIntyre, Henry Branson, each \$1..... 66 14

Halifax.—From Jos. J. Bell, toward the passage of 14 emigrants.... 200 00

334 14

ALABAMA.

By Rev. J. B. Pinney:—
Mobile.—Mrs. Dorsey..... 25 00

MISSISSIPPI.

Lewisville.—Mrs. A. G. Gadden, toward the \$1,000 due from legacy of her husband..... 900 00

KENTUCKY.

By Rev. A. M. Cowan:—
Nelson Co..—Haden Edwards, \$20, E. B. Miles, Dr. A. W. Hynes, each \$10, Spencer Miner, W. M. Powell, Mrs. Mary E. Duncan, and Wm. Bush, each \$5, W. B. Herrin, \$3, Thos. Duncan, \$2, Jacob Ponce, Green Duncan, Butler Rainy, James Allen, William Minor, Rev. J. Atkinson, each \$1, Henry Russell, and John Collins, each \$1 50, Mrs. L. E. Atkinson, Miss Brookins, and W. Beard, each 50 cents, cash from 3 persons, each 25c., 4th July collection in Big Spring church, \$7. 88 25

Washington Co..—Judge P. Booker, and H. McElroy, each \$10, J. H. Cunningham, \$5, J. R. Hughes and wife, \$2, A. McElroy, J. C. Cozine, J. A. Gaither, and G. W. Taylor, each \$1, J. P. Calhoun, 50cts., Thos. Montgomery, and W. Platt, each 25 cents..... 83 00

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Green Co..—John Barrett, \$5, W. F. Barrett, \$4, David Lydner, Samuel F. Brown, each \$2, R. S. Tate, J. G. Barrett, D. B. Moore, R. L. Moore, and R. O. Hundly, each \$1, Mr. Harden, and W. A. Cheatham, each 25 cents..... 18 50

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